Vol. XIV.] OCTOBER 1923 [No. 1

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

(BANGALORE)

CONTENTS.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY
AT
THE BANGALORE PRESS, "LAKE VIEW", MYSORE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY.

PRICE: Rs. 1-4

THE GENERAL SECRETARY

MYTHIC SOCIETY

requests Members, both Resident and Moffusil, to be so good as to post to the Curator of the Society, odd copies of Nos. 1 to 4 of Vol. VIII, and Nos. 1 and 2 of Vol. IX. If they so desire, the Copies will be paid for at As. 12 each.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE.

he Secretary requests that—

(1) Every member will kindly introduce at least one friend to the Society during the current year; and help to popularize the work of the Society.

(2) Members who can afford it will help to build up a capital fund by converting their ordinary membership into life-membership.

(3) Members who have not yet remitted their subscriptions will kindly remit them on receipt of this issue of the journal.

The Late Sir M. Kantaraj Urs

The members of the Mythic Society have heard with deep concern of the demise at Mysore, on October 1st, of *Rajasevadhurina* Sir M. Kantaraj Urs, B.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., who was for many years a Vice-President of the Society. In him the Society has lost a sympathetic friend and generous benefactor whose valuable advice and practical interest will be keenly missed. The members of the Society beg to tender their respectful condolences to His Highness the Maharaja and the Royal Family of Mysore.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE.

Accounts for the Year ending 30th June 1923.

RECEIPTS	AMOUNT			EXPENDITURE	AMOUNT		
	Rs	A	P		Rs	A	P.
Opening Balance	219	13	7	Printing charges	2,461	0	0
				Postage	314	2	6
Resident Members' subscription	581	0	0	Establishment	681	12	3
				Book binding ..	28	10	0
				Purchase of Books	303	13	6
Moffussil Members' subscription	898	8	0	Lighting charges .	127	1	0
				Water charges including arrears of previous years .	230	4	0
Life Memberships	400	0	0	Garden charges .	46	0	0
Government Grants	1,800	0	0	Miscellaneous charges including subscriptions to Newspapers, etc.	354	6	7
Library Grants ..	325	0	0	Amount paid out of Society's funds towards the Tabard Memorial Medal awarded during the Mysore University Convocation of 1922	55	2	3
Sale of Journals	125	10	0				
Miscellaneous Receipts including advertisement charges	146	0	1	Closing Balance			
Interest on Investment	542	8	1	(1) With the Bank Rs 419 8 1; (2) With Branch Secy Rs 9 6 2; (3) With the Curator Rs 7 5 5	436	3	8
Total ..	5,038	7	9	Total	5,038	7	9

The Tabard Memorial Fund Account.

RECEIPTS	AMOUNT			EXPENDITURE	AMOUNT.		
	Rs	A	P		Rs	A	P
Opening balance .	305	0	0	Invested in Bonds	545	2	3
Collections during the year	285	0	0	Amount remitted to the Mysore University towards the Medal during 1922	14	13	9
Total	590	0	0	Total	590	0	0

Amount invested in Capital Fund . . .. Rs 8,000

The Mythic Society

COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1923-24

PATRON.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.S.I., G.B.E.

Vice-Patrons.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA GAIKWAR OF BARODA, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

HIS HIGHNESS THE YUVARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.I.E.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF COCHIN, G.C.S.I.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Honorary Presidents.

THE HON'BLE COL. SIR HUGH DALY, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

THE HON'BLE MR. H. V COBB, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.B.E.

THE HON'BLE MR. W. P. BARTON, C.S.I., C.I.E.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

V. P. MADHAVA RAO, ESQ., C.I.E.

SIR DORABJI TATA, Kt.

PRESIDENT.

RAJASABHABHUSHANA THE REV. A. M. TABARD, M.A., M.B.E., M.R.A.S.

Vice-Presidents.

A. R. BANERJI, Esq., M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E.

RAJADHARMAPRAVINA DEWAN BAHADUR

K. S. CHANDRASEKHARA IYER, Esq., B.A., B.L.

RAJAMANTRAPRAVINA DEWAN BAHADUR

P. RAGHAVENDRA RAO, Esq., B.A., B.L.

DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL, M.A., Ph.D.

RAJAKARYAPRASAKTA RAO BAHADUR M. SHAMA RAO, Esq., M.A.

F. J. RICHARDS, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., I.C.S.

MIR HUMZA HUSSEIN, Esq., B.A., B.L.

General Secretary and Treasurer.

S. SRIKANTAIYA, Esq., B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

Joint Secretary.

V. V. RAMANATHAN, Esq., B.A.

Editor

F. R. SELL, Esq., M.A.

Branch Secretaries.

FOR ETHNOLOGY—C. HAYAVADANA RAO, Esq., B.A., B.L.

FOR RELIGIONS—THE REV. F. GOODWILL.

FOR HISTORY—K. DEVANATHACHARIAR, Esq., M.A.

FOR FOLKLORE—V. R. THYAGARAJA IYER, Esq., M.A.

Committee.

The above *ex-officio* and C. S. BALASUNDARAM IYER, Esq., B.A., P. SAMPAT IYENGAR, Esq., M.A., PRAKTANA VIMARSA VICHAKSHANA RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., K. CHANDY, Esq., B.A., K. SRINIVASA RAO, Esq., B. PUTTAIYA, Esq., B.A., and Dr. R. SHAMA SHASTRY, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S.

Curator on the Premises.

T. SWAMINATHAIYA, Esq.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

We have very great pleasure in inviting the attention of our readers to the following :—

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Dated

Dear Sir,

The Eleventh Annual Meeting will be held in Bangalore from January 14th to January 19th, 1924

His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., has consented to be Patron of the Meeting and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, C.S.I., M.A., D.L., D.Sc., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., F.R.S.E., will be President.

If you intend to be present at the Meeting it is requested that you will return the annexed form* as early as possible to the undersigned. The subscription to the Congress should be paid to the Honorary Treasurer, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1, Park Street, Calcutta.

If you propose to read a paper, it should be forwarded to the undersigned, together with a short abstract, not later than November 30th, for submission to the Sectional Publication Committee. Authors are informed that not more than fifteen minutes will be allowed for the reading of any paper.

The Honorary Local Secretaries will be Prof. F. L. Usher, B.Sc., Central College. Bangalore, and S. G. Sastry, Esq., B.A., M.Sc., Board of Scientific Advice, Bangalore, to whom all enquiries as to accommodation should be addressed. It is particularly requested that very early intimation of the accommodation required should be sent to the Honorary Local Secretaries.

Yours faithfully,
J. L. SIMONSEN,
Honorary General Secretary,
Forest Research Institute and College,
Dehra Dun.

EXTRACT FROM THE RULES

Rule X

There shall be three classes of members—

(i) *Full members.*—Annual subscription *Rupees ten*
(ii) *Associate members* —Annual subscription *Rupees five*
(iii) *Student members* —Annual subscription *Rupees two*

(Student members must be definitely certified by the Principal of their College as *bona fide* students)

Only full members have the right of communicating papers to the Congress and they receive free of charge all publications

Associate and Student members have the right of reading papers before the Congress provided they have been communicated by a full member

* The form is not printed Intimation may kindly be given to the Local Secretaries.

The

Quarterly Journal

of the

Mythic Society

Vol. XIV] OCTOBER, 1923 [No. 1

THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

Bangalore, 14th August 1923.

A. R. BANERJI, ESQ., M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E., *Dewan of Mysore, in the Chair.*

Mr. S. Srikantaiya, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., Joint Secretary, read the Report.

THE REPORT.

THE Committee of the Mythic Society have much pleasure in placing before you an account of the Society's activities during its thirteenth session, 1922-23.

2. MEMBERSHIP :—There has been a very gratifying, though small, increase in the membership of the Society, the total number being 552 as against 539 last year. We have on our rolls 28 life members, 195 resident and 307 mofussil members, 6 resident and 24 mofussil subscribers and 20 honorary members. Your Committee make a new appeal to the members to induce more of their friends to join the Society.

3. FINANCE :—Our collections from subscriptions amounted to Rs. 1,479-8-0 ; from life members Rs. 400-0-0 ; from grants Rs. 2,125. From sale of journals we realized Rs. 125-10-0, interest on investments Rs. 542-8-1,

and miscellaneous receipts Rs. 146-0-1, totalling Rs. 5,038-7-9. Out of this amount, the expenditure as shown in the accompanying statement of accounts, amounted to Rs. 4,602-3-1, leaving a closing balance of Rs. 436-4-8 The cost of printing continues to be very heavy and the Journal of the Mythic Society is one of the few publications which have not, despite all difficulties, raised the rate of subscription. The Committee hope that members in arrears will remit their annual subscriptions without delay and help to maintain the efficiency and prompt despatch of the Journal as heretofore, and will give no cause for reminders being sent and V. P.'s being resorted to to collect arrears. The arrears still to be recovered amount to Rs. 514.

4. MEETINGS:—We had quite a variety of very interesting papers. There were in all twelve meetings during the year. The first that call for notice are the papers of Prof. Sylvain Levi, the renowned patriarch of Oriental Studies, and Dr. Miss Kramrisch, who delivered lectures on *Greater India*, and the *Significance of Indian Art*, respectively. The other papers included those of Dr. R. Shamasastry, Mr. R. Narasimhachar, Mr. B. Puttaiya, Mr. D. B. Ramachendra Mudaliar, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, Mr. B. M. Rangaiya Naidu, Mr. S. T. Moses and Mr. P. R. Krishnaswami.

5. JOURNAL:—The Journal, all will admit, maintained its high level of excellence throughout the year and the thanks of the Committee are due to all the gentlemen that contributed towards this end. The Hon'ble Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, Messrs. K. G. Shankara, Pandit M. Raghaviengar, A. Rangaswami Saraswathi, K. G. Sesha Iyer, B. V. Kameshwara Iyer, Sarat Chandra Mitra, T. N. Subrahmanyam, K. Rama Pisharoti, P. V. Jagadisa Iyer, V. Venkatachela Iyer, L. A Cammiade, Rao Saheb Dr. S. Krishnaswamiengar, and others have been of great assistance to us by their valuable contributions.

6. EXCHANGES:—The new exchanges secured during the year were *(a)* The Christian College Magazine, and the publications of *(b)* The Anthropological Society of Bombay, *(c)* The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, *(d)* The Purra Tatva Mandir, Ahmedabad, *(e)* Association Francaise des Amis de L'Orient, Musée Guimet, Place d'Iena, Paris.

7. LIBRARY:—Large additions were made during the year to the library. Books of the value of Rs. 304 were purchased, and one hundred and eighty-two volumes were added, besides the late Pradhana Siromani T. Ananda Rao's Library. The Muzrai Department kindly transferred the *Sacred Books of the East* for safe custody and the use of members. Attempts are being made to secure further additions to the Library.

8. THE HALL:—The hall and grounds are maintained in excellent condition, owing, in a large measure, to the Government grants for which we are

most grateful. The Government and the various semi-official associations arranged for their Annual Meetings and other functions in our Hall. The Lawyers' Conference and the Local Self-Government Conference also held their meetings in the premises of the Mythic Society.

VISITORS:—It is gratifying to observe that amongst the distinguished visitors to the Daly Memorial Hall were included the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir K. G. Gupta.

9. THE TABARD MEMORIAL:—The Tabard Memorial prize during the last Mysore University Convocation was awarded to Mr. B. R. Subba Rao, M.A., who obtained the highest number of marks in Indian History.

10. His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has been graciously pleased to accept our invitation to be a Vice-Patron of the Mythic Society.

11. Last year we offered our hearty felicitations to Rajadharmapravina Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, and Rajamanthrapravina Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao, on the distinctions conferred on them by His Highness the Maharaja. This year we have the pleasure to congratulate again our two Vice-Presidents on their having received from the Government of India the well-merited title of "Dewan Bahadur".

12. The Committee welcome with very great pleasure Mr. Mir Humza Hussain, B.A., B.L., First Member of Council as a Vice-President of the Mythic Society.

13. The Committee desire to record their grateful appreciation of the work done for the Society by Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, General Secretary and Treasurer, who had to be relieved on his transfer to Nanjangud.

14. The Committee have received a communication from Mr. F. W. Thomas, Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, inviting the attention of the Mythic Society to certain changes recently made in its rules concerning Branch and Associate Societies. Under the amended Rules it is open to us to seek admission as a Branch or an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society, and if the Mythic Society be admitted as a Branch or an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society, under the amended Rule 105, members of the Mythic Society will be entitled while on furlough or otherwise temporarily residing within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland to the use of the Library as non-resident members, and to attend the meetings of the Society other than special General Meetings; and if any member of any Branch or Associate Society should apply for election to become a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, nomination by two other members of the Royal Asiatic Society as laid down in Rule 4 shall not be necessary and such member may forthwith be elected by a vote of the Royal Asiatic Society at one of its meetings on his satisfying them that he is a member of the Mythic Society.

This is a great advantage and the Committee consider that steps may be taken to associate the Mythic Society as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society.

15. We beg to express our deep sense of gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja, to His Highness the Yuvaraja and to His Highness the Maharaja's Government, for the encouragement and help which they have given us and for graciously continuing their grants to the Society.

FATHER TABARD'S REMARKS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Before proposing the formal adoption of the Report, I wish to make a few remarks.

As you all know, one of the objects of the founders of the Mythic Society was to create in Mysore a centre of high intellectual culture.

That aim was very ambitious, but we knew that Mysore had the talent if we could only bring it out and we felt that as Mysore, under the enlightened guidance of our revered Maharaja, had attained the foremost rank among Indian States in political and material progress, it was in the fitness of things that in the realms of intellectual culture, Mysore should also be first.

It would be presumptuous on our part to say that we have succeeded, but the considerable increase among our mofussil members and the recognition we have received from many learned Societies seem to tell us that outsiders have come to know that Mysore, through the Mythic Society, need not be afraid of a comparison in that respect also with any other part of India.

Mr. Mir Humza Hussain has borne eloquent testimony to the success we have so far achieved and voiced, we feel sure, the feelings of many when in his speech at the last Central College Day he said that the intellectual activity in Bangalore was due to the existence of the Mythic Society.

The facts that the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland is seeking a more intimate association with us and that many Universities all over the English-speaking world are asking for complete sets of our Journal have also a significance of their own.

This success is due in a large measure to our Journal which, though devoted primarily to the history, archæology and ethnology of Mysore, still opens its pages to all scholars who have made a speciality of any branch in the field of Indian Research. We welcome them all but we would make a special appeal to those who would be willing to bring us contributions to the study of ethnology and ethnography in Mysore and Southern India, as so far the late lamented Mr. Nanjundaiya does not seem to have a successor in those two most interesting branches of Indian studies. It will be our

endeavour to see that our Quarterly maintains the same degree of excellence and continues to be issued with the punctuality which very few similar publications are able to emulate.

The Report gives a full account of the Society's activities and I need not expatiate on them.

I will content myself by making a new appeal for more life-members and more frequent donations as this is the only way for us to build up a funded capital which will ensure the future of the Society. An increase of ordinary members would also be of a great help to us to meet our ordinary expenses.

But to make our Society a complete success what we are in need of mostly is "enthusiasm". We are working for the glory of Mysore and no Mysorean can afford to remain indifferent. His Highness the Maharaja, our revered Patron, the Royal Mysore Family, His Highness' Government, all take a keen interest in the Mythic Society. I call then on all His Highness' subjects, on all the admirers of Mysore, to stand by me and help me to make Mysore better known still, not only in India, but all over the British Empire.

With these remarks I have the pleasure to move that the Report of the Mythic Society for 1922-23 be adopted.

Mr. V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

The re-election of Rajasabhabhushana Rev. Father A. M. Tabard as President, proposed in a few felicitous words by Mr. Mir Humza Hussain, First Member of Council, and seconded by Mr. K. R. Sreenivasiengar, Second Member of Council, was carried by acclamation.

Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, proposed and Mr. S. Cadambi seconded the election of the office-bearers for the ensuing Session.

The Chairman rose amid great applause and spoke as follows :—

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.

FATHER TABARD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The Mythic Society has now entered on the fourteenth year of its existence and it is not necessary for me to express, as Chairman of this meeting, in glowing terms the work that the Society has been able to show during the past thirteen years. Successive Presidents of its annual meetings have given testimony to such work, and the record that is accumulating of its varied activities in the field of historic research is sufficient evidence of its usefulness and the good that it is doing to promote interest as well as a desire in the public mind for knowledge in the antiquities specially those relating to the State of Mysore.

I will not emulate my distinguished predecessors who have presided at your annual gatherings in the past few years by claiming notorious ignorance of the various subjects which the Society was formed to investigate and study. But although I yield to none of them in the extent of such ignorance, I must claim that I do sympathize with the work of the Society, and it is for this reason that I have accepted the kind invitation of Father Tabard to preside on this occasion. I thank you all for the honour you have done me, but as Chairman of this meeting, I find myself somewhat at a disadvantage, for it has been customary with me to make speeches only on matters of public administration and finance which deal generally with facts and figures, dry as dust and uninteresting to such a learned body of pandits as are represented by the Members of this Society. I must confess, however, that, before the days when the crust of officialdom settled itself hard on my temperament, I did take interest in historic studies and investigations, but the want of leisure has prevented me from making excursions in those interesting fields and thus from earning the fame of a Romesh Dutt or a Keene or a Stanley Rice, who have distinguished themselves in the world of letters in spite of being members of the Civil Service.

The name-assumed by your Society has evoked comment in the past, but it is no longer mythic, judging from the large number of members on its rolls which has gradually increased to 552, although your critics, pointing towards the state of your finances, may attribute a mythic character to your resources, as I find from the Report, that you have a negligible balance and also large arrears of subscriptions due. This is certainly not a healthy state of affairs, and it is hoped that the appeal that has been made by the Honorary Secretary in this matter will receive an adequate response.

A Society like that of yours is. at the present moment, a great necessity in the country for more than one reason. With the tendency towards materialism and of pursuing activities for the material and economic development of the country, one is apt to forget past history which alone can bring sound lessons to the present generation. It was Prof. Max Muller that said:— "There is but one key to the present, and that is the past. There is but one way to understand the continuous growth of the human mind and to gain a firm grasp of what it has achieved in any department of knowledge, and that is to watch its historic development." Only the other day, Dr. Goodier, addressing a gathering in Bombay, laid emphasis on the importance of the study of history and said that nothing helped so much to encourage the long view as history, which enables a man to cast his mind back or forward to hundreds of years to look at things, but he did not overlook the other side. He referred to the fact that there is a tendency to indulge in the dreamy type

of mind which lays too much stress on the imaginary golden age and contrasts the present unfavourably with it. Even research scholars sometimes attempt to describe a spade which they discover amidst their explorations as a golden spoon. Such a tendency cano nly be counteracted by a critical faculty, and it is satisfactory to the ordinary mind to find that the work of the Mythic Society, as disclosed in its various reports and publications, has not been tainted with this defect.

Although I should be treading on dangerous ground if I attempted to discourse on the immense possibilities that Mysore presents to the student of religion, folklore and pre-historic antiquities, still I am persuaded by the opportunity the present occasion affords me to indicate in a very general way and with the little information that I have acquired on the subject, the peculiar advantages of this country and the special features that it presents for the encouragement of such studies. These are matters of common knowledge to the Members of the Mythic Society, no doubt, but may very well bear repetition. Mysore is a country of wonderful and unlimited possibilities in many directions. This is one of the oldest of Nature's store-houses of mineral wealth, water-power and other material resources. These characteristics I have dwelt upon at some length in my addresses as President of the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibitions on more than one occasion. Further than these, Mysore possesses close historic associations with every religious, moral and philosophic movement of ancient India. Taking only a cursory glance over the pages of her ancient history, one cannot but marvel at the wonderful attractions that Mysore had in the past for the sage and the philosopher. The table-land of Mysore played an important part in the introduction and diffusion of Aryan culture and civilization in Southern India as a whole. In fact, Mysore could be described as the second Aryavarta. Like modern missionaries, Aryan sages and *rishis* acted as advance guards and emissaries of their faiths, penetrating through hills and fastnesses and establishing isolated settlements and some of them can be traced to Mysore. It is only too well-known that Mysore has figured conspicuously in the legendary history of India and there are many spots in the State which are intimately connected with the epic of Mahabharata. Was it not in Mysore that Arjuna, during his first great military expedition, was carried away by the charms of the Princess Chitrangada whom he eventually married and by whom he had his son Babruvahana ?

Many of the scenes in the Ramayana are also laid in Mysore. In fact, Mysore forms the base from which Rama carried out operations against Ravana, King of Lanka. I think Mysore is one of the very few Provinces in India where reliable material and *data* exist for a correct and critical study

of her past history, specially in her ancient coins and inscriptions. Her equable climate and the absence of violent upheavals of nature such as earthquakes combined with the widespread presence of strong durable stone no doubt account for the profusion of inscriptions and their well-preserved character. It is interesting to note that even such small chiefs as the Kempe-Gowdas of Bangalore and Magadi did not omit to record their doings on imperishable stone. Mysore has also got special distinctive schools of architecture of which the best specimens are to be found at Belur, Halebid and Somanathpur.

There is good and tolerably authentic history of Mysore from the time of the rulers of the Ganga dynasty and certainly from the eleventh century onwards commencing from the Hoysalas who had their capital at Belur and Halebid.

In the religious history of India Mysore takes a very prominent part. Leaving aside the legendary period during which the great sage Agastya Muni first instructed the people of the south in Aryan culture, it appears that when Buddhism was pressing Jainism hard in the north, the great Emperor Chandragupta, who was evidently a Jain, abdicated his throne and accompanied his spiritual teacher to Sravanabelagola about the close of the third century before Christ, and that for many centuries, Mysore continued to be the stronghold of Jainism. Mysore is also intimately connected with two of the greatest Hindu spiritual leaders, Sankaracharya and Ramanujacharya. It was Sankaracharya who spent the last twelve years of his life at Sringeri of which he was the first apostle In like manner, Ramanujacharya, through his teaching of the Vaishnava religion, put an end to Jainism in the twelfth century. Various other associations might be cited to prove the advantages and attractions which the Mysore country possesses for the student of archæology, history and ancient religion.

Mysoreans owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Mythic Society for opening up such a vast field for enquiry and research which are of such great interest to her people. Let us hope that some day the original history of the Mysore country will be written by one of the members of this Society in the language of the country.

In conclusion, I want to congratulate the Society on the excellent work that has been done during the past year and for the satisfactory Report which the Secretary has just read to us. It has enlisted the co-operation of scholars and pandits even outside the Mysore State, in other parts of India. It has got an excellent library, and it can boast of the continued patronage of the Ruling House of Mysore; His Highness the Gaikwar and the Maharaja of Travancore are amongst its Vice-Patrons. The Government of His Highness the Maharaja has always helped this Society with moral and material support. Only recently, Government have sanctioned for another period of two years

a monthly grant of Rs. 100 to the Society. But for the indefatigable exertions and keen interest which the President, Father Tabard, takes in it, it would be difficult to believe that the Society could have reached its present stage of development. We all know what Father Tabard has done for the Mythic Society, how persistent he has been in keeping up its activities on a high level. I think it is time that the noble example of Father Tabard is emulated by others and that more active interest is taken by Mysore scholars and students to widen the influence and the scope of the work of the Society.

It must not be forgotten that the success of a society like this depends also, to an appreciable extent, on the Secretary and the excellence of its Journal, and in this respect the Mythic Society has, throughout, been particularly fortunate. We all know the work of Mr. Ramanathan as General Secretary, and Mr. Sell as Editor of the Journal, and they deserve our warmest acknowledgments. In Mr. Srikantaiya, we have an ideal Joint Secretary and Treasurer who, I am sure, will bring about an improvement in the financial position of the Society. You have elected a strong body of office-bearers. I only wish you had not copied the Mysore Civil List but got a few more non-officials.

In conclusion, I have only to wish the Society increased success and prosperity in the coming years and to hope that it will secure a wider circle of ardent supporters in its cause.

The Rev. F. Goodwill in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chair, which was accorded with great enthusiasm, remarked that he was himself very grateful to the Mythic Society which has been the means of his becoming acquainted with many Indian gentlemen among whom he was happy to say he counted many dear friends.

A most interesting and successful function was brought to a close by hearty cheers for the revered Patron of the Society, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, called by the President.

THE WESTERN GANGAS OF TALKAD.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

BY PRAKTANA VIMARSA VICHAKSHANA RAO BAHADUR
R. NARASIMHACHARYA, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THERE are two main branches of the Gangas—the Western Gangas of Talkād and the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga. Both trace their name to the river Gangā or Ganges. According to the traditional account of the Western Gangas as given in some inscriptions of about the eleventh century in the Shimoga District, Harischandra had a son named Bharata whose wife, Vijayamahādēvi, at the time of conception, bathed in the Ganges to remove her languor, and the son born in consequence was named Gangādatta, whence his descendants were called the Gangas. The Kalinga account, as given in the *Indian Antiquary*,* is that Turvasu, son of Yayāti, being without sons, propitiated the river Gangā, by which means he obtained a son, Gāngēya, whose descendants were the Gangas. Though one account makes the Western Gangas the descendants of Ikshvāku of the solar race, yet the clear statement made in the Gummareḍḍipura plates† of the Western Ganga king Durvinīta that he was of the lineage of Kṛishṇa, leads us to conclude that they were Yādavas like the Kalinga Gangas The latter are mentioned by Pliny. They formed an important line in the seventh and eighth centuries and continued to rule down to the sixteenth century.

Among the dynasties that ruled in Southern India in early times, that of the Gangas of Talkād was one of the most interesting which held its own for nearly seven centuries from about the fourth to the eleventh. The Gangas ruled over the greater part of the present Mysore country, their territory being known as Gangavāḍi, a Ninety-six Thousand province. The existing Gangadikāras, properly Gangavādikāras, who form the largest section of the agricultural population of Mysore even now, represent their former subjects. Their earliest capital was Kuvalāla or Kōlār, situated to the west of the Pālār river in the eastern part of Mysore. The capital was subsequently removed to Talkāḍ on the Kāvēri, which continued as such until its capture by the Chōlas at the beginning of the eleventh century when the Ganga sovereignty came to an end. Though Talkāḍ was the permanent capital, the royal residence was removed to a more central position at Manṇe or Mānyapura to the north-west of Bangalore in the eighth century in the time of Śrīpurusha, during whose long

* XIII, 275

† *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1912.

reign the Ganga kingdom may be said to have reached the height of prosperity. The Gangas are stated to be of the Jāhnavēya family and of the Kāṇvāyana-gōtra, and are usually styled Konguṇivarma-dharma-mahādhirāja (or mahārājādhirāja). Their stronghold was Nandagiri (Nandidrug). They had an elephant for their crest. The titles Satyavākya and Nītimārga are as a rule applied alternately to the later kings. The foundation of the Ganga kingdom is attributed to the agency of a Jaina teacher of the name of Simhanandi.

It is interesting to note that several of the Ganga kings were not only patrons of literary merit, but were themselves scholars and authors of some important works in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa. Thus Mādhava II is described as a touchstone for testing gold—the learned and poets, and as skilled among those who expound and practise the science of politics. He wrote a commentary on Dattaka's *sūtras* or aphorisms dealing with the branch, known as *Vaiśika*, of the Kāmaśāstra or science of love. Avinīta was worthy to be reckoned first among the learned. Durvinīta was the author of three works in Sanskrit, namely, a grammatical work known as *Śabdāvatāra*, a Sanskrit version of the Paiśāchi *Vaddakathā* or *Brihatkathā* and a commentary on the fifteenth *sarga* of the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi, who lived for some time at his court. In case this king is, as is very probable, identical with his namesake mentioned in the *Kavirājamārga* of about 850 as an early Kannaḍa prose writer, his many-sided scholarship is really worthy of admiration. Śrīvikrama was of a clear understanding resulting from the study of the fourteen branches of learning; he was specially skilled among those who expound and practise the science of politics in all its branches. Bhūvikrama was well versed in the meaning of all sciences. Śrīpurusha wrote a work on elephants, called *Gajaśāstra*. His son, Śivamāra, was able to compose poetry in three languages, probably Sanskrit, Kannada and Prākṛit, and was likewise a dramatist and a grammarian. He was also the author of a work on elephants, called *Gajāshtaka* which, it is said, was sung even by women while pounding grain. Ereyappa, who had the distinctive title Mahēndrāntaka, was the patron of the Kannada poet Guṇavarma I, the author of the *Śūdraka*, the *Harivamśa* and other works. He is described as a Bharata in the arts of singing, instrumental music and dancing, and as an authority to great grammarians. Būtuga II was a touchstone to poets. He cleft open the frontal globes of the lordly elephants the arrogant false disputants of the *ēkānta-mata* or Buddhism with the thunderbolts the arguments based on the scriptures. Maruḷa's poetry was lovingly praised by great poets. By his great learning Mārasimha was like a prodigy in the midst of the learned; he was an expert in grammar, logic, philosophy and literature, and of a remarkable intellect matured by an investigation of all the Itihāsas and Purāṇas. Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya, the minister

of Rāchamalla, wrote in 978 the *Trishashtilakshana-mahāpurāṇa*, popularly known as *Chāmundarāya-purāna*, giving an account of the twenty-four Jinas or Tīrthankaras.* Nāgavarma I, who was patronized by Rāchamalla's younger brother, Rakkasa-Ganga, was the author of the *Chhandōmbudhi*, the earliest Kannaḍa work on prosody, and a Kannaḍa metrical version of Bāṇa's *Kādambari.*

The following account of the education of a Ganga prince in the tenth century is worthy of notice:—

This intelligent prince, Satyavākya Narasimha-Dēva, learnt in his early age the science of politics, riding on elephants and horses, play at ball, wielding the bow and sword, the drama, grammar, medicine, poetry, mathematics, Bharata-śāstra, Itihāsas and Purānas, dancing, singing and instrumental music.

The Ganga kings were not only generally learned, but were also brave in war They came into collision with several dynasties of kings such as the Kadambas, the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūtas, the Pallavas, the Chōḷas, the Bāṇas and the Nolambas, and passed through various vicissitudes of fortune. The first king, Konguṇivarma or Mādhava I is said to have subdued the Bāṇas. Durvinīta gained victories at the battles of Andari, Ālattūr, Poruḷare and Pernagara. The Kadamba king Mṛigēśavarma, of the fifth century, claims to have overthrown the Gangas.* The Chālukya Kīrtivarma, of the sixth century, is said to have inflicted damage on them.† In about 608, the Ganga kings are said to have attended on Pulakēśi,‡ and in 694 to have been brought into subjection by Vinayāditya $. Śrīpurusha defeated the Pallavas in a battle at Vilarde. He slew Kāḍuvetti of Kānchi and took away from him the title of Permānaḍi, which is always afterwards assumed by the Gangas. The Rāshtrakūta king Dhruva, who attacked Gangavāḍi during Śrīpurusha's reign, imprisoned his son Śivamāra and appointed his own son Kamba as the viceroy of Gangavāḍi. Śivamāra suffered many calamities during his reign. He was twice consigned to prison by the Rāshtrakūtas and reduced to the galling position of a feudatory. To regain independence appears to have been the one object next to his heart and in his persistent attempt to realize it he nobly sacrificed himself in a battle with Gōvinda III at Kāgimogeyūr in the Tumkūr District. His son Pṛithivīpati defeated the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa at Śrīpurambiyam. Rājamalla I regained the Ganga kingdom which had been lost during his uncle Śivamāra's reign. He is said to have rescued his country from the Rāshṭrakūtas, who had held it too long, as Vishṇu in the

* *Ind. Ant*, VI, 24

† *Ibid* XIX, 17.

‡ *Epi. Ind.*, VI, 10

$ *Epi Car.*, XI, Dāvangere 66.

form of a Boar rescued the earth from the infernal regions. His son Nītimārga gained a victory over the Vallabha (Rāshtrakūta) army at Rājarāmaḍu. Būtuga II slew the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya as stated in Maṇḍyā 41*. The scholars who had dealt with this inscription, not knowing the correct meaning of the expression *bisugeye kalanāge*, had accused Būtuga of treachery in connection with the killing of the Chōḷa Rājāditya. When I explained the expression in J. R. A. S. for 1909, the late Dr. Fleet wrote thus in the same Journal (p. 445):—"It is most satisfactory that it should be so conclusively shown that Būtuga was not guilty of any unfair behaviour in slaying the Chōḷa king." Mārasimha fought with the Chālukya prince Rājāditya for the possession of the Uchchangi fort and brought the Nolamba family to an end. The exploits of a few more kings are mentioned further on. The Chōḷa king Rājarāja took possession of the east of Mysore in 997, and his son Rājēndra-Chōḷa captured Talkāḍ in about 1004 and brought the Ganga power to an end.

The Gangas had matrimonial alliances with the Kadambas, the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūtas, the Noḷambas and the rulers of Punnāḍ. Their copper grants generally begin with an invocation of Padmanābha or Vishṇu. The only exceptions that have come to notice are the Tagare plates† which invoke Śankara and the Narasimharājapura plates‡ which invoke Jina.

The unusual names for kings, Avinīta and Durvinīta, which mean ill-behaved or wicked, are explained in the abovementioned Tagare plates by prefixing the words *ahita* and *ari-narapa* to them, thus giving us to understand that the kings were so only to their enemies. They are explained in the Narasimharājapura plates, also mentioned above, by stating that the kings were so only in respect of *avinīta* or ill-behaved kings and *durvinīta* or the wicked Kaḷi

I shall now proceed to notice briefly an important set of Ganga copper plates recently discovered by me and to make a few observations on the pedigree and chronology of the Gangas, about which there has been a wide difference of opinion. The plates register a grant in A.D. 963 by the Ganga king Mārasimha to a Jaina scholar named Munjārya, who had the title Vādighanghalabhatta. They give a full account of the Ganga dynasty and contain the longest Ganga inscription that has yet been discovered.

The plates of Mārasimha are seven in number, each measuring 12″ by 6¾″. The first and last plates are engraved on the inner side only. The writing is in beautiful Hala-Kannaḍa characters. The plates are strung on a circular ring which is 5″ in diameter and ½″ thick, and has its ends secured in the base of a square seal measuring 3½″ by 3¾″. The seal, which is beautifully

* *Epi. Car*, III

† *Mysore Arch Report* for 1918.

‡ *Ibid* for 1920

executed, is divided transversely into two unequal compartments, the upper enclosing about three-fourths of the space and the lower about one-fourth. The upper compartment has in the middle a fine elephant in relief standing to the proper right, surmounted by a parasol flanked by *chauris*, with the sun and the crescent at the upper corners. Behind the elephant is a lamp-stand with what looks like a *chauri* above it, and in front a vase surmounted by a dagger, and a lamp-stand. The lower compartment bears in one horizontal line the legend *Śrī-Mārasingha-Dēvam* in Hala-Kannaḍa characters. A portion of the right hand lower corner of the first plate is broken off, and as the result of this a few letters at the ends of lines 1-6 are missing, but these can to some extent be filled up from the corresponding portions of other grants of the dynasty. The plates were in the possession of Kempananjayya, son of Siddamallappa, a resident of Āldūr, Chāmarājanagar Taluk, Mysore District, and are said to have been unearthed by him about six years ago while ploughing his land in Kūḍlūr near Ḍanāyakanpura in Tirumukūḍlu Narsīpur Taluk of the same District.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit with the exception of the portion (lines 178-189) giving the income and boundaries of the village granted, which is in old Kannaḍa. The Sanskrit portion, mostly in prose, also contains a number of verses here and there besides the five imprecatory verses coming at the close. Though partly similar in contents to the Keregōḍi-Rangāpura plates* of Rājamalla II, the Narsāpur plates † of the same king, the Gattavādi plates ‡ of Ereyappa, and the Sūḍi plates § of Būtuga, the inscription is unique in several respects:—

(1) It is artistically executed as regards both writing and composition, and may be looked upon as a Sanskrit *Champu* work of considerable literary merit. (2) It is the longest Ganga grant yet discovered, consisting, as it does, of 200 pretty long lines of matter. (3) It is the only Ganga grant that I have seen with an ornamental *square* seal and with a label giving the name of the royal donor. (4) It appears to be the first copper plate inscription yet discovered of the Ganga king Mārasimha. (5) Being one of the latest records of the dynasty, it gives a complete genealogy and some items of information, especially about the later kings, not found in other published grants. Considering the quantity of matter contained in it, the inscription is remarkably free from orthographical and other errors. I think it is a genuine record of the period cited in it.

Before proceeding to remark on the new items of information furnished

---

* *Mysore Arch Report* for 1919

† *Epi Car.*, X, Kōlār 90

‡ *Ibid*, XII, Supplement, Nanjangūd, 269

§ *Epi. Ind*, III, 158.

by the grant, it is desirable to exhibit the genealogy of the Gangas as given in it, as it may be looked upon as almost complete, there having been only two or three steps more before the dynasty was subverted by the Chōḷas.

GANGA GENEALOGY ACCORDING TO THE PLATES OF MĀRASIMHA.

Konguṇivarma-dharma-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhattāraka
1 Mādhava-mahādhirāja I
Jayabhūshaṇa
|
2 Mādhava-mahādhirāja II
|
3 Harivarma-mahādhirāja
|
4 Vishnugōpa-mahārājādhirāja
|
5 Mādhava-mahādhirāja III
|
Konguṇivarma-dharma-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara (or briefly K. D. P.)
6 Avinīta
|
7 Durvinīta
|
8 Mushkara
|
9 Śrīvikrama

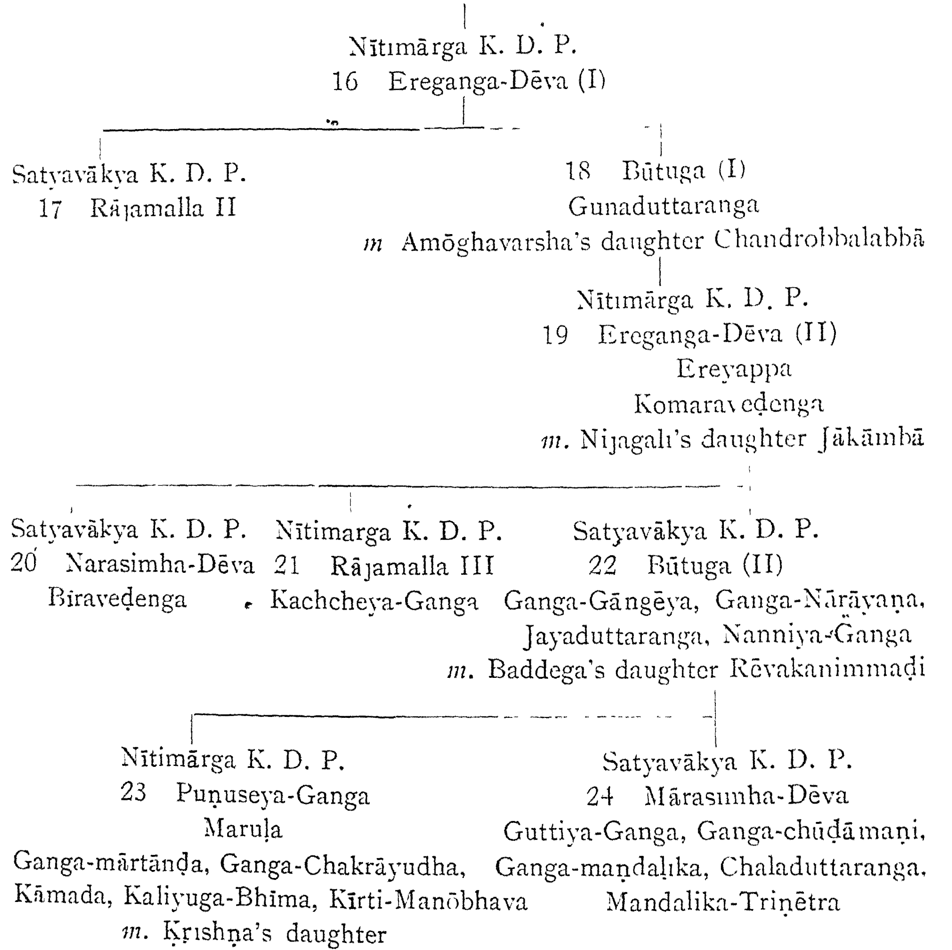
10 Bhūvikrama
Śrīvallabha

Konguṇivarma-mahārājādhirāja
11 Nava-Kāma
Śivamāra I
Sishta-priya
|
A son
|
K. D. P.
12 Śrīpurusha
Bhīmakōpa, Lōkadhūrta, Rājakēsari

K. D. P.
13 Śivamāra-Dēva II
Saigotta

14 Vijayāditya

Satyavākya K. D. P.
15 Rāchamalla I



This genealogy is mostly identical with that given in several of the published grants. The points, however, in which it differs from that given in some of them may be noted here. Unlike the present grant, the Sūḍı plates of Būtuga state that 11 was the son of 10, that 12 was the son of 11, and that 21 and 22 were the sons of 20. The Vaḷḷimalai rock inscription * of Rāja-malla I also makes 12 the son of 11. The mention of 12 as the son of 9 in the Narasimharājapura plates,† unlike the majority of the published grants, has to be looked upon as a mistake. Like the present grant, the stone inscription EC, VIII, Nagar 35, of 1077, mentions 20, 21 and 22 as brothers. It is worthy of note that from 15 onwards to the end, omitting 18, the titles

* *Epi. Ind.*, IV, 141
† *M. A. R.* for 1920.

Satyavākya and Nītimārga are regularly applied to alternate kings. According to this grant Erevappa (19) was a Nītimārga, as also his second son Rājamalla (21).

As stated before, the plates of Mārasimha are partly similar in contents to the Keregōḍi-Rangāpura, the Narsāpur, the Gattavāḍi and the Sūḍi plates. Some of the new facts given in them may now be noticed together with some peculiarities not observed in other grants. The first king is called Mādhava. The same is the case in a nearly contemporaneous stone inscription at Lakshmēśvar,* of 968, and in some later records in the Shimoga District, Nagar 35, of 1077, and Shimoga 4, of 1122, which, however, make Mādhava, the younger brother of Daḍiga to whom a few steps in the pedigree are prefixed. It is also stated in the present record that Mādhava obtained greatness by following the Jaina doctrine, that he severed the stone pillar by favour of the Jaina teacher Simhanandi and that his head was adorned with a frontlet made of *Karnikāra* flowers. Shimoga 4 likewise states that Simhanandi presented him with a sword, procured for him a kingdom, and placed on his head a coronet of *Karnikāra* flowers. There are also other inscriptions and literary works which refer to Simhanandi as the founder of the Ganga kingdom. The Udayēndiram grant of Hastimalla, of about 920, states that the Ganga lineage owed its greatness to Simhanandi. Nagar 35 and 36, of 1077, say that he made the Ganga kingdom, and Śravaṇa Belgoḷa 397, of 1178, tells us that he was the creator of the Ganga kingdom. Śravaṇa Belgola 67, of 1129, refers to the same fact thus:—"The sharp sword of meditation on the venerable Arhat, which cuts asunder the row of stone pillars the hostile army of the *ghāti* sins, † was vouchsafed by Simhanandi-muni to his disciple (Konguṇivarma) also. Otherwise, how was the solid stone pillar, which barred the road to the entry of the goddess of sovereignty, capable of being cut asunder by him with his sword?" In an old commentary on the Jaina work *Gommatasāra*, it is stated that the Ganga family prospered by the blessing of this sage.

The present grant seems to apply the title Jayabhūshana to Mādhava. It does not say that Vishnugōpa was a devotee of Nārāyana, nor does it say that Mādhava, his son, was a worshipper of Tryambaka. Besides Bhīmakōpa, two other titles, Lōkadhūrta and Rājakēsari, are applied to Śrīpurusha. As

* *I A*, VII, 107

† According to the Jainas, *karma* is primarily of two kinds—*ghāti* (destructive) and *aghāti* (non-destructive), each being again sub-divided into four classes The *ghāti karmas* are (1) *Jñānāvaranīya* (knowledge-obscuring), (2) *darsanāvaranīya* (faith-obscuring), (3) *antarāya* (progress-obstructing), and (4) *mōhanīya* (deluding), while the *aghāti karmas* are (1) *āyuh* (determining the duration of life), (2) *nāma* (determining the character of the individual), (3) *gōtra* (determining the family), and (4) *vēdanīya* (giving pleasure or pain). These *karmas* are looked upon as sins

in the Gattavādi plates, it is stated of Vijayāditya that he, like Bharata, refrained from enjoying the kingdom of his elder brother Śivamāra while he was in prison, of Rājamalla II that he distinguished himself in the battle of Sāmiya; and of Būtuga I that he defeated Mahēndra at Biriyūr, Sūrūr and Sāmiya and captured elephants after routing the Kongas who opposed him. With regard to the capture of elephants by Būtuga I, it is interesting to note the statement that the capture was effected according to the ancient method mentioned in *Panchavāni*, which is probably a work on elephants. Ereyappa had the title Komaravedenga, married Jākāmbā, the daughter of king Nijagali of the Chālukya family, and captured the impregnable fortresses of Sūrūr, Nādugāṇi, Midige, Sūḷiśailēndra, Tippēru and Penjaru. He had three sons: Satyavākya Narasimha-Dēva with the title Bīravedenga, Nītimārga Rājamalla (III) and Satyavākya Būtuga II. Rājamalla defeated the Nolamba king Aṇṇiga in the battle of Kottamangala. As regards Būtuga II, it is stated that he went to king Baddega in the Ḍāhala country and married his daughter at Tripuri; that on the death of Baddega he rescued the throne from Lallēya and gave it to king Krishṇa, that he killed Kakka-Rāja, lord of Achalapura, and defeated Dantivarma *alias* Bijja of Banavāsi, Ajavarma, the Śāntara king, Dāmari, lord of Nulugugiri, and Nāgavarma; that he conquered king Rājāditya, drove out Emaganduga from his country, burnt the fortresses of Tanjāpuri and Nālkēlō, and gave lordly elephants, horses and great wealth to Krishṇa; and that he confuted the arrogant disputants of the *ēkānta-mata* (Buddhism). Many of these details about Būtuga are also given in the Sūdi plates which, I venture to think, have been declared spurious on very weak grounds. In them though Achalapura is mentioned as Alachapura, probably by a slip of the engraver, Nālkēlō of the present grant is correctly given as Nālkōte. The capture of Tanjāpuri is also mentioned in the Karhāḍ plates * of Kṛishṇa III. Būtuga's consort Rēvakanimmaḍi had the title Chāgavedangi. Maruḷa's first name was Puṇuseya-Ganga and his titles were Gangamārtāṇda, Ganga-Chakrāyudha, Kāmada, Kaliyuga-Bhīma and Kírti-Manōbhava. He married Kṛishṇa's daughter and obtained from him an umbrella called Madanāvatāra which had never been obtained by any other king. In the Gattavādi plates and in Kannaḍa literature † the title Kāmada is applied to Ereyappa, the grandfather of Marula. From the Hebbāl inscription ‡ of Mārasimha, we may infer that the name of Kṛishṇa's daughter was Bijabbe. The fact of Maruḷa obtaining the umbrella Madanāvatāra from Krishna is also mentioned in Nagar 35. With regard to Mārasimha, it is stated that king Krishṇa, when setting out

* *E I*, IV, 280

† See my Introduction to Nāgavarma's *Kāvyāvalōkanam*, p 43

‡ *E I*, IV, 350

on an expedition to the north to conquer Aśvapati, himself performed the ceremony of crowning him as the ruler of Gangapāḍi.

It is interesting to note that the donee was an eminent scholar of varied learning honoured by several kings. He was an eminent poet, knew the essence of the science of grammar, was well versed in the three schools of logic and in the Lōkāyata Sānkhya, Vēdānta and Bauddha systems of philosophy, and acquired fame as Vādighanghaḷa in Jainism. He was the teacher of Būtuga, an instructor in politics in Vallabha-Rāja's capital, a councillor of Kṛishna III and the *śruta-guru* or religious preceptor of Mārasimha. He was a Jaina, though his grandfather appears to have been an orthodox Brāhman. His father, though a Brāhman, was also a great warrior causing joy to the king of the Varāta country by his valour. The donee was apparently the author of some grammatical work, as he is stated to have introduced a system of grammar free from doubt and controversy.

A few remarks may now be made about the Gangas and their chronology in the light of some of the discoveries recently made. Oriental scholars are aware of the controversy between the late Dr. Fleet and Mr. Rice with regard to the genuineness of the numerous Ganga grants published in the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Carnatica*. Dr. Fleet pronounced the whole series spurious, some of them at any rate on very weak grounds, and other scholars have simply followed suit. He also stated that the genealogy given in the grants was fictitious. Fortunately for the Gangas, the Penukonḍa plates came to light and Dr. Fleet admitted their genuineness and said "My conclusions about it (the grant) are that we have here at last a genuine early Ganga record." * This grant confirms with a slight difference in one detail the first three steps of the pedigree given in the other grants. My discovery of the date 437 for the accession of the Pallava king Simhavarma, † probably the second of that name, has, along with the palæographical evidence, led Dr. Fleet to assign the date 475 to the Penukonda plates. The Vallimalai rock inscription of Rājamalla I confirms with the exception of one detail four steps from Śivamāra I, as given in the other grants. The Manne plates ‡ discovered by me give 817 as the date of accession of Rājamalla I. On palæographical grounds also the Vallimalai inscription may be assigned to about the same period. A stone inscription of Śrīvikrama, father of Śivamāra I, has also been discovered § I have also discovered several genuine Ganga grants and published them with facsimiles in my Reports from 1910 onwards.

* *J R A S* for 1915, 472

† *M A R* for 1909 and 1910

‡ *Ibid.* for 1910

§ *Ibid* for 1917, 38

About two of them, namely, the Gummareḍḍipura plates[1] of Durvinīta and the Meḷekōte plates[2] of Mādhava, Dr. Fleet wrote to me thus in 1913: "It (the Gummareḍḍipura grant) may quite possibly establish the existence of a Ganga king named Durvinīta; and even if it should recite and establish all the early pedigree which I regard as fictitious, it would not thereby establish the authenticity of certain records, asserting that pedigree, which are palpably spurious. On the side of its being a genuine early record, there are, of course, the points which you have stated in your Report. But there are other points in it, and about it, on the other side too. The question is a complex one, requiring much thought. For palæographic reasons, it was certainly not written before about A.D. 650; that is, at least a century later than the time to which you refer it. A similar remark applies to the Melekōte plates of Mādhava which you refer to about A D. 400." It will thus be seen that he was almost inclined to admit the genuineness of these grants, though he differed from me about their period. This was, it must be remembered, before the discovery of the Penukoṇḍa plates. Since his lamented death, I have discovered these genuine Ganga grants—the Beṇḍigānhalli plates[3] of Vijaya-Kṛishnavarma, the Uttanūr plates[4] of Durvinīta, the Tagare plates[5] of Polavīra, the Keregōdi-Rangāpura plates[6] of Rājamalla II, the Narasimharājapura plates[7] of Śrīpurusha, and the Kūdlūr plates[8] of Mārasimha. If Dr. Fleet had lived to see these grants also, he would certainly have changed his opinion about the pedigree cited in the Ganga grants being fictitious. In fact, there were only a few intermediate steps from Mādhava (III) to Śrīvikrama that had to be admitted, those above and below these having already been confirmed by admittedly genuine records on copper and stone. The late Dr. Hoernle, in a letter dated 20th December 1912, wrote thus about the Gummareḍḍipura record of Durvinīta: "I must say that the appearance of the characters as seen on your facsimile *does* suggest genuineness." Another scholar in England wrote thus about the Uttanūr plates of Durvinīta: "The plates of Durvinīta are, no doubt, most important. They continue the demonstration of the genuineness of the early Ganga inscriptions, being in full agreement with those previously known I believe that the work of the Mysore Archæological Department in connection with this dynasty will always be remembered to its credit." The Islāmpur plates[9] of Vijayāditya, which are unobjectionable on palæographic grounds, have been pronounced spurious by Professors Sten Konow and Pathak on account of some errors of orthography.

1 *M A. R* for 1912
2 *Ibid.* for 1910
3 *Ibid.* for 1915
4. *Ibid* for 1916 and 1917
5. *Ibid.* for 1918
6 *Ibid.* for 1919
7 *Ibid.* for 1920
8 *Ibid.* for 1921.
9 *E I*, XII, 48

Several of the Rāshtrakūta and other grants which are accepted as genuine are full of such errors.

It must not be understood from the conclusion of the previous paragraph that I consider every one of the published Ganga grants to be genuine. Far from it. To be admitted as genuine, they have to stand certain well-known essential tests, and if they miserably fail, then we are at liberty to stamp them as spurious. Such appear to be the grants of Harivarma, such as the Tanjore plates *, of 248, the Tagadūr plates,† of 267, and the Āldūr plates.‡ A great difficulty with the Ganga grants, especially the earlier ones, is that they are either wrongly dated, such as the grants of Harivarma, or not dated at all. The only exception is the Merkāra grant,§ of 466, which, on palæographic and other grounds, Dr. Fleet considered to be spurious. The specific dates assigned by Mr. Rice to Avinīta and Durvinīta are based on the date of the Merkāra grant and on his supposition that the word *Vijaya* in the Mallōhalli grant,¶ which really means 'victorious', stands for the cyclic year of that name. These dates are therefore not tenable. As stated in my Report for 1920 (p. 48), the work *Avantisundarīkathā*, discovered by the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, gives a clue to the period of Durvinīta. In the introductory chapter, it says that Bhāravi stayed for some time at the court of Durvinita, and that he was a contemporary of Vishṇuvardhana, evidently the first Eastern Chālukya king, and of Simhavishnu, the Pallava king of Kānchi. Briefly, the account given of Bhāravi runs thus:—In the city of Kānchi in the south of India ruled a king of the Pallavas, named Simhavishṇu, who was a great patron of learning. One day a stranger appeared before him and recited a Sanskrit verse in praise of the Narasimha incarnation of Vishṇu. On hearing the lofty sentiments expressed in the verse, the king enquired of the stranger who the author of the verse was. He replied thus:—" In the north-west there is a town named Ānandapura, the crest-jewel of Ārya-dēśa, from which a family of Brāhmans of the Kauśika-gōtra migrated and settled at Achalapura. Nārāyaṇasvāmi, a member of this family, had a son named Dāmōdara, who became a great scholar and was known as Bhāravi. He became a friend of king Vishnuvardhana. On one occasion, he accompanied the king on a hunting expedition and while in the forest had to eat animal flesh. To expiate this sin he set out on a pilgrimage and finally settled in the court of Durvinīta. He is the author of this verse." On hearing this account the king, desirous of seeing the poet, invited him to his court. The

* *I. A.*, VIII, 212

† *E. C.*, III, Nanjangūd, 122

‡ *M. A. R.* for 1921

§ *Coorg Inscriptions*, No. 1

¶ *E. C.*, IX, Dodda-Ballāpur, 67 and 68

poet caused great joy to the king by reciting his poems. The king gave him a respectable dwelling to live in and supplied all his wants.

This extract establishes the contemporaneity of the Pallava king Simhavishṇu, the Ganga king Durvinīta and the Eastern Chālukya king Vishṇuvardhana (I). This connection of Durvinīta with Bhāravi affords a clear explanation of the statement in most of the grants that Durvinīta was the author of a commentary on the fifteenth *sarga* of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*. The period of Durvinīta according to the newly discovered work will thus be the first half of the seventh century. And this is exactly the period assigned to the Gummareḍḍipura plates of Durvinīta by Dr. Fleet on palæographic grounds. Durvinīta had a long reign of more than forty years, his period may be taken to be 605 to 650. Taking this as the basis, we have to adjust the periods of the earlier kings. There will be no difficulty in this if we take Avinīta to be the sister's son of the Kadamba king Krishṇavarma II. With regard to the later kings, my discovery of the date 788 in a stone inscription* of Śrīpurusha will serve as a landmark. According to some of his published grants, 788 would be the sixty-second year of Śrīpurusha's reign. This need not be considered an impossible length for a reign, for Amōghavarsha I had one as long. Further, it is almost certain that his father did not reign. In these circumstances the chronology suggested by Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil† appears to be reasonable and may be provisionally adopted. His separation of the Gangas into two dynasties, namely, the Paruvi and the Talkāḍ, is rather ingenious. Collateral branches of the Ganga dynasty are referred to in some records; *e.g.*, the Chikbaḷḷāpur plates‡ mention a branch, a member of which named Jayatēja was ruling in 810, and the Narasimharājapura plates § of Śrīpurusha mention a chief of the name of Nāgavarma who belonged to the Pasinḍi-Ganga family. But the Paruvi dynasty of the Gangas does not seem to be alluded to as such in any published record. The suggestion is, however, useful as it removes some difficulties in the allocation of some of the earlier kings.

---

* *M A R.* for 1918.

† *Ancient History of the Deccan*, 107.

‡ *M. A R.* for 1914.

§ *Ibid.* for 1920.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS.

No. II.—On an Ætiological Myth about the Spotted Dove.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A.

IN trying to explain the origin of things, to account for the kind of life which appeared to primitive man to be inherent in all objects around him, he framed the most fantastic ideas which he entertained about the same into the shape of myths or fanciful stories.

Then again, ætiological myths are stories told to explain the origin not only of natural phenomena, beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, trees, plants and the like, but also of the coloration, and of the markings on the skins and plumage of beasts and birds, as also of the natural peculiarities of trees and plants. As for instance, there are ætiological myths or stories which explain how the bear came to have a shaggy tail, why the robin's breast is red, why the cross-bill has got a twisted bill, why the crow is coal-black in colour, why the Chimraj or large-tailed drongo has got two long tail-feathers, why the rat's tail is round and hairless, and how the aspen-tree came into possession of leaves that quiver.

As an example of an ætiological myth accounting for the coloration of birds, I shall give below the following Malay folk-tale, which explains how the crow became coal-black.

In the time of King Solomon, the argus pheasant (*Argus giganteus*) and the crow (*Corvus splendeus*) were great friends. The former was then dowdily dressed; while the latter was reputed to be a skilful painter. One day, addressing his friend the crow, the argus pheasant said: "Friend! show your skill in painting by decorating my plumage."

The crow replied, "O argus! I am willing to do so, provided you do the same to me."

The argus pheasant having agreed to this proposal, the crow painted the former so daintily that the argus pheasant became, as it is to the present day, one of the most beautiful-plumaged birds in the world. When it came to the turn of the argus pheasant to fulfil his own part of the compact, he backed out of it, saying that, as the day of judgment was too near at hand, he was unable to decorate the crow.

Thereupon a fierce quarrel ensued over this matter between the two birds. As the result of this, the argus pheasant upset a bottle of ink upon the

crow's body which, thereupon, became coal-black. It is for this reason that the crows are jet-black even to the present day and are great enemies of the argus pheasant.*

The Garos of the Assam Hill Tracts narrate the following myth to explain how the Chimraj or large-tailed drongo (*Dissemurus paradiseus*) came to have two long lateral tail-feathers. and why the rat's tail is round and hairless:—

Once upon a time, the Chimraj and the rat were in the habit of combing each other's hair and plumage. The rat performed his task so diligently that, owing to this reason, the Chimraj possesses, even up to the present day, two beautiful and long lateral tail-feathers. But, after his own tail had been combed so well by the rat, the Chimraj set to work, but performed his task so lazily that he simply rolled the rat's tail between his hands and rubbed it. Owing to the Chimraj's perfunctory work, the rat's tail is, to this day, round and hairless. †

Curiously enough, many of these myths have gathered round birds which, by reason of their possessing the powers of flying and singing, play a conspicuous part in folklore, as messengers between heaven and earth—as fire-bringers, soul-bringers and baby-bringers. As for instance, the Andamanese have a myth in which Biliku is stated to have been the first human being and to have created the earth and the first Andamanese. Another of their myths goes on to say how, one day, Biliku, being very angry, commenced to cast fire-brands all round This fire had been made from the wood of the sacred Purum-tree. One of these fire-brands got stuck in the tree and became transformed into the Sun. Now the ancestors of the Andamanese, who lived on the other side of the Strait, did not possess any fire. But, one day, while Biliku was sleeping, the bird kingfisher stealthily went up thither, stole fire from her, and brought it to them. When she woke up, she was greatly offended on finding that fire had been stolen from her and, in order to give vent to her anger, threw a fire-brand (or, as some say, a pearl-shell knife) at the kingfisher and went up to reside in the sky (or, to some place towards the north-east).

I shall now pass on to the consideration of the more immediate subject of this paper.

One of the most common birds of the Indian countryside is the Spotted Dove (*Turtur suratensis*). It is found throughout the whole of India and Ceylon and is abundantly met with in well-wooded tracts of country. It is a well-known and familiar bird and frequently visits gardens surrounding houses and utters a trisyllabic call-note.

---

* *Malay Magic*. By W W Skeat London Macmillan & Co , Ltd 1900 Pages 130-131.
† *The Garos* By Major A. Playfair. London David Nutt. 1909 Page 136

The Bengali names of this bird are (1) *Chaval Ghughu*; and (2) *Telia* (? *Tiliyā*) *Ghughu* (that is to say, "*the dove which bears marks of sesame on its body*").

Its names in Hindi are (1) *Chitroka*; (2) *Fakhta*; (3) *Perki*; (4) *Chitla*, (5) *Kangskiri*; and (6) *Panduk*.

Now, the Bengali appellation of this bird, namely, *Tiliyā Ghughu* or "*the dove which bears marks of sesame on its body*") clearly alludes to the following ætiological myth which accounts for the origin of this most familiar bird of the Indian gardens and wood lands:—

Once upon a time, there lived a householder, in whose family there was a girl named Chitu. On one occasion, the *materfamilias* of this household, who was Chitu's maternal grandmother, gave Chitu one *poā* of sesame and told her to pick out therefrom the bad seeds and keep them separate.

In obedience to her grandmother's request, the girl separated off the bad sesame and made over the good seeds to her granny.

Having obtained the good sesame, the grandmother weighed it and found that it weighed only half a *poā* Thereupon she asked Chitu: "Chitu! what has become of the remainder of the sesame?"

Chitu replied: "Granny! wherefrom shall I get more sesame?"

Hearing this tart reply, the grandmother flew into a towering rage and dealt her grand-daughter a smart slap on her cheek. Having been thus severely assaulted, Chitu died then and there.

Immediately afterwards, Chitu's maternal grandmother came across the bad sesame which had been picked out by the girl and kept separate in another place. Having got it, she weighed the good and bad sesame together and found, to her intense consternation and grief, that both the kinds of grain made up exactly the quantity given by her to Chitu, namely, one *poā*. Thereupon she cried out:—

"*Uṭh re Chitu pur pur.*"

"*O Chitu! get up.* (*I have, now, got*) *the full quantity* (*of sesame*)."

Saying these words, she sprinkled the whole quantity of sesame upon her own body. As soon as she had done this, Chitu's maternal grandmother became metamorphosed into a spotted dove, and, uttering the aforementioned words over again, flew away.

It is said that if, at noon-time especially, this bird's trisyllabic call-note is heard, it will be found to bear a striking similarity to the undermentioned words uttered by Chitu's maternal grandmother at the time of her metamorphosis:—

"*Uṭh re Chitu pur pur.*"

"O Chitu! get up. (I have, now, got) the full quantity (of sesame)."*

In the preceding ætiological folktale, the grandmother who, by a mistake, had slain her grand-daughter Chitu, is punished by being transformed into a spotted dove.

But, in an analogous ætiological myth which is current among the Garos of the Assam Hill Tracts, it is the two persecuted young girls who are metamorphosed into two doves, as will appear from the following brief sketch of this story.—

A wealthy Garo had four daughters of whom the two elder ones were named Awil and Singwil, while the names of the two younger daughters were Nose and Dimise. Their maternal grandmother, who used to live at her son-in-law's place, did not at all love her grand-daughters and, therefore, often made false accusations against them to their mother. On hearing of these complaints, the latter used to beat her daughters mercilessly.

One day, on the false accusation of the grandmother, Awil and Singwil were cooped up by their mother in a pig-sty. As they had become disgusted with the cruel persecution of their maternal grandmother, and as they did not want to put up, any longer, with the merciless chastisements which they used to receive at the hands of their mother who did not care, in the least, to ascertain whether or not the old woman's accusations were false, they transformed themselves into two doves and flew to their mother who was working, at that time, in the fields. They, subsequently, flew to their father who had gone to the market. Having flown into the presence of their parents, they cooed and informed the latter that, owing to the cruel wrongs that had been done to them on their grandmother's false accusations, they had changed themselves into doves.

Hearing their words, the parents wept and implored them most earnestly to resume their human shapes again. But the doves did not pay any heed to their parents' tears and entreaties and, picking up two necklaces which their parents had hung up for them, flew far, far away.†

In the preceding Garo ætiological myth, the persecuted grand-daughters transform themselves into doves. But, in a Malay ætiological bird-myth which bears some similarity to the Garo story, a girl, who is, time after time, not allowed to accompany her parents to the latter's scene of work in the forest, gets disgusted with her parents for their repeated refusal to gratify her wishes, changes herself into a kind of ground-pigeon which is called *Tekukur* by the Malays, as will be evidenced by the following *resume* of this Malay folktale:—

* *Vide* the Bengali Monthly Magazine *Pravāsī* (published from Calcutta) for Pausha 1329 B.S. (December 1922—January 1923). Page 399.

† *The Garos*. By Major A. Playfair. London: David Nutt. 1909. Pages 119-123.

Once upon a time, a maiden lived in the forest with her parents and a little sister. When she grew up to girlhood, she became very much desirous of accompanying her father to the forest where he was engaged in clearing a patch of jungle for a rice plantation. But her parents, however, put her off several times on various excuses. This displeased her so much that, one day, taking off her bracelets and ear-rings and keeping them behind the door, and placing her little sister in a swinging cot, she metamorphosed herself into a ground-pigeon called the *Tekukur* and flew away to the clearing. On her arrival there, she informed her mother of the place where she had kept the bracelets and ear-rings. Hearing these words, her mother was astonished and, returning home, found to her consternation and sorrow that her daughter had really disappeared from the house. When she returned to the bird in the forest-clearing, the latter repeated its former words which it concluded by cooing like a dove. Both the sorrow-stricken father and mother tried to capture the bird. But their efforts in this behalf proved unavailing, as the bird flew away farther and farther into the forest.

The Khasis inhabiting the Khasia Hills in Assam believe that, at one time, the doves could sing, and relate the undermentioned ætiological myth to explain why the doves ceased to sing and began to coo.

It is stated by the older Khasis that, once upon a time, there lived in the forest a very happy family of doves. The youngest member of this family was a beautiful female named Ka Paro. She was the darling of the family and was never allowed to visit the grain-fields for fear lest she might be snared by the fowlers or killed by wild beasts.

One day, Ka Paro managed to get on to the top of a neighbouring tree bearing bunches of luscious berries. To this tree also, a smart-looking young Jylleit (a species of forest-bird possessing gorgeous green and gold plumage) used to come to pick the berries. Having seen him, Ka Paro began to admire him. In course of time; these feelings of admiration ripened into those of love and intimacy. In order to please her lover, Ka Paro daily used to sing to him.

After some time, U Jylleit solicited permission from Ka Paro's parents to marry her. But, for the purpose of testing the constancy or fickleness of his love for their daughter, they deferred giving their consent till the ensuing winter when the supply of berries would come to an end.

As soon as the berries were over, U Jylleit flitted away to 'fresh fields and pastures new', and was never again seen by Ka Paro and her parents. From that time forth, Ka Paro ceased to sing and began to give vent to her sorrow in sad and plaintive cooings.

* *Malay Magic* By W. W. Skeat. London Macmillan & Co , Ltd 1900 Pages 126-127.

It is for this reason that the doves coo sadly even in moments of their greatest happiness.*

One thing, however, remains to be pointed out; and this is the fact that, in the Bengali ætiological myth, the grandmother, who had accidentally killed her grand-daughter Chitu, is, as the result of her excessive grief at this death, metamorphosed into a spotted dove. Now, this incident has an exact parallel in an Albanian ætiological myth about the origin of the cuckoo, which is to the following effect:—

Once upon a time, there were two brothers and a sister. The latter accidentally killed one of her brothers by stabbing him with her scissors. On account of this accidental death, she and her surviving brother mourned for such a length of time and with so much vehemence that both of them were metamorphosed into a pair of cuckoos. At night-time, the brother cries out to the deceased one: "*Gjou, gjou*". While, by day, the sister cries out to her dead brother: "*Kuku, kuku*" or "Where are you?"†

By comparing the preceding Bengali, Garo, Malay and Khasi ætiological myths we find:—

(*a*) That, in the Bengali folk-tale, the slayer of the girl is transformed into a spotted dove;

(*b*) That, in the Garo story, the persecuted and much-chastised girls are metamorphosed into doves;

(*c*) That, in the Malay myth, the girl, whose wishes have been repeatedly thwarted, is changed into a ground-pigeon;

(*d*) And that, in the Khasi folk-tale, the dove, who is forsaken by her lover, ceases to sing and begins to coo sadly.

---

* *Folk-tales of the Khasis* By Mrs. Rafy. London Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1920. Pages 104-105.

† *Vide* the article on *Bird-Mythology* in *The Calcutta Review* (No. CCXXV) for July 1901, pp. 72-73.

MITRADEVA OR MULAḌEVA.

An Episode in Sunga History.

By A. Rangasvami Sarasvati, Esq., B.A.

A small statement in the Harshacharita, wherein the author recounts the fates of some famous sovereigns who lost their lives by treachery or folly has afforded some information to the historians of India about the history of the Śunga period. This is about the fourth king in the list of the Śunga sovereigns given in the Purāṇas. This king, Vasumitra or Sumitra, who as a youthful prince guarded the sacrificial horse on behalf of his aged grandfather Pushyamitra and defeated the Yavanas, according to the story of Kālidāsa's historical drama Mālavikāgnimitra, is said to have been killed treacherously. He was surprised while in the midst of actors by one Mitradēva, who 'severed his head with a scimitar as a lotus is shorn off from its stalk'. Nothing more was known either about the sovereign Vasumitra or his assassin Mitradēva. Referring to this incident the author of the chapter on Śunga history in the *Cambridge History of India* says * "Who Mitradēva was, we can only conjecture: but it seems not improbable that he may have been the king's minister and a Kāṇva Brahman of the same family as Vasudēva who is said to have brought about the fall of the dynasty through the assassination of its last king Dēvabhūti. It may be that we have here an indication of the growth of that influence which so often in Indian history has transferred the real power in the State from the prince to the minister, from the Kshatriya to the Brahman."

The first scholars who brought the passage containing the above information to the notice of historians were Dr. Hall and Dr. Bhau Daji. In the preface to his Vāsavadattā Dr. Hall gives the substance of the passage thus:—"Agnimitra's son, Sumitra, was slain by Mūladēva." Dr. Bhau Daji from a more perfect copy of the same work, as he says, gives the following:—"Mitradēva having joined a company of actors cut off the head of Sumitra, the son of Agnimitra, who was very fond of dancing, just as a lotus should be sliced off.†" The commentary of the Harshacharita by Śankara which till recently has been the only commentary available has a note

* Cambridge History of India I, c 521.

† Literary Remains of Dr Bhau Daji, p. 193.

on the passage. The passage and Sankara's note thereon are given below :—

अतिदयितालास्यस्यचशैलूषमध्यमध्यास्यमूर्द्धानमामिलतयामृणालमिवालुनादाशिर्मित्रात्मजम्यसुमित्रस्य मित्रदेव: (मूलदेव:) ।

Śankara's commentary :—

सुमित्रोराजा मित्रव्यसनी स्त्रीजनपरिवारइव नटजनं विस्रब्ध: मित्रदेवेन नटत्वमाश्रित्य हत: ॥

The reading of the name of Vasumitra's assassin, Mūladēva, in Dr. Hall's Manuscript is not supported by Dr. Bhau Daji's Manuscript. But Śankara does not afford any more information about Vasumitra or his assassin Mitradēva. The Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library recently discovered a new commentary of the Harshacharita. The name of the commentator is Ranganātha. He has a short note on the passage. The note is सुमित्रस्यराज्ञ: मूलदेव: कर्णीसुत: ॥ Unfortunately the note is too short. It identifies Mūladēva with a Karṇīsuta, but does not afford any more information either about this Mūladēva or how he managed to kill Vasumitra. But the identification by the commentator of Mūladēva with Karnīsuta is very important.

There are several allusions to the name Karnīsuta of Mūladēva in literature. The Sanskrit lexicon Trikāṇḍaśēsha mentions the word in the following line :—

कर्णीसुतो मूलदेवोमूलभद्र: कलाङ्कुर: ॥

According to this lexicon, the names, Karnīsuta, Mūladēva, Mūlabhadra, and Kalāṅkura refer to the same individual. This note is very important and is supported by several passages in ancient Sanskrit literature. The editors of the Kāvyamālā in their introduction to the Kaḷāvilāsa of Kshēmēndra have the following :—

मूलदेवनामाकश्चिदतिप्राचीन. कलाशास्त्रप्रवर्तकआसीत् । अस्यैव कर्णासुत:कलाङ्कुर:, मूलभद्र: , एतान्यपिनामान्तराणिसान्ति। कादम्बरीकथायां विन्ध्याटवीवर्णने "कर्णीसुतकथेवसन्निहितविपुलाचला" इत्याद्यास्ति। कथासरित्सागरेचनवासीतितमेचतुर्विंशोत्तरशततमेचतरङ्गे मूलदेवकथावर्तते । तत्रचविक्रमादित्यसभायांमूलदेव-आर्मादित्यादिवर्णितमस्ति ॥

Mūladēva, it should be noted, is the individual who teaches his pupil Chandragupta in Kshēmēndra's Kaḷāvilāsa about the various ways in which the sons of the rich and the genteel are decoyed and ruined by 'Dhūrtas', rogues, about whose methods the work dilates very interestingly. Mūladēva was, according to the previous note, an ancient author of Kaḷāśāstra or 'the Amatory Science'. He is also known as Karnīsuta, Kaḷāṅkura, and Mūlabhadra. There are allusions to Mūladēva in the Kādambarī of Bāṇa and the

Kathāsaritsāgara. The reference to Mūladēva in Kādambarī is found in the description of the Vindhya forest at the very beginning of the work and is the following :—

कर्णीसुतकथेव सन्निहितविपुलाचला शशोपगताच ॥

The commentary of the Kādambarī by the Jain authors Bhānuchandra and his disciple Siddhachandra (*protegēs* of the Emperor Akbar) has the following note on the passage :—

कर्णीसुत: कश्चित्क्षत्रियविशेष: तस्यकथावृत्तान्तस्तद्वदिव । उभयोस्तुल्यतामाह सन्निहितेति । सन्निहितौसमीपवर्तिनौविपुलाचलौ विपुलाचलसंज्ञकौसखायौयस्यांसाकथा । शशस्तस्यमन्त्रिमुख्यस्तेनोपगतासहिताच । अतएव'कर्णीसुत:करटक:स्तेयशास्त्रप्रवर्तक: । ख्यातौतस्यसखायौद्वौविपुलाचलसंज्ञकौ । शशोमन्त्रिवरस्तस्य'इति बृहत्कथायाकथानिबध्दा । पक्षेसन्निहिता:समीपवर्तिनोविपुला:पृथुकाअचला:पर्वतायस्यासाकथा । शशोमृदुलोमकोलाध्रवृक्षोवा तेनोपगतासहिताच । शशोलोध्रनृभेदचपशौ इत्यनेकार्थ: ॥

This note gives the information that Karṇīsuta was a Kshatriya, and that he had two friends called Vipula and Achala and that he had for his minister a person named Śaśa. As an authority for this statement the commentary quotes a short passage from the Bṛihatkathā which says that Karṇīsuta, otherwise known as Karataka was the propagator of the science relating to theft (स्तेयशास्त्र), that he had two friends by name Vipula and Achala and had a minister called Śaśa. These verses are not found either in Sōmadēva's Kathāsaritsāgara or in Kshēmēndra's Bṛihatkathāmañjarī, although both these works narrate some stories about Mūladēva. Both the works profess to derive their subject matter from Guṇāḍhya's work which is said to have been written not in Sanskrit but in Paiśāchi. The early Western Gāṅga King Durvinīta is said in his inscriptions to have translated the Bṛihatkathā into Sanskrit. These lines might have been taken from Durvinīta's Bṛihatkathā or some other redaction of the same work which has not come down to us.

Again there is a reference to this same individual in Subandhu's Vāsavadattā. The following passage occurs in this work in the course of the description of the nuptials of the heroine Vāsavadattā :—

"मञ्चमारुरोह वरारोहावासवदत्ता । अत्रकेचित्कलाङ्कुराइवविजितनगरमण्डना:अपरेपाण्डवाइवसादिव्यचक्षुष:कृष्णागुरुपरिमिळिताश्च ॥

In this passage the term *Kaḷānkura* which is already shown as a synonym of Mūladēva occurs. The Sanskrit commentator of the Vāsavadattā has the following note about the passage :—

तत्रसमाजेकेचित्कलाङ्कुराइवकर्णीसुताइव । 'कर्णीसुत:करवढोमूलदेव:कलाङ्कुर:' । इतिकोश: । विजिता:कामशास्त्रकलाभिज्ञतया)निर्जिता:नगरमण्डना:वेश्या:यैस्त । 'रूपजीवातुगणिकावारस्त्रीपुरमण्डना'इतिहारावळी पक्षे) विजितनगरस्यमण्डनभूषणयैस्त सर्वोत्कृष्टभूषणादितिभाव:) ।

The allusion here is to Kalāṅkura who is said to have conquered dancing women. The commentator says that Kalāṅkura was another name of Mūladēva, who is said to have conquered dancing women by his knowledge of Kāmaśāstra. In support of his interpretation he quotes a line from some versified dictionary (Kōśa) wherein the name occurs. According to this the names Karṇīsuta, Karavata, Mūladēva and Kalāṅkura refer to the same individual. It is not known from which Sanskrit lexicon the above line is taken. It is different from the line already quoted from the Trikāṇḍaśēsha. It differs from the latter in that it does not give the name Mūlabhadra and gives instead the name Karavata. This word seems to have been mutilated in the verse from the Bṛihatkathā quoted by the commentator of the Kādambarī and the original form of the word seems to have been Kharapata. The latter form of the word is found in the drama Mattavilāsa of the Pallava sovereign Mahēndravarman In this drama when the Buddhist mendicant is charged by the Kāpālika with the theft of his begging bowl he exclaims 'नमोबुध्दाय'. Replying to this, the Kāpālika says "नमःखरपटायेतिवक्तव्ययेनचोरशास्त्रप्रणीतं । अथवा खरपटादप्यस्मिन्नधिकारेबुध्दएवाधिकःकृत. —

वेदान्तेभ्योगृहीत्वार्थान्योमहाभारतादपि ।
विप्राणामिषतामेवकृतवान्कोशसञ्चयम् ॥

According to this drāma Kharapata appears to have written a work on theft. This statement is in accordance with what is quoted in the commentary of the Kādambarī from the Bṛihatkathā. There he is said to have been the propagator (प्रवर्तक) of the science of theft स्तेयशास्त्र: which is the same as चोरशास्त्र:.

The next reference to Mūladēva seems to be found in the work called Avantīsundarīkathā discovered by the Madras Manuscripts Library. The reference is in one of the verses at the beginning of the work wherein the author, probably Daṇḍin, extols some famous Sanskrit authors before him. Unfortunately the verse is broken and incomplete and is given below:—

सनारायणदत्तायोदेवदत्ताश्रयाकथां ।
मूलदेवादि .... ॥

The verse appears to refer to some work which gives the story of Mūladēva, Nārāyaṇadattā and Dēvadattā.

The next important reference to Mūladēva or Karṇīsuta* in point of date is found in the verse portion of the Kasakkudi plates of the Pallava Emperor Nandivarman Pallavamalla. There while describing the donor Nandivarman, the son of Hiranya, the following two verses are given :—

सङ्ग्रामविजयःकलापरिचयेकर्णीसुतःकार्मुके रामोवारणतन्त्रवाद्यविषयेवत्सेश्वरःश्रीधरः ।
कामोवामविलोचनासुकविताबन्धसआद्यःकविः तन्त्रावापविधैास्वयन्नयभरोधर्मःप्रजारञ्जने ॥ २९ ॥

*My attention to this reference was drawn by Mr. R Gopalan, B.A. (Hons), Research Scholar, Madras University.

स्वामीनःपह्लवानांकुलभरणपटुस्सात्विकस्सार्वभौमो भव्योव्यायामविद्याविनयगुणगुरुर्वर्धतेसार्धमृद्ध्या ।
हैरण्योर्भामवर्ग्योहरिचरणपरःशुद्धमावन्नवायो लक्षण्योरोहिणीजःसुलभसुचरितानन्दिवर्म्मानरेन्द्रः ॥३०॥

The sovereign is in the above verses compared to the ancient heroes Arjuna, *Karṇīsuta*, Rāma, Udayana, the Lord of the Vatsas, Manmatha, Vālmiki, etc. He is compared to Karnīsuta in his familiarity with arts कलापरिचये.

The Daśakumāracharita popularly attributed to Daṇḍin also has a reference to Karṇīsuta. This is found in the chapter of the work called Apahāravarmacharita which is the second book in the latter portion or Uttarapīthikā of the work. The reference begins with the following sentence:—

इत्युश्वाश्यतमभ्युत्थितोऽहनगरमाविशन्नेवचोपलभ्यलोकवादाल्लुब्धसमृद्धपूर्णपुरमितिअर्थानांनश्वरत्वंचप्रदश्यं प्रकृतिस्थानमून्विधास्यन्कर्णीसुतप्रहितेपथिमानिमकरव । अनुप्रविश्यचद्यूतसमाजमक्षधूर्तैस्समगंसि । तेषांपंचविंशति प्रकारासुसर्वासुद्यूताक्षाश्रयासुकलासुकौशलंअक्षभूमिहस्तादिपुचात्यतद्रुरुपलक्षाणिकूटकर्माणि etc..... .. ..।

This extract refers to Karṇīsuta as an author who had written on gambling with dice. The few sentences that follow appear to be merely giving the summary of what Karṇīsuta should have written in his work on gambling. It is at least as interesting as Śarvilaka the scholarly burglar's dilating upon the various intricacies in the art of housebreaking in the famous drama Mṛchchakati of Śūdraka which passage also seems to refer to another work of this very author Mūladēva.

The next important reference to Mūladeva is found in Kshēmēndra's work Kaḷāvilāsa. There is a small passage about Mūladēva in the beginning of this work which is given below:—

अस्तिविशालंकमलाललितपरिष्वङ्गमङ्गलायतनम् ।
श्रीपतिवक्षस्थलमिवरत्नोज्वलमुज्वलंनगरम् ॥१॥
तत्राभूदभिभूतप्रभूतमायानिकायशतधूर्तः ।
सकलकलानिलयानांधुर्यःश्रीमूलदेवाख्यः ॥९॥
नानादिग्देशागतधूर्तैरुपजीव्यमानमतिविभवः ।
सम्प्रापविपुलसम्पदमात्मगुणैश्चक्रवर्तीव ॥१०॥
मुक्तोत्तरंसहृदयैरास्थानीसंस्थितंकदाचित्तं ।
अभ्येत्यसार्थवाहोदत्तमहार्हापहारमणिकनकः ॥११॥
प्रणतोहिरण्यगुप्तःसहितःपुत्रेणचन्द्रगुप्तेन ।
प्राप्तासनसत्कारःप्रोवाचमुहूर्तविश्रान्तः ॥१२॥
अतिपरिचयसम्प्रतिभातवपुरतोमादृशामियंवाणी ।
ग्राम्याङ्गनेवनगरेनतथाप्रागल्भ्यमुपयाति ॥१३॥

आश्रितजनतनयोयंतवविद्वन्निजसुताधिकस्सत्यं ।
नयथाप्रयातिनाशंतथास्यबुद्धिंप्रयच्छपाराम् ॥२०॥
इतिविनयनम्रशिरसातेनवचोयुक्तमुक्तमवधार्य ।
तमुवाचमूलदेवःप्रीतिप्रसरैःप्रसारितैःप्राज्ञः ॥२१॥
आस्तामेषसुतस्तेममभवनेनिजइवप्रयत्नपरः ।
ज्ञास्यसिमयोपदिष्टंशनकैस्सकलंकलाहृदयम् ॥२२॥
इतितस्यशासनेनस्वसुतंनिक्षिप्यतद्गृहेमतिमान् ।
नत्वाथसार्थवाहःप्रययौनिजमन्दिरंमुदितः ॥२३॥

The substance of the above passage is.— "There was a famous individual called Mūladēva, who was well versed in all arts (Kalās) and who became the leader of hundreds of Dhūrtas. Being attended upon by the Dhūrtas of the various countries he attained to great prosperity as an emperor by his own qualities. When once he was sitting along with men of taste, a caravan merchant Hiranyagupta approached him along with his son Chandragupta. After having been received duly the merchant requested him to have his son so instructed that he might not be ruined. On hearing the humble request of the merchant, Mūladēva was pleased and replied thus, 'Let your son be with me, and he will learn the essence of all arts (सकलकलाहृदयम्)'. On this the merchant left the boy with Mūladēva and having bowed to Mūladēva returned to his house. In this extract Mūladēva is called a Dhūrta, and the leader of all Dhūrtas. The word 'Dhūrta' in modern phraseology means a thief. But from the use of the word in the several extracts quoted above, it does not seem to have meant quite a thief, but one who was versed in the arts referred to and being a gallant did not care for the orthodox way of life. Also Mūladēva seems to have been called a Dhūrta (thief) on account of his work on 'theft' (स्तेयशास्त्रः, चोरशास्त्रः). The place where Mūladēva lived is not plain from any one of the above extracts. The verse at the beginning of Kshēmēndra's Kaḷāvilāsa which describes Mūladēva's birth-place is defective both in grammar as well as in sense. With a slight change in the verse as it is found, the name of the place might be construed as Viśālā, Ratnōjvala or Ujvalanagara. Again, all these might be descriptive terms of a town whose name is lost. Still it is plain that the individual described is the same as the Mūladēva that is referred to in the Kādambarī, the Harshacharita, Vāsavadattā and Mattavilāsa under various names. Kshēmēndra in his work Kaḷāvilasa seems to give the substance of what Mūladēva

According to the Sanskrit Lexicon Amara, Viśālā is another name of Ujjain.

must have written in several of his works. Again there are stories of Mūladēva in the Kathāsaritsāgara of Sōmadēva and Brihatkathāmanjari of Kshēmēndra. Both these works claim to give in Sanskrit the substance of the Bṛihatkathā of Guṇāḍhya which was written in the Paiśāchi dialect. But it will be plain from a close study of their subject-matter that they must have added much to and altered the original form of many stories of the Bṛihatkathā. As an example of this, the story of Mūladēva can be quoted. Two stories about Mūladēva are found in both these works, one in the cycle of stories called 'Bētālapanchavimśati' in the Śaśāṅkavatīlambaka and the other in the last or the Vishamaśīlalambaka. Mūladēva is one of the characters in the fifteenth story of the cycle. Manasvāmi, the hero of this story, a Brahman youth, sees Śaśiprabhā, a princess who falls in love with him. He rescues her from being killed by a mad elephant. Struck by the beauty of the maiden he also felt a pang of love for her. But soon the maiden was taken to her father's palace leaving Manasvāmi to devise his own means for getting at her. Being at a loss how to do this, he has recourse to the help of Mūladēva who is called a Guru (Preceptor) and a Dhūrtasiddha as well as a Dhūrtaśēkhara. Mūladēva and his friend Śaśi devise means by which Manasvāmin succeeds in enjoying not only Śaśiprabhā, the King's daughter but also marrying Mṛigāṅkavatī, the girl who was intended for the minister's son and Śaśi is made finally to marry Śaśiprabhā.

The story about Mūladēva in the Vishamaśīlalambaka is also interesting. This story is narrated by Mūladēva himself who is said to have been in the Court of Vikramāditya. In this story Śaśi is made a companion of Mūladēva. The story narrates how Mūladēva married a girl at the city of Pātalīputra, and immediately deserted her and how the girl managed to have intercourse with him in the disguise of a courtezan at Ujjain and begot by him a son and later on had Mūladēva bound up and brought to her by that very son. In this story also Mūladēva's name is as usual connected with Dhūrtas and he is called Dhūrtaśikhāmani, Dhūrtaśirōmani and Dhūrtapati. The courtezan with whose help the heroine of this story managed to keep on the appearance of a courtezan while at Ujjain is named Dēvadattā. Again in this story Mūladēva is said to have maintained a Ṭinthā (gambling house) at Ujjain and he was himself an expert at it. The story as narrated seems to have had a double object, one to show that there are women who do not forsake virtue in spite of adversity and sore temptations and the other to show that the city of Pātalīputra was a very civilized place and the people of the place could not be beaten in culture or cleverness even by Ujjain, the capital of Vikramāditya and the abode of Mūladēva, the great master of taste and culture. The kernel of the story

seems to have belonged to a period when the ancient city of Pātalīputra was just being eclipsed by the rising city of Ujjain. The name Viśāla of the place where Mūladēva lived according to the Kalāvilāsa seems to be another name of Ujjain These stories are narrated in a similar manner in Kshēmēndra's Bṛihatkathāmañjarī. The particular terms used to indicate Mūladēva in his work are बहुधूर्तशतावाम:, धूर्तधुर्य: , महामति: and धूर्तेश: .

All this information is augmented from a new source which was not available till recently. This is the drama Padmaprābhṛitaka* by Śūdraka. He seems to be the same as the author of the famous drama Mṛichchakatika. Like him he is the Lord of the city of Ujjain or Avanti. From the short description of the city at the beginning of the story it is plain that the drama must have been written at a time when Ujjain was the most important city of India. The city as well as its people and their vocations are very picturesquely described. This portion is given below :—

अहो नु खलु वसुन्धरावधूजम्बूद्वीपवदनकपोलपत्रलेखायाना नाभाण्डमसमृद्धाया अवन्तिसुन्दर्या उज्जयिन्या. परा श्री: । इह हि—

पुण्यास्तावद्वेदाभ्यासा:
द्विरदरथतुरगनिनदा धनुर्गुणनि:स्वना
दृश्यं श्राव्यं विदग्धाद
श्चतुरुदधिसमुदयफलै: कृता विपणिक्रिया ।
गीतं वाद्यं द्यूतहास्य
क्वचिदपि च विटजनकथा: क्वचित्सकला: कला:
क्रीडापक्षिक्षुब्धाश्रमा:
प्रचुरकरवलयरशनास्वना गृहपङ्क्तय: ॥

The hero of this drama is Mūladēva whose other name is Karṇiputra. He is at the beginning of the drama described by the following terms :—

अनेकशास्त्राधिगमनिष्पन्दबुद्धि: , सर्वकलाज्ञानविचक्षण: ; व्युत्पन्नयुवतिकामतन्त्रसूत्रधार: , कर्णीपुत्र: ,

indicating by these that he had mastered many sciences, that he had very sound knowledge of all arts (Kalās), that he was a master of the science of Erotics. In two places in this drama Mūladēva is described as Dhūrtāchārya, the preceptor of Dhūrtas.

* This work has been published along with three other ancient dramas under the name चतुर्भाणी in the Dakshinabhārati series by Messrs. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. Ramanatha Sastri. The names of the four dramas are Padmaprābhṛita, Ubhayābhisārika, Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda and Pādatāditakam whose authors are Śūdraka, Vararuchi, Syāmilaka and Isvaradatta The present writer is preparing a short critical note on the value of these ancient dramas to literature as well as history. Copies of the publication can be had for Rs. 2 each from Messrs. M. Dorasvami & Co., No. 368, Mint Street Madras.

(१) "भवतुधूर्ताचार्य, किमितित्वयादिवाप्रदीपोज्वालनक्रियते ; केनाभिज्ञोऽहयुवयोरन्योन्यमनोरथ मूकदूतकानांनयनसङ्गतकानांम । अपिच, मएवास्मिमूलदेवसख.शशोऽहनैनामप्रनार्यागमिष्यामि" इत्युक्ताप्रस्थितोऽस्मि ।

(२) एषइरिमोव्याहरति—"ननुभो:धूर्ताचार्यप्रविश्यताम" इति ।

(३) किब्रवीपि—"गृहीतोवञ्चितकस्यार्थ: । कितवाचार्योमूलदेवोनज्ञायत" इति । मामैवम् । देवदत्तासुरतसंक्रान्तस्यापिविपुलागतमेवहृदयम् । किब्रवीषि-'तदपिमूलेदवीयंशाव्यम्' इति । आम् । भवानखलुमन्याजैव: किमिदानींस्वाशिष्यांविपुलांनोपालभते, यथाप्रणयकोपानुनयार्थमधिगत:कर्णीपुत्र: ॥

(४) कर्णीपुत्रोऽपिपाटलीपुत्रविरहात्स्वजनदर्शनोत्सुकोभृशमस्वस्थ: । मएषोऽद्यश्वोवाप्रस्थास्यते ।

Padmaprābhṛitakam belongs to the class of Sanskrit dramas called Bhāṇa, which has got only one character and deals with subjects relating to 'love'. The character that is so introduced in this drama is Śaśa, who is called a friend of Mūladēva. The plot of the drama deals with Śaśa's mission in appeasing the anger of Dēvadattā, Mūladēva's courtezan, and bringing about the culmination of the love between Mūladēva and Vipulā. Vipulā is said to have been a sister of Dēvadattā. It has already been noticed that the love between Mūladēva and Vipula is alluded to in the passage quoted from the Kādambarī and in the comment on the passage which quotes from the Sanskrit Bṛihatkathā. Similarly the love between Mūladēva and Dēvadattā is alluded to in the Avantisundarīkathā of Daṇḍin as well as the Kathāsaritsāgara of Sōmadēva and the Bṛihatkathāmanjarī of Kshēmēndra. Both these stories from their very form appear to have been developments of the story whose kernel is seen in the Padmaprābhṛitaka. The Padmaprābhṛitaka not only uses the word Dhūrtāchārya with reference to Mūladēva but also calls him simply Āchārya. Again the drama says that Mūladēva had his relations in the city of Pātalīputra.

From the whole of the previous discussion it will be plain that the death of the Śunga sovereign Vasumitra must have been brought about by the scholar Mūladéva, who is said to have written works about a number of Kalās. The circumstances which brought about Vasumitra's death also lend additional weight to the supposition. Vasumitra is said to have been killed by Mūladéva while in the midst of actors, with whom he is said to have had as much confidence as with the women of his own harem. Mūladēva, the Dhūrtāchārya (Preceptor of Dhūrtas), might have introduced himself into the harem as a dancing master and killed the sensuous sovereign. Mūladēva is said to have so introduced himself into other harems also in the extant stories about him which merely appear to have had their origin in the present instance.

It cannot be known what induced Mūladēva to perpetrate the crime. He does not seem to have met with any retribution for his act: on the other hand posterity seems to have cherished his name as that of a great writer. This presupposes that Vasumitra must have been a weak and effete prince as has been supposed by historians and his murderer only became a popular hero for the time being. The murder of the weak prince appears also to have been a timely god-send, especially as the country at that time was threatened by dissensions within and invasions from abroad.

Prof. Rapson, in chapter XI of the *Cambridge History of India* while dealing about the coins of the Śunga period, notes a coin with the legend Mūladēva, whom he seems inclined to place after Vasumitra. Could it be that Mūladēva who is said to have killed Vasumitra became for a time the sovereign until power was wrested from his hands? Again Mūladēva is said to have been an elder contemporary of Vikramāditya and was one of his courtiers. It appears very natural from all this to suppose that Muladēva who brought about the death of Vasumitra ruled for a time and issued coins in his own name. But soon he was brought under subjection by Vikramāditya, in whose court he continued as a courtier. Again Vikramāditya, whosoever he might have been, seems to have brought about the death of Vásumitra by his courtier Mūladēva and himself attained to power. According to this latter supposition Mūladēva need not have ruled as a king and Vikramāditya would be the successor of Vasumitra on the throne.

It now remains only to consider who the author of the new drama Padmaprābhṛitakam was. He was a king of Northern India with his capital at Ujjain. He was also the author of the drama Mṛichchakati whose main object was to celebrate the change of rule at Ujjain and to describe the corruption of justice (व्यवहारदुष्टता) a Avanti. The new sovereign who is said to have come to power after the revolution is called Āryaka. The famous Sanskrit poet Daṇḍin in the beginning of his newly discovered work Avantisundarīkathā refers among the ancient authors whom he praises to Śūdraka* who is said to have conquered the country several times and purified it and to have written a work describing his own history. Can it be that the Āryaka of the Mrichchakati is merely a pseudonym of the famous King Śūdraka?

---

* The writer has discussed in another article whether Śudraka is the same as the Vikramāditya of Ujjain, who conquered the whole of Northern India, defeated and repulsed the invading foreigners, established an era in his own name, was a great author and patron of authors and how he is represented in ancient literature, epigraphy, and numismatics

BHASA'S PRATIMA-NATAKAM.*

By K. Rama Pisharoti, Esq., M.A., L.T., F.R.A.I.

(*Continued from page 606—Vol. XIII—No. 2.*)

ACT V.

(*Then enter Sita and a Tāpasi.*)

Sita—Madam, I have swept the hermitage clean and decorated it with flowers. I have offered worship unto the gods with what is available here. Now that my lord is not come I shall be tending the young plants and watering them.

Tāpasi—May she prosper! (1)

(*Then enter Rama.*)

Rama—(*Sadly*) (2) Deprived as the fair city of Ayodhya was of my sire and myself, Bharata left it and with everything ready for my coronation came to my presence. But Bharata, the abode of virtue, had again to be sent back to the very same place for its protection. Alas, what a pity that one should alone bear the great burden of sovereignty. (i) But such it is. Well, I shall now seek out my partner, Maithili, to drive away these sad thoughts. Where now can the princess of *Vidēha* have gone? Ah, these trees have their bases, indeed, newly watered, which shows that Maithili cannot be far off. (3) (*Walking about and looking*) Thus then—Eddying and foaming do the waters stand at the foot of the tree: these birds, flying down in thirst, do not drink it being muddy, the insects, which are drenched, when their burrows are filled with water, flit to the place around; and the foot of trees has new water-marks made on it as the water goes down. (ii)

(*Looking*) Ha, here is the princess of *Vidēha*! Alas, indeed!

That hand of hers, which becomes tired by merely holding a mirror feels now no pain even by carrying water-pots. Alas, that the forest should harden the delicate bodies of women as well as of creepers! (iii)

(*Approaching*)† Maithili, have you finished your work?

Sita—Hem, my lord. Long live, my lord.

Rama—Princess, if your work is done, sit down. (4)

Sita—As my lord commands. (*Sits down.*)

---

* The numbers marked in Numerical figures refer to the Notes while those in Roman figures refer to the number of the Verse

† Read उपगम्य for उपेत्य ।

Rama—Princess, thou seemst desirous of asking me something. What is it?

Sita—The colour of my lord's face appears like that of one whose soul is eaten up by sorrow. What may it be? (5)

Rama—In season are indeed my thoughts. The wound in my heart is similar unto what is produced when the body is struck down by the God of Death. The various fruits, resulting from the striking of the darts of sorrow, fall again and again in the same place. (iv)

Sita—What may my lord's sorrow be?

Rama—To-morrow is the anniversary of the worthy sire, my father. The manes desire the performance of the *Nivapana* rites in the best manner laid down in the Kalpas. How to perform this is what I am thinking* about. (6) Or—They will, indeed, be content with anything, for they do know what my present state is. Only I wish to offer the oblations in a way befitting Rama and his father. (v)

Sita—My Lord, Bharata will perform the Srādha in all grandeur: my lord will do it with fruits and water, consistent with the state (of each?). Such will best please the father. (7)

Rama—Princess, (8) The sight of the fruits arranged by our own hands on the Darbha grass will put father in mind of our forest life, and even there he will cry. (vi)

(*Then enter Ravana in the disguise of a mendicant.*)

Ravana—Ha! Ho!

(9) Of uncontrolled mind always, I have taken up this form and now do I go desirous of stealing away the daughter of King Janaka, like the oblations devoid of proper intonation and Mantras, after having deceived the descendant of Raghu who has offended me by his murder of Khara. (vii)

(*Walking about and looking*) Here is the gate of Rama's hermitage. Well, I'll get down, (*getting down*) (10) I will now conduct† myself as a guest. (*Aloud*)‡ I'm a guest. Who's there?

Rama—Welcome to the guest!

Ravana—The voice, indeed, suits well the form.

Rama—(*Looking*) Ha, a worthy sire. Worthy sire, my obeisance to you.

Ravana§—Happiness attend thee.

---

* Read चिन्तयामि for चिन्त्यंते ।

† Add तावत् after अनुष्ठास्यामि

‡ This has to be added to make it clear.

§ Read Parivrajaka for Ravana.

Rama—Worthy sire, take that seat.

Ravana— (*To himself*) How now. I am ordered by him? (11) (*Aloud*) Well. (*Sits down.*)

Rama—Princess, bring in water.*

Sita—As my lord commands. (*Going out and coming in*) Here is water.

Rama—Attend upon the worthy sire.

Sita—As my lord commands.

Ravana—(*Afraid that his disguise will be discovered*) (12) Enough, enough.†

Unique on earth is she, indeed an *Arundhati* amongst mortal women, as whose husband every woman sings your praise. (viii)

Rama—Well, then, bring on. I shall myself attend upon you.

Ravana—What, shall I ease the shadow and then trouble the substance? Words themselves constitute the guest's welcome. I am honoured. Sit down.

Rama—So be it. (*Sits down.*)

Ravana— (*To himself*) Well, I shall also behave‡ as becomes a brahmin. (*Aloud*) I belong to the *Gōtra* of Kāśyapa. I am studying the *Vedas* with their *Angas* and *Upāngas*, the *Dharmasāstra* of Manu, the *Yōga-śāstra* of Mahēśwara, the *Artha-śāstra* of Bṛhaspati, the *Nyaya-śāstra* of Medhātithi and the *Śrādha-kalpa* of Prachetasa. (13)

Rama—What, what, do you say *Śrādha-kalpa*? (14)

Ravana—Why this partiality for *Śrādha-kalpa* over the heads of all *śrutis*, why?

Rama—Sire, I have lost my father and hence is it. §

Ravana—Enough of your doubts: ask me anything.

Rama—Sire, in the *Nivapana* rites what shall I offer || my oblations with?

Ravana—Whatever is given with devotion is Śrādha.

Rama—Sire, whatever is given without devotion becomes futile. I ask you which is the best.

Ravana—Listen. Darbha amongst grass, sesame amongst medicinal herbs, leguminous seeds amongst fruits, whale amongst fish, vulture amongst birds, cow or rhinoceros amongst beasts,—these and the like are laid down for human beings.

Rama—Sire, 'and the like' shows there is something else to be known.

Ravana—Yes, what could be had through greatness.

---

* Add अर्घ्यम् before and च after पाद्यम् ।

† The stage direction reads प्रकाश for प्रकाशना, and अलमल for भवतु भवतु ।

‡ Add तावत् before अनुष्ठास्यामि ।

§ Add after एष: 'कथंनिवर्तयिष्यामीतिचिन्तयामि' । and omit इदानीम् before it.

|| Read तर्पिष्यन्ति for तर्पयामि ॥

Rama—Sire, this is my resolve: (15) Two things have I, if they can achieve it. If my penance is weak, there is the bow: and if the bow is weak, there is the penance. (ix)

Ravana—There are they living in the Himalayas.

Rama—Do you say 'Himalayas'? Well then.

Ravana—There live on the seventh peak of the Himalayas, drinking the waters of the Ganges as they run down from the benign head of the real Siva, some animals their backs of sparkling blue and sides of shining gold, which rival the wind in speed. The great sages, *Vaikhānasa*, *Vālakhilya*, *Naimisīya* and others glorify their *Śrādha* with the offer of these animals which approach them the moment they think of them. When offered these, the manes realize the fruits of having begotten children and, freed of all decay, reach the heaven with shining frames. There, dwelling in aerial cars and similar unto the Devas, they are not forcibly drawn back into the cycle of life. (x)

Rama—Princess, (16) take leave of your foster children, the deer and the trees, the Vindhya mountains, and your dear friends, the creepers. There shall we live in those Himalayan forests beautified, as if by many a cluster of shining medicinal herbs. (xi)

Sita—As my lord commands.

Ravana—O, thou son of Kausalya, enough, enough of thy too fond thoughts. These man cannot see.

Rama—Sire, do they live in the Himalayas?

Ravana—Yes.

Rama—Then, indeed, you will see·

'The Himalayas shall either show me those golden deer, or pierced by the force of my arrows he shall become another *Krauncha*.' (xii)

Ravana—*(To himself)* Ha, insufferable is his haughtiness.

Rama—(*Looking around*) What's this seen like a flash of lightning?

Ravana—O, son of Kausalya, even here Himavan offers his worship to you. That is the golden deer.

Rama—God be praised for it. (Thy greatness is this.)

Sita—Thank God! Hail to thee, my lord!

Rama—No, no. If it is come here of its own accord, it is but the good fortune of my father, and he indeed deserves it. Princess, ask Lakṣmaṇa to worship it. (xiii)

Sita—My lord, have you not sent Lakṣmaṇa to welcome back the preceptor returning after his pilgrimage?

Rama—So, then, I shall myself go.

Sita—My lord, what then shall I do?

Rama—Attend upon the worthy sire.

Sita—As my lord commands.

(*Exit Rama.*) (17)

Ravana—Ah,[1] Rama now approaches it with the materials for worship. The animal having taken to running without caring[2] for the worship, he has strung his bow.[3] Ah, what strength, what valour, what vigour, what speed! (18) No wonder the whole world is filled with the two syllables *Ra.-Ma.* (xiv)

That animal has at one jump entered the thick of the forest, beyond the range of his arrow.

Sita—Separated from my lord, I feel now uneasy.[4] (19)

Ravana—(*To himself*) (20) Now that Rama has been enticed away by illusion, I shall carry away from the hermitage the weeping Sita who is young and unprotected, like the oblation unaccompanied by the chanting of *Mantras*. (xv)

Sita—I shall go inside the hut. (*Desires to go.*)[5]

Ravana—(*Taking his own form*) Sita, stop, stop. (21)

Sita—(*Terrified*) Hem, who can this be now?

Ravana—What, dost thou not know?

Who has conquered in battle Indra and the rest of the Devas accompanied by the host of Dānavas, who has seen Śurpaṇaka disfigured and heard his brothers killed, who proudly has falsely tempted away the wicked Rama of immeasurable strength—such am I, Ravana. come, O broad-eyed maid, desirous of carrying you away. (xvi)

Sita—Hem, it's Ravana. (*Moves off.*)[6]

Ravana—Ha! Where dost thou go, having fallen within the range of Ravana's vision?

Sita—Help, my lord, help! Help, Lakṡmaṇa, help.

Ravana—Sita, listen to my feats of strength:—Śakra was broken, and Kubera roughly shaken; the Moon was dragged and crushed was Saturn. Fie, ho, upon the heavens where herd together the terrified Devas. Blessed, indeed, is the earth, where lives Sita. (xvii)

Sita—Help, my lord, help! Help, Lakṡmaṇa, help.

Ravana—Go thou for protection to Rama, or to Lakṡmaṇa, or to Daṡaratha

1 Read एषइदानीम् for अयं अयम्.

2 Read अवेक्ष्य for अनवेक्ष्य.

3 Read after दृष्ट्वा this धनुरादायोपसर्पतिराघवः ।

4 Read संपद्यते for उत्पाद्यते ।

5 प्रस्थातुमीहते for गन्तुमीहते.

6 Read गन्तुमीहते for प्रतिष्ठते ।

who dwells in heaven But does not the tiger kill the youngling of a deer in spite of its piteous and futile wailings? (xviii)

Sita—Help, my lord. help! Help me, Laksmana, help me!

Ravana—Why bewailst thou thus, O broad-eyed damsel? Think of me as thou wouldst thy lord Possessed as he is of mighty strength, he is incapable of fighting with me, though helped by the hosts of Devas. (xix)

Sita—(*Angrily*) Thou art cursed. (22)

Ravana—Ha. ha, ha! Ah, the power of chastity. I who have not been burned by the rays of the sun, when I speeded up, am now burnt by these few words of hers, 'Thou art cursed'. (xx)

Sita—Save me. save me, my lord.

Ravana—(*Catching hold of Sita*) Ho! Ho! List ye, list ye, sages all who dwell in Janasthana: Here goes Ravana, forcibly carrying away Sita If Rama loves his princely honour, let him show his valour. (23) (xxi)

Sita—Save me, save me, my lord.

Ravana—(*Walking about and looking*) Ha, here comes running quickly the fierce-beaked Jatāyu, shaking the forest trees with the gale set up by his wings. Ha! Stop now.

I shall send you to the abode of Yama, thy body weltering in the blood gushing out from thy wings clipped by the sword wielded by my arms. (xxii)

(*Exeunt.*)†

End of Act V.

Notes on Act V.

This Act describes the saddest part of the whole of the Ramayana, *viz.*, the carrying away of Sita The events leading to the catastrophe are well marshalled, and the development of the act is made to appear very natural, though of course one is bound to confess with a sense of regret that there is a marked fall at least in the last section of the Act. But it is very refreshing to be able to point out that the poet has shown great originality in having brought Rama and Ravana together. Ravana is here represented as a great and profound Vaidik who is made to indulge in talks of learning and wisdom. Further, the poet has shown a greater stroke of genius in assigning a nobler motive to Rama in running after the illusionary golden deer. It is not the idle husband trying to satiate the wanton curiosity of the naturally fickle-minded woman, but the dutiful and ideal son hunting down a rare animal, so that he may make his *Śrādha* more and more welcome to his dead father. Thus the blind lover is made the ideal son. Here

---

* Omit what follows as far as अयेति ।

† Read 'सीतां गृहीत्वा निष्क्रान्तो रावणः' instead o निष्क्रान्तौ ।

lies the importance of the scene from the point of view of characterization But whether the change from the real into the ideal is good or bad will more or less depend upon the temperament of the critic. We shall here but point out that the change is quite in keeping with the character of the hero as our poet has delineated it.

From the opening words of Rama it is clear that this Act takes place not long after Bharata has been sent back to Ayodhya Further, since Rama says that his father's anniversary falls on the next day, the incidents narrated here must be supposed to be taking place just a year after the royal exiles had left Ayodhya.

The Act opens with what ought to have been marked out as an interlude, which is very interesting as showing to us Sita steeped in her forest life The princess of Mithila and queen of Ayodhya here plays the role of both the mistress and the maid. She sweeps the hermitage clean and tastefully decorates it with flowers, offers worship unto the gods and waters the plants and trees and creepers in her garden The once imperial queen, now descended into such a simple forest life, appears a pious and devout Tāpasi, well becoming the anchorite Rama. The great queen coming upon the stage in her weird dress and doing her still more weird work cannot but produce a very great stage effect.

(1) Here must have been marked '*the Interlude*'. It cannot be allowed to be continuous with the rest of the Act. As described later on, there is no one in the hermitage when Ravana carries Sita away and no further mention is made of Tāpasi. The two cannot together be. So it is better to assign the portion to what may be termed the interlude The purpose of it is very clear, it is to show Sita in her new home and new round of duties.

(2) Note the tenour of his thoughts. He is sorry for the fair but practically widowed city of Ayodhya and for the noble Bharata whose request he could not grant. He is also sorry that the whole burden of the regal responsibility has fallen upon one alone, though they are four brothers and therefore could have divided it. These thoughts agitate him and he loses his natural calmness and so, to ease his troubled mind, he wishes to seek out his fair partner Note it is worth while to point out that he is never sorry on his own account.

(3) Here is another piece of work the noble princess is accustomed to do. How exquisite the picture—as sublime the noble spirit as the lofty grandeur of the picturesque sylvan home. That she has become inured to it, has become one with it, is further emphasized by the words of Rama, who feels a pang at seeing the tenderly reared frail woman thus accustoming herself to hard work.

(4) In spite of his desire to have a few moments with her, he tenderly inquires if her work is done. Note the noble solicitude not to stand in the way of anybody. He is prepared to forego her company, if his presence would keep her away from her duties.

(5) Note the shrewdness of Sita. She finds at a glance that her lord is ill at ease, that he is troubled by some sad thoughts.

(6) That the poet has in view the portrayal of an ideal character for Rama is again emphasized here. Weighed down with sad thoughts, Rama comes to find

consolation in the company of his wife Yet, instead of having a few moments of pleasant chat to forget his sorrows and to cheer her, he proceeds again to business. Here, then, the character is pictured with no scope for doubt—the character not of an average but an ideal prince.

These words show that the approaching anniversary of his father is the first of its kind Had it been a subsequent one, such thoughts would have been out of place, since he could have performed it as before Thus it supplies interesting materials for the time analysis of the play

(7) Quick and ready comes Sita's answer, carrying a world of sense—thus asserting she is worthy of her position

Note the expression अवस्थानुरूपम्—'as becomes one's position' This should be taken both with Bharata and with Rama Every man must perform his Śrādha in a way worthy of his position. Such alone will please his manes.

(8) Note the very tender solicitude for his father's happiness. Rama desires that his father should have no occasion at all to remember that his son is in exile. For, that is sure to again steep him in misery. It is therefore to ensure his continued happiness that he wants to perform his father's anniversary on a grand scale and not to show his own greatness Such exquisite love of and anxious solicitude for one's father is indeed very rare. Here, then, is the ideal son

Three, then, are the causes of Rama's sorrow · the fate of Ayodhya. the heavy responsibility attaching to the disappointed Bharata, and how to ensure the happiness of his father—the last, of course, at present the most pressing.

This takes us to the end of the first stage in the development of the Act. The second begins with the entrance of Ravana.

(9) The opening words of Ravana set forth the reason why he is come to carry off Sita. He wants to avenge the murder of Khara and (later on in verse 16) the injury done to his sister; and he says he will do it, after having falsely enticed Rama away. This shows that the later appearance of the golden deer is no happy coincidence to help Ravana, as it apparently looks, but forms part of the nefarious plans prepared by him.

(10) Though there is no explicit mention of it, it suggests that Ravana must have come in some aerial contrivance. Otherwise this stage direction will be out of place, unless it is supposed that he is on the top of a hill which overlooks the blissful hermitage. Nor again is a hill mentioned here, but only a forest. Hence it s better to suppose that he came in his aerial car, as mentioned in the Ramayana.

(11) Here is a beautiful tribute to the innate greatness of Rama whose superior presence even the callous monster feels. The very courteous offer of a seat sounds to him a command.

(12) Immediate personal attention might lead to the betrayal of his disguise. So Ravana is in a fix; but he cleverly gets out of it by saying that a guest finds his welcome when he is received with kind words.

(13) Here Ravana proceeds, as a guest ought, to announce who and what he is. The list of the Śāstras he has studied shows that Ravana is a learned

man. It has, of course, to be remembered that this announcement cannot be taken as a mere imposition upon Rama, for he must be prepared to answer any subject on which discussion might follow. Hence it must have been made with the full preparedness to satisfy his enemy on any subject. This aspect should not be forgotten and this is quite in keeping with the Pauranic conception of Ravana as a learned scholar. The mention of the several authors here will be of further use to fix the date of our dramatist.*

(14) As is only too natural, Rama catches him upon the subject of *Śrādha-Kalpa*, being what is nearest his heart at that time. As soon as Ravana hears the occasion for it and his doubt, he very dexterously manipulates the talk in such a way as to naturally lead to the final catastrophe Note how quietly and unobstrusively he brings in the subject of the golden deer. For once, indeed, the great hero is really misled, with what result of course we all know.

(15) What a bold statement! It is quite like the unconquerable Ksatriya hero and a great sage.

(16) Note how quickly he resolves upon his course of action. As soon as he hears of the existence of the golden deer, their importance in Śrādha and their place of abode, he jumps up without even a moment's reflection and asks his wife to take leave of their abode, her birds, her beasts, her trees, and her creepers What wonderful self-confidence and what solicitude for the future happiness of his dead father! Even Ravana is surprised and he is afraid that he might depart before his plans are ready. Hence he hastens to point out that those animals are not easily accessible for a human being. Then Rama asks him if they are on the Himalayas and when he is assured of that, he breaks out into a statement which takes even Ravana's breath away The latter never counted upon so much self-consciousness of strength and so he naturally mistakes it for mere vanity.

At this critical moment, thanks to Ravana's good luck, the illusionary golden-striped deer comes like a flash of lightning within Rama's vision. This he attributes to the good luck of his blessed father, and being reminded that Laksmana was absent from the hermitage, he himself sets out to welcome it, asking Sita to attend upon the mendicant

Apparently the appearance of the deer seems to be a happy coincidence for Ravana, but as we have already pointed out, it is not so.

This takes us to the end of the second stage in the development of the Act Now that Rama has been enticed away, Ravana is free to do as he pleases

---

* In passing we may point out here that Bhāsa is not the author of this work, nor again of any of the works now assigned to him So far as this work is concerned, it may be assigned to the last of the Perumals, Bhaskara Ravivarma, for he is traditionally said to have written *Vicchinnābhiseckam* which I have now been able to identify with this drama. For the colophon in the manuscript of this drama available in the Government Manuscripts Library here calls the first act of this drama '*Vicchinnābhiseckāngam*' Further, there the drama is titled *not* Pratima-nataka but *Pratimābhisekam* and elsewhere it is titled *Padukābhiseckam*. I shall not now pursue this interesting subject further, but leave it here, to take it up later on in further and fuller details Here I shall only add that all the dramas now assigned to Bhāsa are found in the MS referred to and their colophons here and there give very interesting points which will help substantially to solve the Bhāsa riddle set up by Mahamahōpādhyāya T Ganapathy Sastri of Trivandrum.

(17) Here is a subject on which opinion might probably be different. Was Rama justified in leaving Sita with an unknown man, the more so because he knew from past experience that the place abounded in Raksasas who were up to all mischief? It may probably be argued that in so doing Rama was a bit careless, a carelessness that cost him his wife. It must, however, be remembered that Rama had no idea of going far away from the hermitage and secondly, he left Sita in the care not of somebody, but of an apparently honourable and learned mendicant, whose words only too well confirmed his assumed character If fault there be, it is only that he was not over-calculating, but had he been so, he would have been untrue to himself. He is the ideal hero who is ever prepared to think that every one is as honourable as himself. Such a character cannot consistently harbour any suspicions against another. This incident, then, shows not that he was careless, but reveals one more aspect of his character

(18) Note Ravana is not a mere brute He can appreciate and honour valour and heroism. The eulogy he bestows upon Rama is that of a noble warrior.

(19) Sita feels a foretaste of the coming catastrophe, though so far there is nothing to rouse her suspicions. Ravana is yet the honoured guest and not her enemy. It is really coming events casting their shadows before

(20) Now that the supreme moment is come, Ravana throws off his disguise and hurries to execute his plan. Note the beautiful simile, the full force of which can be realized only when the place of *mantras* in a ritual is remembered. And it becomes the speaker, because he has often stolen away the oblations offered by sages.

(21) The change of tone and the throwing away of the disguise take Sita by surprise, and she succumbs to fear. In a spirit of pride and elation Ravana announces his merciless intention and duly tells her that she has no escape from him. She does not know what to do except to call upon her lord and Laksmaṇa to save her.

(22) Now alone is she roused from her terrified stupor, when Ravana tried to touch her honour, saying 'Think of me as thou wouldst thy lord.' This is too much to listen to, and she curses him. That it is not an empty thing is clear from the subsequent words of Ravana.

(23) Ravana finds that he can no longer safely delay executing his purpose. So he catches hold of her and loudly proclaims a challenge to Rama to retrieve his honour, if he loves his Ksatriya blood.

In passing, we are constrained to point out that there is a perceptible fall towards the latter part of the Act. Though the situation affords full scope for the poet's flights of fancy, nothing of it is seen here.

In concluding, we have only to point out that the Act is bound to produce very great stage effect, for unlike the preceding Act, there is here action and movement, qualities which are generally said to be absent in Indian dramas. The sylvan beauties in which the scene is shrouded, the happy Sita engaged in her domestic duties, the care-worn and restless Rama, the coming of Ravana in the mendicant garb, the magical appearance of the golden deer, and the final pathetic incident, all these cannot but produce a very impressive effect.

GLIMPSES OF THE ANCIENT VARNA DHARMA.

BY K. KRISHNAMACHARYA. ESQ., B.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.

AMONG the ancient law-givers of India, Manu stands pre-eminent. No Smriti of ours covers so extensive a ground as does Manu's. The moment you plunge into his Smriti, you find yourself in a profound atmosphere, which is peculiarly characteristic of Manu, and which is conspicuously absent in any other Smriti. Prescribing an excellent ideal for the life of man, Manu has the large-heartedness to recognize his weaknesses, and in the earlier stages permits by way of concessions, certain indulgences, under restrictions, with a view to gradually lift him up to the higher plane. He ordains, "let a Brahmana live, in normal times, by a profession where there is the least probability of injury to the living."[1] "To be a helpless slave of the desires is not commendable: but at the same time, there is no such thing as absolute freedom from desires" he grants.[2] In one place he goes so far as to admit that there is no sin in eating flesh, in drinking wine, and in indulging in fornication, inasmuch as these are but natural cravings of the living; but to desist from them is fruitful of the best.[3] It will probably be surprising to learn that the considered opinion of Manu is that the Creator himself has ordained the mobile and immobile world to be food for the living. On this ground he justifies animal food for man.[4] And yet in another place he pleads for giving up animal food, on the ground that flesh is improcurable without injuring the living; and to injure the living is to turn away from Heaven.[5] Thus in the midst of apparent contradictions, Manu spins a golden thread for the guidance of man, which, if intelligently followed, takes him out of the labyrinth of life, with all its perplexities, and leads him on to the ideal. Unlike other law-givers who are uncompromising in their dictums, Manu graciously grants concessions, but takes care that they are to be thrown out the moment their values as such are in danger of being ignored. That is why in the midst of these concessions he never forgets to bring the ideal itself into the foreground.

Manu does not create law as such; nor do the other law-givers. Among the practices of their contemporary societies, they recognize some as lawful

1 Manu, Chapter IV, 2.
2 *Ibid.*, Chapter II, 2.
3 *Ibid.*, Chapter V, 56
4 *Ibid.*, Chapter V, 28.
5 *Ibid.*, Chapter V, 48.

and condemn some others as sinful, while laying an unerring emphasis upon what they consider to be the ideal There is a world of difference among them as to which of the practices are lawful and which sinful; but they are all agreed as to the ideal. Mere physical and material comfort has no fascination for many of them. They are all out to preserve the soul of man from being entangled in the maze of desires, and keep it spiritually pure. To this end many of them have to restrict the play of desires as a means to control the senses. With this preface let us have a peep into the ancient Varna-Dharma. as propounded by some twenty Smritis.

Four main Castes are recognized by all the law-givers. They are the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya. and the Sudra. In normal times the castes have their respective occupations and social services, which do not collide with one another. In times of distress some latitude is shown to the twice-born castes in the matter of choice of a paying profession. Parasara, one of the conservative law-givers, gives under such circumstances an extreme latitude in the matter of preserving one's own body and soul even at the cost of one's *dharma*, and then advises a resuming of the *dharmic* ways when the times turn normal once again. [1]

The origin of the mixed castes is a chapter by itself. Manu gives us an elaborate classification of the children born of parents of the different castes. either in lawful wedlock or in illegal intercourse. The *anuloma* marriages alone among the intercaste ones are recognized in law, while the *prathiloma* marriages are condemned with one accord by every one of the law-givers. In one place Gautama says that the preservation of blood by keeping it from mixture is *dharma*. [2] And this mixture of blood was apprehended more in the fall of woman than in the fall of man. On this ground it is that Manu is inclined to excuse the vice of a maiden in yielding to the amorous approaches of a man of a higher caste, while he advises imprisonment within the four corners of the home, when she commits the same crime with a man of a lower caste. In the case of a man who tempts a woman of a higher caste nothing less than a capital punishment is prescribed for the crime, while a man carnally knowing a maiden of the same caste is to pay some compensation to her father if demanded. [3] According to Manu the children of an *anuloma* union between a Brahmana and a Sudra can at length rise to the caste of their higher parent, if for seven generations the process of such *anuloma* union is repeated. [4] Hence it is that some of the law-givers recognize *anuloma* marriages as legal,

1 Parasara, Chapter VII, 41.
2 Gautama, Chapter VIII.
3 Manu, Chapter VIII, 365-66
4 Manu. Chapter X, 64.

with some restrictions as to the duties of such wives, in contradistinction to those of the wives of the same caste.

Marriage within the caste is the ideal.[1] For those that cannot control their amorous inclinations, wives from castes lower than their own are sometimes prescribed. Thus a Brahmana may indulge in four wives, a Kshatriya in three, a Vaisya in two, and a Sudra in one only. Almost all the law-givers accord implicit or explicit sanction, with or without restrictions, for *anuloma* marriages. Manu and Vyasa explicitly permit them.[2] Yajnavalkya and Sankha do not approve of a Sudra wife for the twice-born, and therefore, they restrict the numbers of their wives to three, two and one respectively.[3] It is true that Manu also explicitly speaks against a Sudra wife for *dwijas*, especially for a Brahmana, and predicts that one who indulges in such a wife is doomed to fall. For him who kisses a Sudra woman's lips or who inhales her breath, and for him who is born in her womb there is no redemption.[4] But then, in another place, while describing the social status of the children of *anuloma* marriages, he lays it down that the children of *dwijas* by their wives belonging to the castes next below theirs are almost equal in rank with their fathers, and are entitled to the rights of the twice-born as much as those born to the wives of their own castes.[5] Therefore, his condemnation of a Sudra wife for a Vaisya, at any rate, loses much of its force. Yajnavalkya classifies the children of *anuloma* and *prathiloma* marriages as good and bad.[6] Usanas opines that one who contracts an alliance of intercaste marriage becomes a great sinner.[7] And yet, as we shall see, these law-givers find themselves constrained to give *anuloma* marriages a legal or a social recognition. They had probably to keep their personal opinions aside when confronted with the practices of their respective societies.

The wives of a *dwija* belonging to different castes are not given an equal status in life. They are lodged in separate houses, and their degrees of seniority vary with the castes. The privilege of attending on the husband is given only to the wife of the same caste.[8] A disciple is required to treat the wife of his preceptor, belonging to the same caste as the preceptor, with the respect due to the preceptor himself; while his wives of other castes are to be accosted with respectful standing and prostration.[9] In the absence of the

1 Manu, Chapter III, 4 and Gautama, Chapter III.
2 Manu, Chapter III, 12 & 13, and Vyasa, Chapter II, 11
3 Yajnavalkya, Chapter I, 56 & 57 and Sankha, Chapter IV, 7, 9.
4 Manu, Chapter III, 15, 17 & 19.
5 *Ibid.*, Chapter X, 6 and *Ibid.*, sl.41
6 Yajnavalkya, Chapter I, 95.
7 Usanas, Chapter IX, 51.
8 Manu, Chapter IX, 85 & 86.
9 Manu, Chapter II, 210 Also Usanas, Chapter III, 27.

wife of a higher caste, Katyayana gives an additional status to the wives of the lower castes, except the Sudri, and thus gives them a share even in religious ceremonies. The sacrificial fire may be churned, he says, out of the *arani* wood by the eldest of the wives in the order of castes, and in her absence by any one of the rest. [1]

This difference in rank among the wives of different castes is maintained even in the matter of Dayabhaga. The property of a Brahmana having four sons by the wives of the several castes is to be divided into ten shares of which four, three, two, and one shall go to the sons, in the order of the castes of their respective mothers. [2] It is worthy of note that Yajnavalkya too has allowed the same claim for the children by mothers of different castes, including a Sudra mother, even though he explicitly expresses himself against such an alliance for a *dwija*.[3] Vasishta, who does not recognize a Sudra wife for a *dwija*, divides on the other hand the whole property into six shares of which three, two, and one go to the children by the respective caste mothers. [4]

. Many of the law-givers affix their stamp of approval on *anuloma* marriages, by prescribing *asaucham* in birth or death (uncleanness), as between the wives and their husband, among themselves, and among their children. Usanas prescribes that, on the death of a Sudra *sapinda*, a Vaisya, a Kshatriya, and a Brahmana shall be unclean for six, three, and one day respectively; that on the demise of a Vaisya *sapinda*, a Sudra, a Kshatriya, and a Brahmana shall be unclean for fifteen, six and three days; that on the expiry of a Kshatriya *sapinda*, a Brahmana, a Vaisya, and a Sudra shall be unclean for six, twelve, and twelve days respectively: while on the death of a Brahmana *sapinda*, those of the remaining castes shall be unclean for a day.[5] While mainly agreeing with Usanas, Sankha differs from him in declaring that on the death of a Brahmana *sapinda*, those of the other castes remain unclean for ten days.[6] As between the wives and their husbands, a Brahmana remains unclean, according to Apastambha, for ten, six, three, or one day, in birth or death, among his wives:[7] while Daksha differs from him in prescribing eight days for the Kshatriya wife.[8] As between the wives themselves, uncleanness in birth or death is, in the opinion of Atri, equal to that of the husband: while that on the death of the husband is of the same duration as observable in their respective castes.[9]

---

1 Katyayana, Chapter VIII, 6 & 7
2 Manu, Chapter IX, 153
3 Yajna., Chapter II, 128.
4 Vasishta, Chapter XVII, 1
5 Usanas, Chapter VI, 36—39
6 Sankha, Chapter XV, 19.
7 Apastambha, Chapter IX, 12
8 Daksha, Chapter VI, 17.
9 Atri, sl. 89.

Though Parasara does not explicitly commit himself in favour of inter-caste marriages. he gives us an insight. in another connection. into what he thinks of them. Enumerating cases of exceptions among Sudras. whose food can be partaken by *dwijas,* he gives the very classes mentioned by Manu, [1] but in a different order ; he tries to interpret them as the offsprings of *dwijas* by *anuloma* marriages, and thus traces out in their veins the blood of a *dwija,* before he can reconcile himself to their food becoming acceptable to a Brahmana. Conservative that he is, he feels he cannot easily get over the difficulty. By making the food offered by the children born of *anuloma* alliances acceptable to the Brahmana, Parasara gives a social recognition for such alliances.[2]

Next, as regards the marriageable age of a girl. It is unquestionable that Manu recognizes post-puberty marriages. He does not limit the marriageable age, as do some of the later law-givers. In one case, he feels himself constrained to concede pre-puberty marriage as a virtue of necessity. "If a suitable bridegroom is procured in the caste, let the bride be given away, even though she does not come of age," says he.[3] He would rather allow a girl to remain an old maid, than see her given away to an unworthy husband.[4] Apastambha sees nothing sinful in a girl attaining puberty during her marriage ceremony. He simply advocates the resumption of the remaining portion of the religious functions after the expiry of the third night of her uncleanness. [5] But Parasara is uncompromising. He curses that the parents of a girl who attains puberty before her marriage are doomed to rot in hell. and that a *dwija* who marries her loses his caste and forfeits his claim on conviviality among his castemen.[6] Yama and Samvartha follow suit. [7] Sankha prescribes that if such a girl dies, there is no expiation for the consequent uncleanness. [8] Brihaspati is of opinion that the gift of gold, land, or a girl of eight years is productive of good for seven births. [9] Vasishta too advocates pre-puberty marriage : but at the same time he gives the girl the liberty in the matter of choice of a husband in her own caste, if unfortunately she attains puberty before her marriage. She is enjoined to wait for three years after puberty and then make her choice. [10] Even Yajnavalkya

---

1 Manu, Chapter IV, 253.
2 Parasara, Chapter IX, 20 to 23
3 Manu, Chapter IX, 88
4 *Ibid* . sl. 89
5 Apastambha, Chapter VII, 9 & 10
6 Parasara, Chapter VII, 8 & 9.
7 Also Yama sl 23 and 24 , and Samvarta sl 66 & 67
8 Sankha, Chapter XV, 8
9 Brihaspati, sl 34
10 Vasishta, Chapter XVII

gives her some right of choice, when there are none to give her away. [1] Manu is undoubtedly the most sympathetic of the law-givers under such circumstances. He takes into consideration the right of the girl, and the guilt of her parents in having neglected their duty by the daughter. And yet the poor parents are not threatened with anything like a severe retribution. Some of their rights are even protected. "In making her own choice of a husband, after three years of her attaining puberty, a girl commits no sin at all. But let her give up every bit of jewellery given her by her parents or brothers; else she would be a thief;" he declares. [2] As for the man who weds her, he need not pay her father anything by way of *sulka*, since he has forfeited his right to it. [3] Gautama too is generous enough, though he is inclined more towards pre-puberty marriage. [4] He limits the time not to three years, but to three menstrual periods only.

Almost all the law-givers are against the remarriage of women. Parasara seems to make an exception under certain extraordinary circumstances.[5] But taking the spirit of the whole of his Smriti into account, he does not seem to be in favour of his own exceptions. Vasishta permits it only in one case: when the husband dies after the formal religious consecration, her hymen remaining unruptured, a girl deserves to be married for a second time.[6] Manu declares that a second husband is nowhere advocated for a woman; while for a man he does explicitly sanction, on religious grounds, a second wife on the demise of the first. [7] The ban on the remarriage of a woman is so great that the son born in such an alliance is barred from all religious ceremonies: he cannot be invited to preside over a *Pitr-Sraddha*. [8] Angirasa goes to the length of denouncing the gift of a girl to a second person, after having been promised to a first; she then becomes a remarried woman and the food offered by her is forbidden for the twice-born.[9] Manu advises *Brahmacharyam* for a good woman on the death of her husband. He is certain she reaches Heaven, even though childless.[10] Elsewhere the doors of Heaven are said to be closed against the childless. Parasara is equally emphatic on the advice.[11] But Usanas goes a step further and

1 Yajnavalkya, Chapter I, 64.
2 Manu, Chapter IX, 90, 92 and 91
3 Manu, Chapter IX, 93.
4 Gautama, Chapter XVIII
5 Parasara, Chapter IV, 26
6 Vasishta, Chapter XVII
7 Manu, Chapter V, 162 and *Ibid*, 168
8 Manu, Chapter III, 181
9 Angirasa, sl. 66.
10 Manu, Chapter V, 160.

enjoins a special *Pinda* (ball of rice) as a mark of profound respect on the day of her annual Sraddha, in case the wife immolates herself on the funeral pyre of her husband.[1]

In this connection it is worthy of note that fasts and penances are ordained for widows. No law-giver prescribes them for a woman with her husband living. On the other hand, she is prohibited from such observances. Atri and Vishnu are positive that if ever she indulges in any such fasts, she does not only help in cutting away the longevity of her husband, but also courts hell for herself.[2]

Apart from the question of remarriage, some of the law-givers advocate procreation of a son on the childless widow of an elder brother or of a *sapinda* relation with a view to maintain the line of posterity unbroken. Special care is taken to show that this is not to be confounded with a second marriage of the woman. Extraordinary precautions are prescribed for the man and the woman, so that the union does not turn out to be lustful. The union is effected under an appointment religiously sanctioned by the elders concerned. At times a childless husband sanctions such an appointment for the wife. The appointed individual must be a brother of the husband or one of his *sapindas*.[3] Gautama, Yajnavalkya, and Vasishta uphold the practice. Vasishta limits the age of the woman to sixteen years, while others are silent on the point.[4] Manu makes this procreation imperative in the case of one who takes away the wealth of a deceased and childless brother.[5] In cases of dispute as to the ownership of the child so created, Manu's decision, as that of Parasara,[6] is that he does belong to the husband of the woman; and that, in the property, he is entitled to an equal share with his uncles.[7] But if both the husband and the procreator have no other issue, the procreated shall inherit their properties, and perform their *Sraddhas*.[8] Usanas is also of the same opinion.[9] Gautama limits such procreation to a brother of the husband; if from a different source, the child forfeits his right of inheritance.[10] With all the solemnity of the function, Manu is not in entire agreement with the principle underlying this practice. He feels something repugnant in it and characterizes it as beastly. It was

1 Usanas, Chapter III, 116.
2 Vishnu, Chapter XXV, 16. Also Atri sl. 136
3 Manu, Chapter IX, 59 & 60
4 Gautama, Chapter XVIII. Yajnavalkya, Chapter I, 68 Vasishta, Chapter XVII
5 Manu, Chapter IX, 146.
6 Parasara, Chapter IV, 17.
7 Manu, Chapter IX. 120 & 145.
8 Yajnavalkya, Chapter II, 130.
9 Usanas, Chapter V, 91.
10 Gautama, Chapter XXIX.

introduced into the human society by the licentious King Vena. Only in cases when the betrothed husband of a girl dies before the actual marriage, she may, if willing, choose to marry his brother: otherwise, the practice is not commendable.[1] He is averse to give a social status to the sons born under such an appointment, with or without the husband of the woman living. *Sraddha* oblations offered to them are entirely robbed of their efficacy, here and hereafter.[2]

The one humane and wholesome principle that seems to guide the social, religious, and legal *dicta* of many a law-giver of the early ages is that the weaknesses of the gentler sex are not to be much advertised. Atri is explicit on the point.[3] A woman does not become unclean by the touch of a paramour.[4] A woman who strays, from sheer folly, away from her husband, deserves to be readmitted by him, if her hymen keeps unruptured.[5] Yajnavalkya is even more generous. With or without her hymen unruptured, she is to be taken in by her husband if she comes back after staying away with a-man of her own caste.[6]

It is this generous principle that is responsible for the classification of sons, legitimate as well as illegitimate, into twelve classes and for giving them some status in life, varying in degrees. In the absence of the higher ones, the next lower in rank is to perform the funerals of the parents.[7]

We have already seen how Parasara labours in accepting the established exceptions among Sudras in the matter of interdining between the three higher castes and the fourth. Among the twice-born themselves, there is not much of a restriction. A Brahmana shall take the food offered by the twice-born who are recognized in their social duties.[8] Parasara permits it on all the occasions of *Sraddha* oblations.[9] Atri, Apastambha, and Angirasa prescribe that the food offered by a Brahmana shall be always acceptable; that offered by a Kshatriya may be accepted on some definite periodical phases of the moon; that offered by a Vaisya may be accepted in times of distress or on occasions of sacrifice.[10]

As to the unacceptability of the Sudra food in general there is not much of a difference of opinion. Apastambha and Vasishta condemn it in so many

1 Manu, Chapter IX, 66, 69 & 97
2 Manu, Chapter III, 175
3 Atri, sl. 238.
4 *Ibid.*, sl 189.
5 Manu, Chapter IX, 176.
6 Yajnavalkya, Chapter I, 67.
7 Manu, Chapter IX, 159, 160 & 180.
8 Gautama, Chapter XVII.
9 Parasara, Chapter XI, 13.
10 Angirasa, sl. 55, also Apastambha, Chapter, VII, 12.

words.[1] Atri almost agrees with them.[2] Usanas and Gautama prohibit even water touched by a Sudra.[3] Manu creates exceptions in the cases of one's own servants and dependents like the slave, the barber, the family friend, the cowherd, the cultivator of the land, and he who surrenders himself for protection. The food offered by any one of these Sudras may be accepted by a Brahmana.[4] Yajnavalkya, Yama, Gautama, and Parasara approve of these exceptions.[5]

We need not say much of the animal food. Most of the law-givers from Manu downwards have not much to say against it. But as we have already seen, Manu himself advises non-indulgence on higher principles. If absolutely necessary, he permits it on religious occasions, like the *Sraddha* of *Pitrs* or *Devas*.[6] Of the flesh of all the animals, that of the rhinoceros is highly spoken of as the most pleasing to *Pitrs* and *Devas*. While by the offerings of milk and *Payasam* they feel satisfied for one year, they are satiated for a full twelve years by the offerings of the flesh of the rhinoceros![7] It is interesting to note that in one case Manu makes it imperative to accept flesh. The man who does not eat flesh when religiously enjoined becomes a beast for several lives.[8] It is not meet for a Brahmana to refuse the offer of fish among other things.[9]

There is no such thing as pollution by sight (*Drishti-dosha*) among the four Varnas. Even in a *Sraddha* the food becomes polluted only by the smell of a hog, by the flutter of the wings of a fowl, by the sight of a dog, or by the touch of a low-caste man.[10] Usanas limits only to the first three.[11] Gautama and Parasara extend the pollution, even on ordinary occasions, to the sight of a *Svapacha* (dog-eater) or a *Chandala*, the offspring of a Brahmana woman by a Sudra.[12] There is no other case of pollution by sight decreed by our law-givers.

But *sparsha-dosha* (pollution by touch) is of a wider range. There are several expiations prescribed for the various kinds of *sparsha-dosha*, which are extended even to the domain of animals. Atri gives us some exceptions to

---

1 Apastambha, Chapter VIII, 8 Vasishta, Chapter VI
2 Atri, sl 298
3 Usanas, Chapter II, 13 , Gautama, Chapter IX.
4 Manu, Chapter IV, 253.
5 As for Parasara, *vide*, Chapter IX, 20 to 23. Yama gives the same sloka as Parasara Yajnavalkya, Chapter 1, 168 , Gautama, Chapter XVII
6 Manu, Chapter V, 41
7 Manu, Chapter III, 271 , also Usanas, Chapter III, 140
8 Manu, Chapter V, 35.
9 Manu, Chapter IV, 250 , Yajnavalkya, Chapter I, 214
10 Manu, Chapter III, 241.
11 Usanas, Chapter V, 32
12 Gautama, Chapter XV, Parasara, Chapter VI, 64

sparsha-dosha. On festive occasions, in marriages, sacrifices, and processions of Gods there is no such thing as touchability or untouchability.[1]

Change of religion is a punishable crime in the eyes of Atri. A foreign religion shall be avoided like the wife of another, however attractive.[2] But so far as we are able to see, there is nowhere a mode of reclamation prescribed, even after an expiation ceremony, for any of the poor souls that may have gone astray. The law-givers had probably no such pressing cases inviting their attention.

Before we close we should like to touch upon one more point, not insignificant in itself. Parasara Samhita is known as *the* Code for Kaliyuga, even as that of Manu for Krita, of Gautama for Treta, of Sankha and Likhita for Dwapara.[3] And yet in one important respect we deviate from the dictum of Parasara. According to him *sapinda* relationship stops with the fourth generation, and it breaks up with the fifth. Consequently, the period of pollution on account of birth or death is reduced after the fourth generation, and finally becomes three days in the case of the seventh. Men of the sixth and seventh generations may also be invited to preside on the occasions of *Pitr Sraddhas*.[4] But in practice we extend *sapinda* relationship to the seventh generation! Among the law-givers Vasishta alone carries *sapindya* to the seventh.[5] Gautama is indecisive; according to him it may be taken to the fifth or even to the seventh.[6] And yet any changes proposed in the existing social order are many a time opposed, tooth and nail, as being contrary to the dictates of Parasara! That the rules of conduct prescribed in the several Smritis are not intended to be eternal and that they are liable to change with the change of times is self-evident. The ideal remains true for all times. The point need not be laboured further.

If we are asked to give in a nut-shell the whole spirit of a life of *dharma* for all the Varnas, we cannot do better than quote the splendid couplet of Manu :—

दृष्टिपूतं न्यसेत्पादं वस्त्रपूतं जलंपिबेत् ।
सत्यपूतां वदेद्वाचं मनःपूतं समाचरेत् ॥ Chapter VI, 46.

Without injury even to the insects on land or in water, let one conduct oneself, with due regard to Truth and Conscience—is the essence of all the teachings on Dharma.

---

1 Atri, sl 245
2 Atri, sl. 17 & 18.
3 Parasara, Chapter I, 23
4 Parasara, Chapter III, 9, 10 & 11.
5 Vasishta, Chapter IV.
6 Gautama, Chapter XIV.

NOTES.

A South Indian Parallel to the Bengali Cumulative Folk-Tale.

ON reading the story given by Mr Sarat Chandra Mitra in the July issue of the Q. J. M S, I am reminded of a parallel folk-tale current in Tamil, in our parts of the country Here is an abstract of it.

Under a big banian tree there lived, once upon a time, a Rat-King. He had a Queen One day, while the queen was cooking the food of her lord, she tumbled into the oven and was burnt to ashes.

The Rat-King returned from his hunt, and was in eager expectation of a nice dish for the day. He called his queen, but there was no response With a heavy heart he searched for her, and finally saw, to his utter sorrow, her ashes in the oven.

In great grief, he came to the foot of the tree, and sat dejected. Seeing the Rat-King unusually moody, the Tree asked him the reason therefor. The Rat-King would not give out easily why he was moody But finally he said, "My queen was burnt to ashes, and I have no pleasure."

The Tree felt very sorry, and said. "Am I to be in enjoyment of the pleasure that has been denied to you?" So saying, it shed all its leaves

An Elephant who daily used to come to the tree for mouthfuls of fresh leaves saw it bare, and asked it why it had shed its leaves.

The Tree replied:—

"The Queen of the Rat-King is burnt,
The Rat-King is moody, And I shed leaves"

The Elephant felt sorry for the death of the Queen of the Rat-King, and said, "Am I to be in enjoyment of the pleasure that is denied to you?" So saying he broke one of his tusks

The River, to which he used to go for a bath, asked him why he broke his tusk.

The Elephant said:—

"The Queen of the Rat-King is burnt;
The Rat-King is moody,
The Tree shed its leaves,
And I broke my tusk."

The River felt sorry for the death of the Rat-Queen and said, "Am I to be in enjoyment of the pleasure that is denied to you?" So saying, it dried up its water

A Crane, that used to fish in the water of the river, asked it why it was dry.

The River said —

"The Queen of the Rat-King is burnt,
The Rat-King is moody
The Tree shed its leaves,
The Elephant broke his tusk,
And I dried up my water."

The Crane felt sorry for the death of the Rat-Queen and said, "Am I to be in enjoyment of the pleasure that is denied to you?" So saying, he made himself blind of an eye.

A Hunter that used to see the Crane every day, while out for a hunt, asked the Crane why he was blind of an eye.

The Crane said —

"The Queen of the Rat-King is burnt
The Rat-King is moody,
The Tree shed its leaves,
The Elephant broke his tusk,
The River dried up its water,
And I am blind of an eye."

The Hunter felt sorry for the death of the Rat-Queen and said, "Am I to be in enjoyment of the pleasure that is denied to you?" So saying, he threw away his hunting-rod.

A Brahmin lady who used to give the hunter alms, when he went to her doors begging one night, asked him why he was without his hunting-rod

The Hunter replied —

"The Queen of the Rat-King is burnt,
The Rat-King is moody,
The Tree shed its leaves,
The Elephant broke his tusk,
The River dried up its water,
The Crane was blind of an eye,
And I threw away my hunting-rod"

The Brahmin lady felt sorry for the death of the Rat-Queen and said, "Am I to be in enjoyment of the pleasure that is denied to you?" So saying, she broke the cooking pot, on the street, with all its contents

Here ends the story abruptly And I have given it for what it is worth.

K KRISHNAMACHARYA.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Indian Academy of Arts.

Preliminary Notice.

[We have great pleasure in inviting the attention of our readers to the following.—*Ed.*]

DURING several tours which I have made through most of the linguistic areas of India, I have come in contact with various well-marked movements in creative literature and the fine arts. These movements, separated both by distance and language, are working independently and in ignorance of one another; yet, while rightly developing along the lines of local tradition, they are obviously simultaneous diverse expressions of a cultural awakening which is not merely provincial but Indian, and as such, they will fail of their highest accomplishment if not brought into sympathetic relationship with one another.

To India as a national entity, at this moment when an attempt is being made to brand her with the stigma of racial inferiority, it is a matter of vital importance, that she should realize and assert the total strength and quality of her cultural life, and rise again to the level of the dignity and power that were hers for centuries as the centre of a cultural empire that extended from Asia Minor to Japan and from Central Asia to Java.

For some years, India has been moving in this direction, but circumstances now demand a quickening of the pace. The degeneration of taste which has come through the diversion of her educated classes towards foreign literature and art must come to an end. Her own vernacular writers and artists must be encouraged, and their works must be given an All-India public.

To this end, and after personal consultation with many creative artists and appreciators of literature and art, during a recent tour from Madras through Bengal, Behar, the United Provinces, the Panjab, Kashmir, Sindh, Gujarat and Bombay, it is proposed that there be founded, as soon as possible, an Indian Academy of Arts, consisting of (*a*) Constituent Academies in each linguistic area, or, where the linguistic area covers more than one traditional cultural area (as, for example, Hindi covers Sindh and Rajputana), an Academy for each cultural area, or, where a traditional cultural area, such as Kashmir or Behar, has more than one language, an Academy with a department for each language in the area, these Constituent Academies to be designated later as may be found most desirable, (*b*.) of a Central Academy.

The work of the Constituent Academies will be to find out and bring together in mutual intercourse the writers, artists and art-craftsmen in the various areas; to promote local recitals of literature and music, and exhibitions of arts and art-crafts,

and to report to the Central Academy the best works produced in the area during a given period

The work of the Central Academy will be to record the reports of the Constituent Academies, to make the best works of the period known throughout India by the translation of literature from language to language, and the reproduction of pictures and photographs of architecture, sculpture, carving and art-objects, and to publish a magazine in English as a means of disseminating a knowledge of the highest achievements of Indian culture throughout the world

Details of the Constitution of the Academy are being worked out. Meanwhile, it is requested that you send me at the earliest possible moment the following information written (for uniformity in filing) on quarto paper, and giving the number of each item at the beginning of your reply.

1. Your name and full postal address, and special cultural activity or interest.

2 The name and address of any one likely to be interested to whom you have transmitted a copy of this circular.

3 The name and address of any one to whom you desire further copies to be sent.

4. The Samskrit designation which you consider most suitable for the Academy as a whole (The Indian Academy of Arts), and the designation which you think most suitable for the Constituent Academy in your area.

5. The language or languages of your area

6. The title, name of author and publisher, and price of any history of literature in the language of your area, or any representative collections of prose or poetry. Give these in both the vernacular and English.

7 The same information as to similar books published in English.

8. The same information as to a recently published (*a*) book of poems, (*b*) drama, (*c*) novel, (*d*) short story, or (*e*) general prose work, from your area, which you consider worthy of being translated into the other Indian languages.

9. Particulars as to a recent work of art which you consider worthy of being reproduced or photographed.

10. The names and addresses of established and promising writers and artists in your area, with some particulars as to their life and works

As soon as the above information is received and tabulated, definite steps will be taken to found the Academy and proceed with its much-needed work.

Your immediate and thorough attention is earnestly requested.

MADRAS,
1st September 1923.

JAMES H. COUSINS,
Brahmavidyashrama, Adyar.

A Correction.

To

THE EDITOR,

Journal of the Mythic Society,

Bangalore City.

DEAR SIR,

On pages 785-6 of the July issue of the Mythic Society's Journal (No. 4 of Vol XIII) I am credited, in a review of the Census Report, with having written the Census Report for *three* decennial Censuses and therefore of having written the *Census Report of 1901*

2. But if that Report is referred to, it will be found that it was written by Mr. T. Ananda Rao, B.A. I hope this will be corrected or pointed out in a future issue of the Journal.

3. Thus it will be found that I have written only the Reports for *two* Censuses and not for *three* Censuses.

Bangalore City,
Dated 11th July 1923.

Yours faithfully,
V. R THYAGARAJA IYER.

REVIEWS.

The Virataparvan of the Mahabharata.

EDITED BY NARAYAN BAPUJI UTGIKAR, M.A., *Poona*.

THE high esteem in which the Mahābhārata is held in India is clearly indicated by the term 'the fifth Vēda' applied to the epic. It is an encyclopædia of religion, ethics, politics, history and several other branches of knowledge, and as such its careful study is a *sine qua non* for every student of Indian history.

Several editions of the Mahābhārata have been brought out, but they are defective in one way or another, as they are not based on a collection of a large number of manuscripts, both northern and southern, and do not bear evidence of the strict application of the accepted principles of textual criticism. We therefore welcome the present attempt on the part of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, to bring out a critical and illustrated edition of this important epic under the auspices of Srimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh.

It was towards the middle of the year 1918 that the project of a critical and illustrated edition of the Mahābhārata was first formed in Poona, and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute took up the scheme for accomplishment. In 1919 the collation of the manuscripts was formally inaugurated at the hands of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, and about eighty independent complete manuscripts were collated. About the middle of 1920 it was decided to publish a tentative edition of a portion of the work, and in obedience to the orthodox prejudice against beginning any work on the Mahābhārata with the Ādiparvan, the portion selected for the tentative edition was the Virātaparvan. The printing was commenced in May 1922 and completed in December of the same year

The bulky volume of the Virātaparvan before us, consisting of nearly 1200 pages, bears unmistakable testimony to the care and industry of the editor. This tentative edition, based on a collation of sixteen independent manuscripts besides the three well-known editions of Calcutta, Bombay and Kumbhakonam, is issued with a view to invite helpful suggestions and criticisms which will be utilized in the preparation of the final edition of the Mahābhārata. It begins with an introduction of 52 pages giving details about the genesis of the present edition, the manuscripts, editions and other critical material used for it, the arrangement of matter and the principles on which the text is based. Then we have the text of the Virātaparvan with various readings, followed by critical and explanatory notes extending over 146 pages. Then follows an Appendix of 286 pages containing additional verses not included in the text. And lastly, we have three

supplements, the first giving the text of a section of the Vidhurapandita-jātaka which has some resemblance in text and subject-matter to the fourth chapter of the Virātaparvan, the second containing the readings found in the commentary, known as Vishamapadavivarana, on the Virātaparvan, and the third giving the quotations from the Virātaparvan found in the Javanese version of the same made in A.D. 996. It will thus be seen that the editor has availed himself of every source of information for procuring a correct text and he may well be congratulated on the satisfactory manner in which he has performed the task entrusted to him.

The volume is illustrated by three fine pictures drawn by Srimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh, to whose enlightened generosity the inception and continuance of this edition of the Mahābhārata are due. The method adopted by him for preparing the illustrations appears to be correct. He says that he will follow the text wherever possible for all details, the Sānchi and Bharhut sculptures for the mode of dress and ornaments, and the Ajanta paintings for the manner of colouring.

As desired by the editor, we shall now proceed to make some suggestions for the improvement of the final edition.

1 At the beginning of each *adhyāya* or chapter the subject-matter may be given in brief.

2. Each volume may have at the beginning its contents arranged according to the chapters and at the end an index of proper names.

3 More South Indian manuscripts and editions have to be consulted. Of the 16 manuscripts used for the present volume, only 4 are from South India. Surely there are more manuscripts available in the libraries at Mysore, Tanjore, etc. The Madras edition of the Mahābhārata in Telugu characters by Hayagriva Sastri, published more than fifty years ago, does not appear to have been consulted. There seems to be a sort of prejudice against southern manuscripts owing chiefly to the large quantity of interpolations in them. This is unreasonable, as in an undertaking of this kind light and guidance should be welcomed from every available quarter. The inflation of the southern recension is itself a problem that has to be faced and accounted for. It is rather curious that the southern recension, though full of interpolations, does not contain so many as 321 verses of the present text of the Virātaparvan. In this connection we may also invite the attention of the editor to a South Indian Publication, *Notes of a Study of the Preliminary Chapters of the Mahābhārata*, by V. Venkatachellam Iyer, about which the reviewer says* "The book is one that will have to be seriously considered when the herculean task of constituting a critical text of the Mahābhārata is undertaken in earnest."

4. It is desirable to give the different readings also of the additional verses contained in the Appendix.

5. It is no doubt true that investigations with regard to the work on hand are apt to be more or less coloured by one's personal ideas, but a firm attempt

* J. R. A. S. for 1923, 427-8

ought to be made to minimise the personal factor as far as possible The editor says that he has not hesitated to emend conjecturally at places the text, even against the evidence of all the manuscripts. This is to be deprecated unless there are very strong grounds for such procedure Again, seventeen verses found in all the manuscripts, both northern and southern, have been relegated to the Appendix, though they are required to make up the number given in the Parva-sangraha chapter which, there is evidence to show, goes back to the fourth century A.D. The reasons given for the relegation are not convincing. It is stated that these verses were the product of the period intervening between the original Mahābhārata and the same when the Parvasangraha chapter was added to it This is merely drawing upon the imagination We want satisfactory proof for arriving at this conclusion.

We may add that *parva-śatam* (p. xxxi) probably refers to the total of the sub-divisions, also known as *parvas*, of the eighteen *parvas* of the epic

R N.

Mysore Archæological Series.

Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. II

Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola (Revised Edition)

BY PRAKTANA VIMARSA VICHAKSHANA RAO BAHADUR R NARASIMHACHAR, M A., M.R A S.

WE have received with pleasure the above publication relating to a place of great antiquity full of historical, religious and architectural importance The Archæo-logical wealth of Mysore originally brought to light by the efforts of Messrs. Fergusson, Workman, Rice and other pioneers, have recently been made known extensively to the continents of Europe and America, by the brilliant annual reports and monographs of Mr. Narasimhachar, and scholars should feel thankful to him for the additional light thrown on the dark periods of history such as that of the Gangas.

The first edition of the work was published by Mr. B. L. Rice in 1889 The present publication, we are glad to observe, contains 350 records not known before and an increase of printed inscriptions from 144 to 500, while the survey of the place is now almost complete. The present volume abounds in beautiful illustra-tions with 78 plates and with fac-similes of a number of inscriptions. The actual texts of the inscriptions in Roman characters (with translations) and in Kannada are preceded by an illuminating and instructive introduction The records range in date from 600 A.D. and the oldest of the buildings may be put to about 800 A.D.

Sravaṇa Belgola or Belgoḷa (white pond) of the Śravaṇa or Śramaṇa, a Jaina ascetic, is situated 8 miles to the south of Chennarayapatna in Hassan District of

the Mysore State, and consists of two hills—Dodda-betta or Vindhyagiri and Chikka-betta or Chandragiri. It is on the former that the colossal statue of Gommateswara is situated and the latter is associated with the reminiscences of the earliest period known to Indian history, that of the Chandragupta Maurya. The inscriptions bring to prominence many of the knotty problems in Indian history such as the date of the original migration of the Jainas to the south, the rise and growth in power of the Gangas, the death of the last of the Rashtrakutas, the establishment and the expansion of the Hoysala kingdom, the supremacy of the Vijianagar Empire and the reign of the Mysore Royal House In recent times, the place attracted the attention of the Duke of Wellington when he was at Seringapatam as Sir A Wellesley.

Readers of the Mythic Society Journal may already be familiar with particulars about the Statue of Gommateswara, as the President of the Society has published an interesting monograph on the subject in Volume III, No. (1) of our Journal and as Mr. Narasimhachar himself read a paper on Sravana Belgola before our Society which was duly published in Volume XIII, No. (1) of the Journal and a close follower of the Mysore Archæological reports should also be acquainted with other incidents related herein Though we are in general agreement with the conclusions of Mr. Narasimhachar on the later dynasties, we regret with him that he is not able to throw any additional light on the most important question connected with Maurya-Chandragupta. From the tenour of some of the inscriptions, from some of the literary evidences available from the Jaina works in Sanskrit and Kannada, and from the observations made by Mr. Thomas and other well-known scholars, Mr. Narasimhachar favours the Jaina tradition relating to Chandragupta and Śrutakevali Bhadrabahu and is disposed to consider the same as a working basis for future researches. There are some difficulties in our way of doing this It means that we are to believe in a tradition that gains its first epigraphical support only about 600 A D. which is long after the event. We are to depend again upon literary evidences which date only from 931 A.D. We are to presume from the indirect testimony of Megasthenes that Chandragupta submitted to the devotional teachings of Śramaṇas and we are again to assume that Chandragupta was a Jain, and that his successors including Aśoka were Jains on the mere allusion to Jains in the Sanskrit drama *Mudra-rakshasa* and on the uncorroborated version that Aśoka introduced Jainism into Kashmir Apart from other strong grounds against this theory, which Mr. Narasimhachar himself recognizes, the very absence of any kind of direct evidence during a century or two preceding and succeeding the Christian era which cannot be considered too dark to chronicle the migration of an important community and the sudden disappearance of a very powerful Emperor, and the significant omission of this incident in contemporary records are themselves sufficient to lessen the authority of the later Jain records; and though one may not agree with Dr. Fleet in his interpretation of inscriptions, yet, one may believe with him, in a general way, that the Jain tradition should rest on some more substantial foundation.

Many of the inscriptions throw a flood of light on Jaina religion and philosophy and reveal the social and religious state of the country at the time. The valuable foot-notes below the translations must enable a lay reader to understand the technical terms of the Jainas such as *Sallekhanı*, *Syādvāda* or the Sapthabhangi doctrine, the *Sapta Mahardd ies*, the three *Śalyas*, etc , and give him a deep insight into their scripture It is with pleasure that we note that the inscriptions do not bear the useful imprints of religious persecution, in spite of the fact that Jainism is considered heretic by all the Brahminical schools, and that it had to struggle with and submit to the scathing and at times unjustified criticisms of its rival creed No better example of religious toleration can be given than the distribution of rice by the Jaina monastery to the solitary Hindu temple of the village dedicated to Kalamma and the existence of a Vishnu and a Siva temple in Hale Belgola. The gigantic revival of Vaishnavism, under the foremost of its apostles Sri Ramanuja, penetrated into the heart of the State and threatened the very existence of Jainism and the wounds that might have been caused would have taken several centuries to heal in any other country. But, yet, in 1368 we find the earliest Vijianagar record speaking of a reconciliation brought about by Bukkaraya I between Vaishnavas and Jainas. The advent of Ramanuja and the introduction of Vaishnavism in the State is not attended with vandalism of any kind and the only incident mentioned by Mr. Narasimhachar about the story that, after the conversion of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana to the Vaishnava faith, the Vaishnava apostle mutilated the statue of Gommateswara is not believable and bears no support We do not want to make this review any more lengthy by a critical examination of all the details but wish once again to express our admiration for this publication and commend the same to scholars and laymen alike.

K. D.

The Cage of Gold.

BY SITA CHATTERJI.

Published by Messrs R. Chatterji, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

THE volume before us is a rendering into English of the Bengali original by Mr. A. E. Brown, Principal, Wesleyan College, Bankura. The plot of the novel is very interesting and laid partly in Bihar and partly in Calcutta. The hero is Samarendra and the heroine is Urmila Urmila is brought up from her childhood in wealth and pomp but caged as it were by Kshetranath in his mansion Her only companions till she is free were books and she knew not the outside world. With the removal of Kshetranath from his earthly existence, Urmila from her forced seclusion is suddenly flung on Calcutta society Circumstances bring her into contact with Samarendra, who curiously enough captivates her. But Kshetranath willed it otherwise. He left a large property to Urmila with a condition attached to it, *viz.*, that she should marry one of

the persons named by him. Once set free she rebels against the check placed on her freedom of action by her benefactor Kshetranath. A conflict ensues as to the line of action to be adopted by her Choice lies between Samarendra, the idol of her heart, who wants her out of pure and simple affection and Lalit, Kshetranath's nominee, who seeks her hand out of selfish greed for the gold which the alliance with Urmila brings The acceptance of the former means ruin to her and of the latter perpetual gloom over her life As could be expected of a noble soul, she throws in her lot with Samarendra and prefers love in a cottage to the pomp and splendour which her marriage with Lalit held out, fully realizing that a marriage based on pecuniary considerations, could never ensure the lasting happiness of the couple

The author incidentally also draws a vivid picture of life in a Bengali household.

T. S.

Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities.

BY PHANINDRANATH BOSE, M.A., *Visvabharati*, *Santiniketan*

Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Price Rs. 2-8.

THIS is one of the latest additions to the T. P. H. "Asian Library" and is a welcome one Mr Bose has written briefly on the Universities and Teachers but what he has gleaned from the researches of the foreign writers on them is well worth publication, for it gives in one conspectus a view of the work done by old world Indian Teachers at the old world Universities of India. In the details given of Teachers and Universities, there is a monotonous repetition of words and phrases. We have no doubt these will be done away with in a future edition. We have noticed one or two printer's errors, which ought not to be in so good a book as this one is. We have no doubt these will be duly corrected in the next edition, which cannot be long delayed. The book opens up a line of enquiry for aspiring scholars which is full of promise. The four Universities mentioned—Vikramasila, Nalanda, Jagaddala, and Odantapuri—cannot have been the only ones of importance in the whole country. How many more were there and what was the nature of work done in them? Were they Buddhistic Universities of the monastic type as the four mentioned above? Were there Brahmanic Universities side by side with these? Were there any Universities of the type described in this book in Southern India proper—south of the River Krishna? The book incidentally brings out the long religious connection of this country with Tibet, whose Buddhist teachers were largely imported from these Universities An excellent book to read and to keep.

C. H.

Subscriptions received during the quarter ending 30th September 1923.

Names	Vol	Rs.	A.	P.
Messrs.				
B Venkatramana Chetty	XIII	5	0	0
Sir P. Ramanathan, Colombo	,,	3	4	0
Prof. P Pissurlencar, Sanguelim	,,	3	0	0
T. M Sundaram Iyer, Tirupattur	,,	3	8	0
Luzac & Co., London	,,	3	0	0
Rajasabhabushana Dewan Bahadur K P. Puttanna Chetty, Bangalore	,,	5	0	0
K. V Ramaswami Iyengar, Bangalore	,,	5	0	0
K. R. Sreenivasa Iyengar Bangalore	,,	5	0	0
Dr. G J. Ingram Cotton, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
W. H. Murphy, Bangalore	XII & XIII	10	0	0
Rao Saheb B. V. Venkatasami Naidu, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
Dr E. S. Krishnaswami Iyer, Bangalore	,,	5	0	0
Dr. B. G. S. Acharya, Allahabad	,,	5	0	0
S. Srikantaiya, Bangalore	,,	5	0	0
Rev. J. A. Vanes, Shimoga	,,	3	0	0
Ahmad Sait, Bangalore	XIII	5	0	0
M. Sreenivasa Murthy, Bangalore	,,	5	0	0
B. A. Saletore, Udipi	XIV	3	0	0
S. V. Venkatesvaran, Mysore	XIII & XIV	6	0	0
L. A. Cammiade, Madras	XI, XII, XIII & XIV	12	4	0
Sarat Chandra Mitra, Calcutta	XIV	3	0	0
Rev. F. Veyssere, K.G.F.	XIII & XIV	6	4	0
K. Sri Narasimhaiya, Mysore	,,	6	4	0
N. Venkatesa Iyengar, Bangalore	XIII	5	0	0
Principal, Ernakulam College	XIV	3	0	0
K. Krishna Iyengar, Bangalore	XIII	5	0	0
P. S. Janakirama Iyer, Salem	XIII & XIV	6	10	0
C. E. Rama Rao, Bangalore	,,	10	0	0
Dr. M. Sreenivasa Rao, Bangalore	XIII	5	0	0
Cashier, Calcutta University, Calcutta	,,	3	0	0
P. Parthasarathy Iyengar, Parvatipur	XIV	3	0	0
T. Madiah, Bangalore, part payment of	,,	3	0	0
G. Sundara Rao, Bangalore	,,	5	0	0

Names.	Vol.	Amount.		
Messrs.		Rs.	A.	P.
K. V. Appa Sarma, Anantapur	XIII & XIV	6	10	0
S. P. Y. Surendranath Voegeli Arya, Madras ..	,, ..	6	10	0
H. Rekubchand Bapnah, K. G. F.	XIV ..	3	0	0
Head Clerk in charge of History Section, University of Allahabad ..	XI, XII, XIII & XIV ..	12	0	0
K. V. Anantaraman, Bangalore	XIII ..	5	0	0
T. S. Venkanniah, Bangalore	XII ..	5	0	0
S. Cadambi, Bangalore	XII & XIII ..	10	0	0
V. S. Arumugam Mudaliar, Bangalore, part payment of XII	..	1	0	0
K. Sampatgiri Rao, Bangalore	XIII ..	5	0	0
B. Venkatramanaiya, Kolar	XIII & XIV ..	6	10	0
Inspector-General of Education in Mysore for twelve copies of	XIII ..	60	0	0
C. B. Gopala Rao, Kolar	XIII & XIV ..	6	10	0
K. Krishnamacharya, Badavel	XIV ..	3	0	0

Books presented during the quarter ending 30th September 1923.

Registrar, Calcutta University—

Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture by S. Krishnaswami Iyengar.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. X

Registrar, Madras University—

Calendar of the Madras University for 1923, Vol. II.

Director of Archæology, Mysore and the Editor, Daily Post—

Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola by R. Narasimhachar. (Two copies.)

Superintendent of the Archæological Department, Kashmir State—

Annual Report of the Department for 1920-21

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta—

Memoirs—Vol. VII—(5)—Vocabulary of peculiar vernacular Bengali words.

The K. R. Cama Institute, Bombay—

Kharshedji Rustomjee Cama—A Memoir by S. M. Edwards.

Presented by—

Khan Saheb Khaja Khan, Madras, (Author)—

'Studies in Tasawwuff'

B. Ananda Rao, Esq, Sub-Registrar, Malavalli—

Indian Antiquary —June 1872
November ,,
January 1873
March ,,
April ,,
August ,,
September ,,
October ,
Vol. II Part XXV
August 1875
October 1876.

Rajakaryaprasakta Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao (Author)—

Sreerāmakathāprasanga.

N. G. Venkatasubba Iyer, Esq., Teppakulam—

Adwaita Rasa Manjari

Messrs. R. Chatterji, Calcutta—

"The Cage of Gold" by Sita Chatterji.

C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar, Esq. (Author)—

Kongu Nadu during the times of Sundara Murtigal

Very Rev. Canon Edward Sell, M.A. (Author)—

"The Faith of Islam."

NOTICE.

The first six instalments of the Translation by the President of the Mythic Society of Professor Felix Lacôte's "Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā" were published in Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, of Vol. IV, No. 4 of Vol. V and No. 3 of Vol. VI of this Journal. At the request of many members, the Translator has kindly promised to issue the rest of the work without any further delay. As his intention is to publish the whole translation in book form, which, however, will not be for sale but only for presentation, the subsequent instalments will be published with the book pagination. In addition, 250 copies of the first six instalments have been reprinted from Vols. IV, V and VI of the Journal, so that members who have joined the Society after the publication of Vol. VI can get reprints of those instalments at the cost of Rs. 1-8 by applying to the Curator, Mythic Society, Daly Memorial Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City.

The following is a Summary of what has already appeared in this Journal:

N.B.—Pages 93—148 have been published in Vol. XIII No. 4 and are not issued as reprints.

PART III

GUṆĀḌHYA'S BṚHATKATHĀ

CHAPTER I

THE FRAGMENTS OF THE PAIÇĀCĪ BṚHATKATHĀ

THE examples of Paiçācī given by Hemacandra IV, 303-324 (ed. Pischel) are isolated words with the exception of some fragments of running text which we shall give later on * We have no absolute proof that those examples are borrowed from the Bṛhatkathā, though this has always been considered as probable. Tāmotaro=Sk. Dāmodaraḥ (307) is the name of one of the heroes in Sūrya-prabha's story (Som 8, Ks 6), Vijayasena (*Vijayasenena lapitam 324*) is the name of a personage who appears in the narration of the first Brâhmin (*Som* 13, L (CIV), Ks 11), besides, the name of Mahāsena's father is Jayasena Sagaraputra (*sagaraputtavacanam 324*) might be, after all, the merchant's name of which the hypocoristic is Sāgara (B.K.Ç.S., 18, adh 4) (*cf* also the Sāgaradatta of *Som.* and of *Ks*, the Sāgaravarman and the Sāgaravīra of *Som*), but names of merchants, in which enter the words sāgara and samudra, are so frequent in all the tales that they are a very weak indication

Excepting those proper names there is no interest in reproducing isolated words, as all have the usual corresponding words in Sanskrit.

Fragments (Text of Pischel)

Hem IV, 310. kim pi kim pi hitapake attham cimtayamānī=kam api kam api hrdayake 'rtham cintayamānā=" (She) thinking in her mind of such things."

316 · pudhumatamsane (*var* puthu—, pudha—,) savvassa yyeva sammānam kīrate (*var.* kīrati)= prathamadarçane sarvasyaiva sammānam kriyate = The first time one meets people one must be polite to them whoever they may be.

320 : tam tatthūna (*var* datthūna, taddhūna) cimtitam raññā kā esā huveyya (*var.* huviyyaḥ)=tām drstvā cintitam rājña kaisā bhavet=The king saw her and said to himself · Who can she possibly be?

321 : tāva ca (*var.* va) tīe tūrāto yyeva titho (*var.* dittho)=tāvac ca tayā dūrād eva distaḥ=No sooner had he seen her from afar

322 : katasinā (*var.* katasitā) nena=kṛtāsinā tena=? (kita+asi—*Pischel*)

pūjito ca (*var.* va) nāe pātaggakusumappatānena (*var.* yātaggaku—, pāta-māku—) =pūjitaç ca tayā pādāgrakusuma pradānena=She did him honour in laying down flowers at his feet.

evam cimtayamto gato so tāe samipam (*var* samīvam, samīve)=evam cintayan gataḥ sa tasyāḥ samīpam=Thinking this within himself, he presented himself before her.

---

* *Cf.* R. Pischel, De grammaticis Prācriticis, pag 33 sq.

323 adha sasarīro bhagavam makaraddhajo (*var* —dhvajo) ittha (*var*. cttha) paribbhamamto huveyya=atha saçarīro bhagavān makaradhvajo 'tra paribhraman bhavet=If you were Incarnate Love taking a walk here!

evamvidhāe bhagavatīe · kadham tāpasavesagahanam katam=evamvidhayā bhagavatyā katham tāpasaveçagrahaṇam kitam=Being made as thou art, how hast thou assumed the appearance of an ascetic?

etisam atitthapuravam (*var* —puvvam) mahādhanam (*var*.—vanam,—canam) tatthūna (*var*. taddhūna)=īdiçam adrstapūrvam mahādhanam drstvā=Having set eyes on a personage (?) such that *he* or *she* (?) had not seen any one richer (?)

bhagavam yati (*var*. yadi) mam varam payacchase (*var*. payatthase)=bhagavan yadi me varam prayacchase=Lord, if thou grantest me a wish

rājam (*var*. rāyam) camḍāvaloka (*mss* ca (*var*. vam) dāvaloka)=rājamç Caṇḍāvaloka=O king, with a terrible aspect. (M.R. Pischel, *Hem Gr. der. P S.*, II, 176, restores this example differently · rājam ca dāva loke=rajāmç ca tāval loke—He says

"Für das sinnlose *loka*, habe ich *loke* geschrieben, ohne zu meinen, damit das richtige getroffen zu haben"—

"For the meaningless *loka*, I have written *loke* without pretending to say that I have expressed the right thing." (Transl.)

I do not see what could be the meaning of *Ca* after a vocative The form *Loka* invites us to look for a second vocative in what follows *rājam*. The constant confusion between *da* and *da*, which is absolute, even in well-known writings, renders insignificant the correction proposed by me. The titles in *avaloka*—epithets which, on the whole, have few characteristics of their own—have been borne, especially by the Rāstrakūtas of Mālkheḍ *cf.* Khaḍgāvaloka (Dantidurga), Vikramāvaloka (Govindarāja II)—about 750-800; Raṇāvaloka (Kambayya). * I notice also a Gunāvaloka—Nanna, a Dharmāvaloka—Tunga (grandson of the previous one) (Inscription of Bodh-Gayā)—Kielhorn, *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Ep Ind.* V. app., No 630, *cf.* Fleet. *Ep. Ind.*, (160 sq.), VI, p. 189).

tāva ca tie tūrāto (*var*. dū—) yyeva tittho so āgacchamāno rājā (*var*. rāyā) =tavāc ca tayā dūrād eva drstah sa āgacchamāno rājā=No sooner had she seen from afar the king who was approaching.

326: Example of Cūlikāpaiçācika, though the rule of the *assourdissement général des sonores* is here not strictly observed (meter āryā)

panamatha (Anundoram Borooah panamata) panaya (A.B. panaa) pakuppita-golīcalanaggalaggapatibimbam (A B.—paḍibimbam) | tasasu nakha (A.B naha) tappanesum (A B.—su) ekā (A.B ehā) tasatanuthaḷam (A.B.—dhalam) luddam ‖ 1 ‖ naccamtassa ya līlāpātukkhevena kampitā vasuthā | ucchallamti samuddā sailā nipatamti tam halam namatha ‖ 2 ‖

(*Var*. 1—ppakuppita ;—kupita. calanagālagā, païbimbam; tanuthalam,

* I am indebted for those comparisons to Mr. S Lévi.

tanutthalam, tautthalam, luddham – 2 naccamtasya, līlā, pātukkhevenajassakam-; vasudhā, utthallamti, ucchalamti, nitamtatahalam, nipatamtihalam)

—pranamata pranayaprakopitagaurīcaranāgralagnapratibimbaṁ I daçasu nakhadarpanesv ekādaçatanusthalam Rudram ‖ 1 ‖ nrtyataç ca līlāpādotksepena kampitā vasudhā I ucchalanti samudrāḥ çailā nipatanti tam Haram namata ‖ 2 ‖

=Adore him! It is he whose image, when Gaurī is excited with love, fixes itself on the nails of the goddess's feet ten mirrors which, by reflection, give him the eleven bodies. Rudra! It is he whose dancing, when he amuses himself by moving his feet, makes the earth quake, the oceans swell and the mountains fall.—Hara! Adore him!

Let us set aside those stanzas of indifferent value. The other quotations seem to be borrowed from a running text, as Mr. Pischel has observed, and even, most of them from one passage. This is natural enough. Hemacandra, when he wished to quote isolated words, relied on his memory, which supplied him with some proper names and words of ordinary use, but when he wanted more lengthy examples, he opened a text at random and quoted from one page, or perhaps two, consecutive pages. It is easy enough to restore, in a general way, the scene which was related there.

A king sees from a distance a woman who takes his fancy. She has the appearance of an ascetic. Who can she be? Never mind, says he,—when one sees some one for the first time, one can be polite to that person.—Whilst making this reflection he comes nearer. She sees him coming, pays him homage in laying flowers at his feet, thinking that perhaps he may be the God of Love. They enter into conversation—she expresses a wish.

It is useless to attempt to identify this scene with any episode of Naravāhanadatta's history, who, in our texts, never bears the title of king. In the history of Udayana and in the other tales the result of my investigations is negative, none of the three versions gives us anything that can be the subject of a comparison.

Mr. Pischel has, tentatively it is true, compared the verses K S S, XI, 48-49.* It is in the story of Angāraka's murder: "Whilst he (Caṇḍamahāsena) was standing there he saw a young maid accompanied by hundreds of women! She was going resembling the arrow of love which makes a breach in the heart's firmness. A shower of love, made of nectar, was falling slowly from her eyes, inundating the king as she was advancing with measured steps towards him, 'Who art thou,' says she." The situation is so different that there does not seem to be any chance for a comparison between the two to be accurate.

I may mention another one, but simply as an indication. It is in the story of Manorathaprabhā, etc., (*cf.* the Kādambarī of Bāna). Somaprabha, returning from a victorious campaign, has lost his way in a wood. He hears a woman's voice (K.S.S., 10, III, (LIX))

gatvā tadanusārena kautukān nātidūrataḥ I
so' paçyac chivaliñgāgre gāyantīm divyakanyakām ‖ 81 ‖

* Gr. der P S 27, n 11

keyam adbhutarūpā syād iti tam ca savismayam |
sāpy udārākrtim drstvā krtvātithyam avocata || 82 ||
kas tvam katham imām bhūmim ekaḥ prāpto'si durgamām |
etac chrutvā svavrttāntam uktvā papraccha so'pi tām || 83 ||
tvam me kathaya kāsi tvam vane'smin kā ca te sthitih |
iti tam prstavantam ca divyakanyā jagāda sā || 84 ||

Manorathaprabhā relates her history adding :

etac chrutvā parāvrttya maranāt tatpratīksinī |
sthitāsmīhaiva baddhāçā çamkarārcanatatparā || 114 ||

" He advanced towards the direction indicated by the voice through curiosity and at a small distance, he saw, in front of a Linga of Çiva, a young celestial maid who was singing —" Who can that wonder of beauty possibly be ?" said he in astonishment. She too was surprised to see this prince of such noble figure She offered him the presents of hospitality and said " Who art thou ? How hast thou been able to reach this place which is of very difficult access ?" In reply he related to her his adventures and added " Now tell me who thou art thyself, and what is the meaning of thy sojourn in this wood ?" The celestial maid answered · "(*Narrative*). Thereupon I gave up all idea of dying, and longing for him (her lover), I settled down here, with deeply-seated hope in my heart, without any other occupation but to praise Çiva "

B K.M. 16, 203-219. The same story

The details agree pretty well, though Somaprabha is not a king but simply a crown prince and there is no question of a wish

It is worth noticing that it is only passages found in the Cashmerian Brhatkathā, that one is inclined to identify with the quotations of Hemacandra—isolated proper names (*v. supra*)—or fragments of running text That seems to show that he has taken his examples not from Gunāḍhya's Brhatkathā, but from the Paiçācī Brhatkathāsaritsāgara, which, as we have attempted to prove, was the original of Ksemendra and of Somadeva. I see another proof of the same fact in the use of the epithet *candāvaloka*. It is hard to believe that Guṇāḍhya should have given to one of his personages a title, which inscriptions show to have been in common use only five centuries after the time in which he probably lived. On the other hand, the century where those titles in *avaloka* are found, is precisely that one from which we have dated the Cashmerian compilation. I am rather inclined to admit that the indifferent stanzas, given as examples of Cūlikāpaiçācī, and which one would hesitate to attribute to Gunāḍhya, might well be the invocation with which the Brhatkathāsaritsāgara began.

All things considered, the quotations of Hemacandra cannot give us any information on the contents of the Brhatkathā, and the proof, which, at first sight they might have seemed to supply in favour of the authenticity of some books of the Cashmerian Brhatkathā (*vide supra*) does not really exist.

CHAPTER II

THE ACCURACY OF THE ÇLOKASAMGRAHA

IF you refer to the primitive plan of the Cashmerian *abridgment*, as it has been revealed to us from the study of the Kathāsaritsāgara and of the Brhatkathāmañjarī (*vide supra*), we see at once that our hypothesis on the formation of the Cashmerian Brhatkathā is confirmed and the accuracy of the Çlokasamgraha proved beyond doubt, as far as the general plan is concerned.

With regard to the subject matter,—the Cashmerian and Nepalese versions representing two sources absolutely independent of each other,—that which is common to both is of an unquestionable authenticity. Besides, the concordance of the adventures of Vegavatī, of Gandharvadattā and of Ajināvatī, which form the beginning of the Books Pañca and Mahābhiseka in the Cashmerian collection, with the adventures of those personages in the sargas 12-20 of the Çlokasamgraha, permits us to consider the remainder of those two books as an abridgment, accurate enough, though no doubt incomplete, and surely exceedingly condensed, of the essential part of the Brhatkathā.

But all the matters foreign to the primitive Cashmerian *abridgment* remain open to suspicion, which the following argument will make still stronger. Let us suppose for a moment that the Cashmerian Brhatkathā is a faithful summary of the original work What could, in that case, have been the length of that work? To get an idea of it, let us compare the proportions of Naravāhanadatta's story, in the strictly parallel parts of the Kathāsaritsāgara (1 14) and of the Çlokasamgraha (sargs 12-20), eliminating even all the details peculiar to the Nepalese version To 570 verses of the Çlokasamgraha correspond 130 verses of the Kathāsaritsāgara. One may well suppose that the Çlokasamgraha, which is itself an abridgment, reduces the whole narrative by half Then 130 verses of the Kathāsaritsāgara would be equivalent to about 1140 verses of the Brhatkathā, and in that case, the Brhatkathā should have contained nearly 200,000 verses. It is evident that the largest part of the Cashmerian version must be eliminated. The main story and the tales which are intimately connected with it, alone, must, on principle, be retained, later on we may be able to make a selection from the matter set aside for the time being

Must we show ourselves as harsh with the contents of the Çlokasamgraha? The question is not so important with regard to the accessory tales, as they are few in number. If we do away with those of Pingalikā, of Angiras, and of Amrtā found in both versions, and the story of Sānudāsa, so closely connected with that of the marriage of Naravāhanadatta with Gandharvadattā that it would be impossible to suppress it without modifying the whole order of that portion of the poem, and the substance of the narration itself, there remain the tales of Manoramā, 5, 176-189, of Viçvabhadra, 5, 204-270, of Trita in the well, 15, 104-148; of Nalinikā, 19, 62-199; of the selfish rat, 20, 357-411, of Drdhodyama, 21, 56-172, of Kundamālikā, 22, 1-312, which give us a total of 851 verses out of 4539. I do not believe that the proportion of the accessory tales contained in the whole Brhatkathā was very

much greater. We have already calculated (*vide supra*) that the Çlokasamgraha must have contained at least 25,000 verses, yet Budhasvāmin has suppressed the whole history of Udayana, though the allusions he makes to it in the first sargas, show clearly that it was found in the original. Let us try to form an idea of its length. The figures supplied by the Kathāsaritsāgara show that, in relation to the history of Naravāhanadatta, it was in a proportion of 2 to 5 (*vide supra*) In that case the Çlokasamgraha would have contained 35,000 verses, if the story had been part of it. For an abridgment of an original to which tradition assigns, not without some exaggeration it is true, 100,000 verses (*cf.* Guṇādhya's legend, Cashmerian version) the figure seems to be very reasonable.

But it is not sufficient that the tales of the Çlokasamgraha should be few in number for us to accept them as authentic. Our judgment on them separately must depend on the value we set on the collection taken as a whole.

The comparison between the corresponding passages in the two versions reveals a remarkable concordance in the plan, the subject matter, the name of personages and at the same time a divergence, no less considerable in the details, and altogether absolute in the spirit. If in some cases—for instance in the adventure of Ajināvatī—the divergence can be explained by the fact that the Cashmerian version, being much more condensed, has preserved only the frame work, most of the time the dissemblance is extremely great. The skeleton of the narrative, even many essential details may be identical, but the nature of the personages, their character, their motives in acting, are radically different. Evidently, one of the two versions is inaccurate.

Must we conclude that both are unfaithful, and that the authors, keeping only the frame work, have filled it up according to their individual fancies? I am willing to admit that the Cashmerian compiler on one side, Budhasvāmin on the other, or perhaps even the translator whom he was abridging, have taken liberties with the text, but not that all have, each according to his own fancy, falsified it in the same degree, or that the two versions are equally inaccurate. In that case it would be necessary to suppose besides the two Bṛhatkathās, the existence of a third one, quite different from both, and I do not see what that one could be. On the other hand, if that hypothesis be correct, how could one admit that the Nepalese version throws light, regularly as it does, on the obscurities of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, solves its contradictions and explains its improbabilities? We must make a choice, and it is certainly the Çlokasamgraha which deserves our confidence.

Here one might be tempted to offer an objection on principle. One might say that the more coherent version is not necessarily the more ancient. It is well known, on the contrary, that in legendary narratives, the more reasonable versions are the more modern ones; an unconscious *évhémérisme*, little by little humanizes the personages of the ancient myths, substitutes for celestial adventures terrestrial ones, imposes on the primitive constructions of popular imagination, at first disorderly, the coherence, the logical sequence, the probability, dear to more mature intellects.

My first reply is that this has not always been true. Some tales—for instance the story of Trita in the well—very probably altogether human and perhaps a little trivial at the beginning with an inevitable portion of fantastic elements, have, in the hands of the Vedic poets, become a theme for mythological divagations. Besides in the present case the objection has no value. We do not ask for the moment, what may have been, at the beginning, the fantastic tales made use of by Guṇāḍhya, but what was the Bṛhatkathā, the work, not of a "seer" of remote ages, not even of a compiler of pious legends, but of a writer who has composed a work purely literary, acknowledged as such by the authors of technical treatises.

The story of Madanamañjukā's marriage supplies us with a most decisive proof of the superior accuracy of the Çlokasaṃgraha. In the Cashmerian version it teems with improbabilities (*vide supra*). The Nepalese version makes them to disappear in the fierce light of its brutal realism. Kalingasenā is a courtesan of the highest order, no doubt, in the good graces of Queen Padmāvatī who associates herself with her in her machinations, but, after all, of a caste from which the heir to the throne of the Vatsas cannot possibly select his head wife. He is at liberty to take Madanamañjukā as a concubine, his father willingly allows him to do so, but it is out of the question for him to consent to a lawful marriage according to the customary ritual, only to the head wife do the customs of the country reserve a prominent place. The Bṛhatkathā will show Madanamañjukā alone, among all the wives of the hero, crowned with him, and seated by his side on the throne of the Vidyādharas. The pride of the young girl refusing to live in the abased situation of a concubine, her despair in face of the harsh customs to which she is a victim, her willingness to die, willingness which she makes the weak Naravāhanadatta share and which alone, overcoming the king's opposition, will force him to raise her by an arbitrary decree to a higher caste, make of her a personage really human and dramatic, far superior to the very insignificant part of a doll assigned to her in the Cashmerian version. It is clear that the Çlokasaṃgraha reproduces more faithfully the original, whereas the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā has falsified it, for fear that the reader might be shocked at the heroine's low parentage. Hence the impossibility to understand Udayana's attitude This alone shows beyond doubt on which side there is falsification.

We come to the same conclusion when we study the romance of Kalingasenā and Udayana. The behaviour of Yaugandharāyana, in this affair, is altogether absurd and odious (*vide supra*) if Kalingasenā is a king's daughter, on the other hand, it is altogether reasonable and to a certain extent moral, if Kalingasenā is a gaṇikā. It is obvious that Madanavega has been invented only to spare Madanamañjukā the shame of being born of an unknown father, and that, if the author has borrowed from a Buddhist legend this Kalingadatta, whose edifying story does not fit at all with that of his daughter, it is not to make him play a part in Kalingasenā's adventures, in which he has nothing to do, but to give Kalingasenā a royal origin. In accordance with the character of Udayana's legend, in the text of the Vinaya, which attributes to him wives converts from Buddhism, Kalingasenā has

been supposed to have had Buddhist ancestors Her name invited one to look for them in the Kalinga country, formerly conquered and converted by Açoka, but which has been held in ill repute (*cf.* Baudhāyana, *Sacred Books of the East*, XIV (Buhler), 148). This name in itself has nothing royal, far from it; on the one hand, a *kalingā*, according to Hemacandra (Anekārthasamgraha) and the Medinīkoça, is a concubine; on the other, Sāhitya-Darpana (426) tells us that courtesans must have a name ending in *-senā*. * This romance, though missing in the Çlokasamgraha, must be a part of an episode of the original Brhatkathā, for Budhasvāmin does not introduce Kalingasenā to the reader in the first scene where she appears, which leads us to suppose that this personage was well known. There is no doubt that the episode has been retouched. I may add that the author of the Cashmerian *abridgment* is not the only one responsible for this retouching. The enormous length of the story shows that it is posterior to the first *nucleus* of the Cashmerian Brhatkathā (*vide supra*); on the other hand it is probably anterior to the story of Visamaçila (Som. 18 · Ks · 10), where we find another Kalingasenā, herself also daughter of the king of Kalinga, to whom it looks as if the name and pedigree on the first one has been attributed.

Thus, not only has the abridgment been amplified, but it has been altered in its spirit. The object has been to raise the social condition of the heroes. The remainder supplies us with other indications Vegavatī has found favour with the Cashmerian retouchers because she is a royal heroine. It is the reason why in her story the two versions are practically alike, except in unimportant details which do not bear on the substance of the narrative. But from the moment when Naravāhanadatta is carried away by her, the divergence becomes very much marked According to Budhasvāmin, the adventures of the hero take place amidst surroundings *bourgeois* and popular. Campā takes the place of the city of the Gandharvas, Gandharvadattā, in spite of her celestial origin, is the adopted daughter of a merchant. As the remark of Gomukha (*v. s.*) shows, it is to an audience of ordinary people that Naravāhanadatta sings the *nārāyana-stuti*. I do not hesitate to consider the version of Budhasvāmin as the more authentic; Gandharvadattā is a woman's name, and in any case, it cannot be the name of a gandharvī; Sāgaradatta—her father's name according to the Cashmerian version—is the name of a merchant. According to the *technique* of the theatre the names of merchants must end in *-datta*, as for the first part *sāgara* or its synonyms, it is still more generally reserved for them [*cf.* the numerous Sāgaradattas, Samudradattas of the tales—K.S S., B.K M., Pañcatantra, Kathākoça (Trad. Tawney)] The merchants become princes, and as a consequence, the story of Sānudāsa has disappeared, but the retouchers have forgotten to change the names of the personages which makes it easy for us to discover the fraud.

Coming to the adventure of Ajināvatī, we find again an exact correspondence

* *Cf.* also S. Lévi. T. I. p. 128. This rule is generally enough followed, Vasantasenā, in the Mrcchakatikā, and in some other than dramatic work. Citrasenā, in the Vātsyāyana Kāma-Sūtra (p. 154 of the edition *Nirn. Sāg.*).

between the two versions The Cashmerian *abridgment* does away with a great deal, but does not alter what it keeps Ajināvatī is a princess On the contrary, the heroine who succeeds her, Priyadarçanā, is plainly a *bourgeoise*, all the adventures which precede her conquest take place in the commonplace surroundings of Jain merchants. Naravāhanadatta confesses some shame at finding himself in such low society Feeling it, no doubt, impossible to raise his personages in the social scale, the Cashmerian author suppresses this section completely Yet, it is certain that a Priyadarçanā played some part in the original history of Naravāhanadatta Subandhu (Vāsavadattā ed. Hall, p. 236) makes an allusion to Priyadarçanā, the friend of Priyaṅguçyāmā, and we know, through some other passage of the Vāsavadattā, (*ibid*, pp 87–88) that Priyaṅguçyāmā was the name of one of Naravāhanadatta's wives. However vague that indication may be, it upholds the accuracy of the Çlokasaṃgraha It proves, in any case, that the Cashmerian version has suppressed whole episodes

Once we are certain of the carelessness of the retouchers, we are more at ease to insist on the hypothesis, which we could only hint at when studying the formation of the Cashmerian version, most of the episodes in the history of Naravāhanadatta, prior to the marriage of Madanamañjukā and the descent of Vegavatī, are apocryphal Most of them look as if they had been adapted from authentic episodes by an imitator with a barren imagination. Ratnaprabhā (K S.S., XXXV) is in a garden under an açoka, like Vegavatī Her family history is very much like that of Vegavatī's family Hemaprabha and Alamkāraprabhā on the one hand, Vegavat and Pṛthivī on the other, bewail their having no children; both obtain a son and also a daughter, promised by the gods to Naravāhanadatta Alamkāravatī (K.S.S, LI) is brought by her mother to wed the hero, like Ajināvatī. In like manner, her marriage is delayed for a short time, like Ratnaprabhā and Ajināvatī, she takes her husband to the country of the Vidyādharas The adventure of Çaktiyaças (K S.S., LIX) is also after the same model Lastly, Lalitalocanā (K.S S, LXVIII) carries away Naravāhanadatta to an isolated mountain as does Prabhāvatī. All these episodes are a repetition of each other. On the contrary, we notice in the portions which certainly go back to Guṇāḍhya, a great fertility of invention Is it too much to suppose that he is not responsible for all those repetitions? In the same proportion as the Cashmerian version reveals itself as open to suspicion, so does the Nepalese version shows itself accurate through many minute details The Çlokasaṃgraha brings in Kuvera on all the occasions when the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Mañjarī show Çiva's intervention. It is easy to prove, from this very detail, that the Çlokasaṃgraha is the more accurate. Udayana's son is called Naravāhanadatta, "given by Naravāhana", now Naravāhana is one of Kuvera's names and not of Çiva's. All the versions agree in recording * that Udayana, heart-broken for being childless, at last obtains a son in answer to his pious observances In honour of which god ? Evidently of Kuvera as is shown by the child's name, and this is exactly what we find in the

* K S S, XIX, 3—12, XXI, 137—148, B K M. 3, 295—297, 4, 41-42, B K C.S., V, 1—83

Çlokasaṃgraha. On the other hand, the Cashmerian versions attribute to a blessing of Çiva alone the birth of "the gift of Kuvera". I may mention also the attribution of the name of Pradyota to Mahāsena, which is more in accordance with the ancient legends, the descent of Udayana to the Nāgas, the walk to the Nāgavana, the dancing of Madanamañjukā in the presence of Naravāhanadatta, Vegavatī making her husband drunk and causing a peacock to dance in the presence of her father, the luxurious appointments of Vīṇādatta's house, the gift of a lyre by Bharadvāja to Gandharvadatta's adoptive father (*cf.* on that point K S S, CVI, 27 and B. K. M., 13, 75: Naravāhanadatta able to play only on the lyre belonging to Sāgaradatta)—all these details, hardly mentioned in the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, are developed at length in the Çlokasaṃgraha as is fitting in a version more complete and more accurate

When there is a concordance between Budhasvāmin and the Cashmerian poets, these latter seem to have abridged Budhasvāmin, when they diverge, internal criticism makes us lean on the side of the Çlokasaṃgraha. Sometimes even external documents lead us to the same conclusion. Here is a very good example.

How a curse fell on Suratamañjarī and on her father.

K S S, CXII, 187-197. "There was (*said Utpalahasta*) a chief of the Vidyādharas of the first rank, whose name was Gaurīmuṇḍa. My own name was Matangadeva and I was his vassal. This maiden Suratamañjarī had just been born to me when Gaurīmuṇḍa took me aside and said "That son of the king of the Vatsas, whose name is Naravāhanadatta, will become, so say the gods, our Emperor This is a thorn in our flesh! Go before he has obtained the sovereignty and, through thy magic power, destroy him without delay.' As soon as the wicked Gaurīmunda had entrusted me with that mission, I set out to put it into execution. As I was travelling through the air, Maheçvara (Çiva) appeared before me; on the spot I was cursed by the Lord who was in a fury; "What is this," said he, "wicked man, thou contemplatest a wicked action against a magnanimous hero! My curse is that thou, thy wife and daughter, without changing your bodies, should go and fall at Ujjayinī among the caṇḍālas. When the 18,000 Brahmins of that city partake of food in thy house, thanks to a man who will confer that favour upon thee in order to get thy daughter in marriage, the curse will come to an end, but thou wilt have to give thy daughter in marriage to the man who confers that favour upon thee." He spake and disappeared. I fell down among men of the lowest caste, but I had no intercourse with them, to-day the curse is at an end, thanks to thy son to whom I give in marriage my daughter Suratamañjarī."

B K.M., 18, 188-190. "My name is (*said Utpaladatta*) Matangadeva; I am a chief of the Vidyādharas Formerly I received from Gaurīmuṇḍa the order to kill Naravāhana. I was preparing in secret to do the deed, when the god who carries a boar spear (Çiva) cursed me. I became a caṇḍāla till the day when the Brahmins would meet in my house. To-day, delivered from this curse, I give thy son my daughter Suratamañjarī"

B K C S, III, 49-59: "One day that my father *(said Surasamañjarī to her husband Avantivardhana)* was travelling through the air, his wreath of flowers surrounded by swarms of bees, yellow with pollen, was carried away by the wind It was the time for evening prayer. Seated on the bank of the Gangā, Nārada was motionless like the trunk of a tree. The wreath, like a serpent in its contortions, made him move, awakened from his meditation, he saw my father. His eyes kindled with fury and in his wrath he exclaimed. "This wreath has become polluted by the contact of a body. Let the one who was wearing it, and who has thrown it at me, become among men a caṇḍāla!" This curse distressed my father who began to implore the holy man: "Please, allow that terrible curse to be somewhat alleviated!" Then, in this conflagration of wrath in which Nārada was, the waters of pity mitigating the violence of the flames, he said to the terrified Utpalahastaka: "The flame of my malediction can no more be contained, even by me, than the arrow by the skilful bowman who has let it fly Yet independently of our own will, curses may be reduced to nought, for cautious people, when they see the curse flung straight at them, do not take long to evade its effects. Thou also wilt soon evade them. When Gopāla weds thy daughter, thou shalt then be delivered from my harsh curse." Having obtained, along with the curse this favour, we remained under the protection of Thy feet, free from all ills, for a full year, which to us looked like a day and a night. By the favour of the *muni* I have become *the ring which adorns Thy feet.*'

This episode has been closely imitated by Daṇḍin in the Daçakumāracarita (1 p. 32 sq. *ed Nirn. S.*). Not only has he reproduced practically in all its details the story of the curse as we read it in the Çlokasamgraha, but he has had the strange idea to utilize, taking it in its real sense, the final expression which, of course, is only figurative I leave the reader to judge for himself

Prince Rājavāhana has his feet bound by a silver chain "And forthwith fell from his feet the silver fetters White as a ray of the moon it was now a heavenly nymph who was flying respectfully round him. She put her hands to her forehead and said, 'Sir, allow thy heart to melt in my favour. I am born of Somaraçmi. My name is Suratamañjarī, the heavenly beauty. One day, in the clouds, the allurements of a lotus attracted to my face a busy flamingo. To drive it away I moved a little, and in so doing broke the thread of my necklace which dropped off. Just then on the Himavat, in a tank nearly dry, the great saint Mārkandeya was dipping and raising his head. In falling into the tank my pearls, by their fires, doubled the whiteness of his hair. The ascetic startled by this accident, let fall his curse upon me: 'Wicked one,' said he, 'be hereafter like a metal without brains!' Yet, he allowed himself to be somewhat appeased. Bound for two months to the lotus of thy two feet, I shall thus complete the period of expiation and shall not be deprived of my senses! Such was his verdict. Having thus become, on account of a sin which was far from being a petty one, a chain, I was picked up by a descendant of Iksvāku on mount Çamkara. He was the grandson of King Vegavat, the son of Mānasavega, Vīraçekhara, a celestial

genius I became his own *thing* Now he had, as a family foe, the Emperor of the Genii the vigorous scion of the King of the Vatsas, Naravāhanadatta, whom he had almost given up the hope of defeating single-handed.' "* How at last she was tied to the feet of Rājavāhana does not concern us here. It is clear that Daṇḍin knew of the Bṛhatkathā and that the text which he was using, bore a resemblance, even verbal, to that of the Çlokasaṃgraha

Without giving us an absolute certainty, our observations do certainly inspire us with a large amount of confidence in the accuracy of the Çlokasaṃgraha. I propose then to consider as authentic the plan and the spirit, in which Budhasvāmin has treated his subject, the social condition of the personages, the surroundings amidst which the adventures take place and, as a consequence, to be less suspicious of his accessory tales than of those of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā. Their character is in perfect harmony with the rest of the narration For instance, the stories of Dṛḍhodyama and of Kundamālikā are much more appropriate to the subject than those of the two Brahmins in the Cashmerian version, (K S.S , CIV, B.K M., 11) though their object seems to be more or less the same, that is, to show that a strong will is able to conquer fate The theoretical considerations in which they are framed in the Nepalese version are also much more instructive, for they contain—if the word is not too ambitious—the philosophy of the whole work.

But that Budhasvāmin may have innovated a little in the detail of the adventures, and much, if one likes to think so, in the style, is not unlikely, more especially, in the accessory tales, which are of a nature more vague than the frame story itself It is difficult, as far as they are concerned, to decide with any amount of exactitude, as, most of the time, the material for comparison is lacking Yet when it is possible, as in the story of Piñgalikā, it is still Budhasvāmin, who seems more worthy of our confidence, the divergences in the Cashmerian version looking as if they were due, as in the frame story, to a wish to raise the social status of the personages and to render their adventures more noble Still, I am quite prepared to admit that Budhasvāmin may have introduced details of his own. We have already seen that he makes one of his personages mention the name of Guṇāḍhya, and I confess that it is difficult to trace back, as far as Guṇāḍhya, the mention of a tantra like the Mahākālamata (XXI), but I do not believe that Budhasvāmin has deliberately given to the Bṛhatkathā a commonplace, even a vulgar character, which did not exist already in the original. Everything considered, it does not seem to me as if he had altered considerably either the plan or the subject matter.

CHAPTER III

PLAN AND SUBJECT MATTER OF THE BRHATKATHĀ

The concordance between the Cashmerian *abridgment* and the Çlokasaṃgraha and also between, at least, some parts of the Tamil version, allows us to reconstitute sufficiently, with a minimum of hypothesis, the plan of Guṇāḍhya

* "Unpublished translation of S. Lévi."

The Introduction (*Kathāmukha*) contained the history of the abdication of Gopāla and Pālaka, preceded, perhaps, by some details of the reign of Pradyota-Mahāsena (The Buddhist legends supply us with many particulars about him), then came the history of Avantivardhana, the whole having for consequence the visit of Naravāhanadatta to the ṛsis, who put questions to the cakravartin His answers were to remain secret, for a cakravartin commits a deadly sin and forfeits his throne if he narrates the story of his life "Several misdeeds of which they themselves have been victims," says the Kathāsaritsāgara (CXIII, 5-8), "have ruined and made to fall from their former splendour the old Emperors of the Vidyādharas, even the Jīmūtavāhana himself He was king of the Vidyādharas; the ṛsi Nārada came to ask him the cause of his having been raised to the rank of cakravartin, he recounted to him the gift of the "Tree of Abundance", and that of his own body It was that revelation of his own merits which made him fall from his rank" The Çlokasamgraha tells us that Naravāhanadatta hesitates to speak out: "When questions were put to the king of the Vidyādharas by Kāçyapa, terror dilated the pupils of his eyes and rendered his face colourless. He thought within himself: "What mishap is befalling me? Thus, coming too near the fire through thoughtlessness, who could escape being burnt?"—"This one also was passionately in love; it is also on account of her love that she has carried me away"—"Who then, being in his right senses, would dare relate all that before an assembly of gurus?"—"The foe I killed was a hero, a hero also he who sought my protection"—"What hero would dare relate such tales of heroism before an assembly of heroes?"—"If I refuse to speak out the *muni* will curse me, in the other alternative, I commit a deadly sin! Better then the curse"—(IV, 4-8). He is thus making up his mind to refuse to speak out when Gaurī appears to him and calms his fears:—"Those alone will hear him who have a right to hear, and each one will hear only what he is allowed to hear." The authenticity of this scene is attested, outside the Çlokasamgraha, both by what remains of it in the Kathāsaritsāgara and in the *upasamhāra* of the Mañjarī, and by the legend of Guṇāḍhya which has its origin in it. The introduction was normally divided into three parts:

1. Kathāmukha: 1. *Gopālasamnyāsa.*
2. *Pālakasamnyāsa.*
3. *Surasamañjarī.*

The Bṛhatkathā, properly speaking, began here and was divided into large sections. They have been called "lambhakas". That this peculiarity, faithfully preserved by the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, goes much further back is made manifest to us by Subandhu. A passage, which is frequently quoted, from his Vāsavadattā (Hall, pp. 110-116) contains an allusion to the *lambhas* of the Bṛhatkathā:—*asti sudhādhavalair bṛhatkathālambhair* * *iva cālabhañjikopetair vṛttair*

* Hall admits in his text the reading Bṛhatkathārambhair, in his Introduction (p 20), he adopts the excellent reading—lambhair—or lambhakair, which is given by two good manuscripts, especially F and D

iva samānivakakrīḍitaiḥ kapiyūthair iva samuttaravīranaih sugrīvasainyair iva sagavākṣair balibhavanair iva sutalasaṃniveçair vecmabhir upaçobhitam.. Kusumapuram nāma nagaram.

Before we explain that allusion, it is advisable to make clear the meaning of the word *lambha lambhaka*. It is found also in the form, *lambaka* In the summary (upasaṃhāra) which follows the Mañjarī, in the *lambakasamgraha* (No 2), we read sometimes *lambha*, *lambhaka* (24, 25, 26), sometimes *lamba*, *lambaka* (22, 23). The forms *lamba* (*-ka*) and *lambha* (*-ka*) have a tendency to be mixed up * At first sight, both seem to be equally obscure, yet it is of great interest to be able to clear up their meaning. The terms, used by Hindus, to denote the divisions of books, have not, with the possible exception of the words *sarga* and *adhyāya*, a clear meaning and a general use like our own words *canto*, *book* or *chapter*. The terms employed vary with each work and very often are explained only in that very work Somadeva calls the sub-divisions of his poem "waves" (*taraṃga*), because his book is an "Ocean", Ksemendra in his, speaks of "bunches" (*guccha*), because his book is a "bouquet". Later on, the term, having become famous, together with the work which justified its use, became of current use. Thus the word *taramga* has been taken by Kalhaṇa to designate the books of his Rājataramgiṇī "River of Kings". When I see the chapters of Harsacarita called "breathings" (*ucchvāsa*), I note that Bāṇa simply uses a term already used by Daṇḍin in his Daçakumāracarita. When the same Daṇḍin tells us that each chapter of an ākhyāyikā must be called *ucchvāsa*†, must we conclude that the theorists have imposed the term before any author had the idea of using it? Not at all. The Indian "*Boileaus*" have not acted differently from their French colleagues. It is from written works that they deduce the rule, but they are law-givers, always inclined to go more deeply into details, and not endowed with quite the same philosophical spirit! A work, which has become famous, is sufficient for them to fix the laws of a special style even in the minutest details They do not hesitate to open out, as it were, a new rubric in order to take into consideration a trivial divergence. The complexity of this classification is due precisely to this exaggerated scruple, and to their incapacity to leave aside, in the work they study, individual peculiarities, in order to fix their attention only on general characteristics. I feel quite certain that each kind of style mentioned in the Indian "*Arts Poetiques*" is based on typical works, and that the rules laid down are able to give us some information on that very work. Daṇḍin, in the passage already quoted, informs us that the books of a kathā are called lambhaka. this means that this term was used for the first time in the Kathā *par excellence*. One cannot find it difficult to admit that there are chances of that Kathā being that of Gunāḍhya.

We must make a choice between the forms *lamba* (*-ka*) and *lambha* (*-ka*). I do not know on what Brockhaus (I, p. VIII) based himself in translating *lambaka* by Woge (eine Woge wie in engl. "a surge"). Considering the ordinary sense of

* *Cf.* P W., s. u.

† Kāvyādarça, I, 27

lamba as an adjective, one might understand by *lambaka* "a long sequel", "a series", but that meaning is too commonplace to be accepted. It could not contain any allusion to the title or to the subject matter of the poem. What is the good then of using *lambaka* when one has at one's disposal *sarga* or *adhyāya*? I have no use for *lambaka*.

Lambha means "a conquest". The term *rājyalambha* is frequently used and is found several times in the Mahābhārata The meaning is the same as that of *lābha*. Let us form an adjective with the suffix -ka · a chapter of a poem could then be called *rājyalambhakanāma sargaḥ*, *vidyālambhakanāma sargaḥ*, and so on If we suppose a poem in which each book would recount a new conquest of the hero, the word -*lambhaka* would be found in the colophon of each one of them. It is evident that the reader would soon get into the habit, in mentioning them, of omitting the word *sarga* and of speaking of the books by the *lambha*, "the conquest" which is narrated there This is the explanation we have been in search of. the Brhatkathā recounts the successive conquests of Naravāhanadatta. The conquest of his numerous wives, the conquest of his empire—so many conquests, so many chapters. And this is the reason why the pedantic piety of Daṇḍin has condemned all the future kathās to be divided into a certain number of "conquests", though the hero may have conquered nothing. Let us go back now to Subandhu's text.

The term *veçmabhiḥ* is successively compared with *bṛhatkathālambhaiḥ*, *vṛttaiḥ*, *kapiyūthaiḥ*, *sugrīvasainyaiḥ* and *bahbhavanaiḥ*. Each of these composite adjectives may have a double meaning according as it is connected with *veçmabhiḥ* or with the terms of comparison The general idea is that the mansions which Kusumapura, boasts of, coated with white stucco, are very fine to look at; each of the adjectives must convey a pleasing idea. The meaning of all is clear except that of *cālabhañjikopetaiḥ*. Applied to houses this expression signifies *adorned with small wooden statues or with cariatides*, but what does it signify when applied to the books of the Brhatkathā? The commentators of the Vāsavadattā give us each a different explanation. Çivarāma Tripāthin · *cālabhañjikā nāyikāviçeṣaḥ*—Jagaddhara: *cālabhañjikā vidyādharī*—Narasimha: *bṛhatkathā pustakabhedaḥ tatra cālabhañjikopākhyānam*.

Hall accepts Çivarāma Tripāthin's explanation and translates · "There is a city, known as Kusumapura, embellished with edifices, having, like the sections of the Brhatkathā, Çālabhañjikā (name of heroine)." We know now that no heroine in any version of the Brhatkathā bears that name.

Mr. Speyer * seems to accept Narasimha's explanation: "There is in the Bṛhatkathā the episode of the *cālabhañjikā*" He does his best to identify that episode. In the book of Visamaçīla, in the course of the history of Thiṇthākarāla, the audacious player (K.S S., CXXI, 72 sq.), there is a mention of a celestial

* *Het zoogenaamde groote verhaal, etc*, *p* 142

nymph transformed into a cariatide (*cālabhañjikā*). Possibly Subandhu has that story in his mind. From that hypothesis Mr Speyer draws a very serious conclusion, he sees in it a proof that the Book of *Visamaçīla* already belonged to the Bṛhatkathā at the time of Subandhu, and that, consequently, it is very probably authentic, and though he never says so explicitly, I am inclined to believe that the impossibility of considering as very ancient a book whose hero is Vikramāditya, is one of the principal reasons which induce him to place Guṇādhya in the fifth century To me, the proposed identification is very problematic. First of all, the stories of celestial nymphs transformed into material objects – painting, statues, even chains on the feet—are not rare. I have only to recall the story of Manohara and of the yakṣī in the Çlokasamgraha (XXI) and that of Suratamañjarī in the Daçakumāracarita There may have been in the Bṛhatkathā tales of that kind, quite different from that of Thinthākarāla. Besides, in the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Mañjarī, not only is that tale outside the main story, but it is intercalated in another one, which itself is outside the story of Visamaçīla, which again has nothing to do with the subject matter of the Bṛhatkathā. On the other hand, being of little interest and very commonplace as far as the style goes, the story does not deserve any notoriety How can we believe that Subandhu, whose other allusion in the same passage bears on subjects known and familiar to the reader, may have had in view, in this one, a very commonplace episode of a tale, almost lost among many others in an accessory part of the Bṛhatkathā? Can one really admit that the episode of "*the cariatide*" may have been famous as "the ornament of the lambhaka of Visamaçīla"? In reality, the argumentation of Mr. Speyer is based only on his idea that the Kathāsaritsāgara is a faithful reproduction of the Bṛhatkathā. For myself, I do not believe that this opinion can be held after the proof that has been given of the accuracy of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara.

Besides, the explanation of Mr. Speyer meets with another serious difficulty, the pun on the words is of no value To have any value it would be necessary that the term *cālabhañjikā*, like the other terms of comparison, should really be of double meaning, but it can mean only *cariatides* and has no figurative meaning

L. Von Man'kowski* understands by *cālabhañjikā* the heroines who give their names to nine books in Somadeva and in Ksemendra, the idea would be that they are like statues presiding over each *lambhaka*. No doubt that explanation is very tempting, more so even than L. Von Man'kowski may have believed. If we except the Introduction, the section *Naravāhanadattajanma*, and the books relating to Udayana, all the surely authentic sections, of the Bṛhatkathā, bore the name of a heroine, vidyādharī like Vegavatī, or destined to become vidyādharī like Madanamañjukā That is the meaning of the commentator Jagaddhara; *cālabhañjikā*= *vidyādharī*, that is, "in the Bṛhatkathā, the *cālabhañjikās* are the *vidyādharīs*". This pun of Subandhu is all the more natural because, as a matter of fact, the

* *Der Auszug aus dem Pañcatantra in Ksh B K.M. Einl, p. x*

çālabhañjikās, which adorned the palaces and temples were images of vidyādharīs, yaksinīs and other female deities as one can see at Barhut and at Sānchi. *

Thus Subandhu not only shows that the appellation *lambhaka* is very ancient, but he confirms us in our opinion that each section of the Brhatkathā contained one of the amorous conquests of Naravāhanadatta. This is another blow to the authority of the Cashmerian version.

It goes without saying that the use of the word *lambhaka*, as synonymous of "section", does not go back as far as Guṇāḍhya, it is through a later misuse of the word that the name of *lambhaka* has been applied to the sections narrating the history of Udayana, and that of his son's birth and also to the Introduction Most probably, Guṇāḍhya was using the old term *kāṇḍa* Besides, the existence of numerous sub-divisions is attested by the Tamil version, the Çlokasamgraha and the Mañjarī.

The sargas of the Nepalese version do not coincide exactly either with all the great divisions or with all the small ones. Yet, we have seen that they are not divided in an arbitrary manner. We must seek for a trace of the larger divisions, (*lambhakas*) in the care Budhasvāmin has taken to group together several sargas under a common title, *Vegavatīlābha*, *Gandharvadattālābha*, etc. Within each section, thus indicated, we can distinguish as many primitive sub-divisions as there are sargas or parts of sargas For instance, if we accept that idea, the section Gandharvadattā, which comprises three sargas, would have contained at the onset eleven sub-divisions, etc Similarly, what remains to us of the Çlokasamgraha would have been divided into forty-two chapters This brings us nearer to the figure supplied by the Tamil Brhatkathā, if we take into consideration the relative importance of the lengthy episodes Accordingly, the Brhatkathā had many chapters which were relatively short, following thus the old customs which the teaching of the Poetique was to sanction later on Daṇḍin (Kāvyādarça I, 18) teaches that an epic poem must be divided into sargas of middling length. This is why this kind is called *sargabandha*. Further on, he teaches that the parts of a kathā are called "lambhas", but he does not deny the possibility of sub-divisions and gives us (28) to understand that the general rules given for the *sargabandha* hold good for the *kathā*. The sub-divisions were called *kathā* or *ākhyāna*, if we judge by the colophons of the Çlokasamgraha

---

* I wish to put forth another explanation which has occurred to me I do not believe that it is a true one, but it may lead to some interesting remarks

In another sense, the word *çālabhañjikā* [illegible] Kāç *ad* Pāṇ, II, 2, 17, III, 3, 109, VI, 2, 74) designate like the words [illegible] *tālabhañjikā*, *mālabhañjikā*, games peculiar to the people of the East (*prācām krīḍāyām*, Pāṇ, VI, 2, 74). The Çlokasamgraha (V, 156) shows us Udayana playing the *padmabhañjikā* in the fountains of the public garden at Kauçāmbī, called "of the antelope's skins", equipped for that kind of games under the instruction of Çatānīka The word *padmabhañjikā* is new, but there is no doubt but it has a meaning similar to the other words of the same series When Narasimha speaks of *çālabhañjikopākhyāna*, it is not impossible that he may have believed in the existence in the Brhatkathā of an episode in which the game of the *çālabhañjikā* was described Guṇāḍhya seems to have taken a delight in describing children's games, the ball (Ç. S, III and VI), drawing the bow (Ç. S, VI), the go-cart (Ç S, V), making figures with cut-out leaves "pattracchedya" (Ç S, IX).

It is not easy to determine what Gunādhya had inserted in the first large sections concerning Udayana that part is missing in the Çlokasamgraha and altered in the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā. The Buddhist legends supply an abundance of particulars regarding Udayana, but, most likely, Guṇādhya has not made use of all. The first section contained the history of the birth and childhood of Udayana. The Cashmerian *abridgment* has kept that section intact. It has become, in Ksemendra, the first *guccha* of Book 2 and, in Somadeva, the "taramgas" first and second of the same Book. On the other hand, its authenticity is made clear by the allusions made to it in the Çlokasamgraha. The name itself is preserved in Ksemendra, *Sahasrānīka*. Then followed, if we are to believe both the Cashmerian and Tamil Bṛhatkathās, the section of Vāsavadattā or of Ujjayinī, then that of Lāvānakā or of Padmāvatī. But possibly before the two, or after the second, there may have been another section containing accounts of the amours of Udayana with other women, Viracitā, Bandhumatī, Kalingasenā. Lastly, a section commenced with the events preceding the birth of Naravāhanadatta (those are the sargas *Pingalikā* and *Dohadasampādana* of the Çlokasamgraha). It ended with the chapter of the birth. Thus we have

Kāṇḍa II: *Sahasrānīka* (or *Catānīka*?)
,, III *Vāsavadattā* (or *Ujjayinī*)
,, IV: *Lāvānaka*
,, V. ? (*Magadha*?)
,, VI: *Naravāhanadattajanma* (three sub-divisions at least.)

Here commenced the history of Madanamañjukā's marriage That section bore the name of the heroine, the five chapters, of which it is composed in Budhasvāmin, have every chance of reproducing the primitive sub-divisions.

Kāṇḍa VII: *Madanamañjukālambha.*
1. *Yauvarājyābhiseka.*
2. *Mṛgayāvihāra.*
3. *Pulinadarcana*
4. *Rathyāsamlāpa.*
5. (*Madanamañjukālambha*)

We cannot doubt the accuracy of the Çlokasamgraha and of the Cashmerian *abridgment* when they connect closely the section of Vegavatī with that of Madanamañjukā The narration is compact and logical Madanamañjukā is, to use a term of the theatre, the *nāyikā* of the drama. However unfaithful the hero may show himself later on, it would be shocking, if, as soon as he has been wedded to her, he ran after new loves. Gunāḍhya has not made that blunder, which might have been attributed to him, if we were to believe the Cashmerian versions, more especially, the Kathāsaritsāgara. The first unfaithfulness of Naravāhanadatta is unvoluntary; Vegavatī causes herself to be loved only by borrowing the features of Madanamañjukā, and the subsequent weaknesses of the hero somewhat find an excuse in the odyssey, which he undertakes in order to win back his first wife. Thus the work had the characteristics of a strong unity; all

the adventures of Naravāhanadatta start from the abduction of Madanamañjukā, and have for final object his reunion with her. Built up in this way the framework is strong, but it would be a vain attempt to search for the exact order of the parts which filled it up. What is certain is that it began with the "conquest" of *Vegavatī* with three principal divisions, as supplied to us by the Çlokasamgraha.

Kānḍa VIII. *Vegavatīlambha.*

1. *Udyānavicaya.*
2. *Vegavatīdarçana.*
3. (*Vegavatīlambha.*)

Once Naravāhanadatta has come down again to the earth, and been left to himself, his adventures, practically independent one from the other, can form interchangeable blocks. To find out the probable sequence we have no alternative but to trust the Çlokasamgraha—corroborated in part by the Cashmerian *abridgment.*

We have then the sections:

Kānda IX: *Gandharvadattālambha*
,, X: *Ajināvatīlambha.*
,, XI: *Priyadarçanālambha.*
,, XII: *Bhagīrathayaçolambha*

For the rest, that is at least five-sixths of the whole work, we have nothing remaining but the Books Pañca and Mahābhiseka of the Cashmerian Brhatkathā, and even they are certainly very incomplete. Thus, of the section *Priyañguçyāmālambha*, we have only the allusion which Subandhu makes to the heroine Priyañguçyāmā! It is therefore useless to attempt to give in detail the proper sequence of the several "lambhakas".

This is to say that we have nothing to modify in our provisional conclusion (II Part, Chapter I, 3) on the authenticity of the matters exclusively proper to the Cashmerian Brhatkathā. All the conclusions we considered open to suspicion remain so, and we may add that our suspicions have only become stronger. I will make only one other remark. Given the plan of the Brhatkathā, it is impossible that the lengthy stories in which Naravāhanadatta does appear, for instance, that of Çaktivega, that of Sūryaprabha, etc., had alone formed themselves a *lambha*, as we see in the Cashmerian Brhatkathā They must have been only sub-sections, as the story of Sānudāsa is a sub-division of the *Gandharvadattālambhaka.* It follows that we must either consider them apocryphal, or see in them the most genuine remnants of Gunāḍhya's Brhatkathā, for the enormous dimensions which they have preserved in the Cashmerian collection forbid the hypothesis that they may have been abridged to a great extent. My opinion is that the first alternative is the true one. The arguments which might be adduced in favour of their authenticity come in the long run to two:—allusions in the chapter of the Paiçācī of Hemacandra, and the incontestable literary value of some portions. But we have already seen that, most likely, Hemacandra has drawn his examples from the Cashmerian compilation; as for the second argu-

ment, it is purely sentimental, and even has against it, as far at least as the Sūryaprabha is concerned, the fact that the book is not at all in the ordinary style of Guṇāḍhya.

Perhaps, we might show ourselves more lenient in dealing with the parts of lesser dimensions like the *Journey to the Country of Camphor* and the *Visit to Visnu*, more especially when, beyond doubt, they owe their origin to popular accounts of adventurous voyages I have explained how they may have been eliminated by the first author of the *abridgment*, and then reintroduced by the subsequent compilators.

I am particularly struck by the fact that Naravāhanadatta knows a mysterious *nārāyanastuti*—all the versions agree on that point—like the holy man Nārada in the Mahābhārata It seems to me impossible that it should not be the same *nārāyanastuti* which he sings, according to Ksemendra and Somadeva, before the Visnu of the White Island It is a serious presumption in favour of the authenticity of that last episode The first source is an account, already manipulated in a literary way, as explained before, of travellers who have been present, without understanding anything of it, during the sacrifice performed by a Christian community of the North-West The date may well go back as far as the beginning of the third century, and consequently nothing prevents us from admitting that Guṇāḍhya, fond of relating extraordinary voyages, may have utilized a contemporary narration, which, later on, the compilers of the Mahābhārata may have made use of. I really believe that, in the Bṛhatkathā, the elimination of all details on the social status, and the worship of the followers of the Visṇu of the White Island is due to the retouchers, as well as the invention of the four apsaras given as a present to Naravāhanadatta

No doubt, we shall be told that our criticism uses too frequently the word "*perhaps*", and that it contains more queries than answers. I beg to be excused, if I am too scrupulous I think I have a right to hold in suspicion nine-tenths of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, and I have said so. I have clearly declared certain parts to be apocryphal, the First Book, the Books of Visamaçila of Padmāvatī, of Pañcatantra, the tales of the Vampire. For the rest, I have always given reasons for my suspicions. It would have been easy for me to affirm where I have only expressed doubt; but my object has been to conceal nothing, whether for or against my thesis. In such matters, I believe that absolute conclusions must be based only on facts. Sentimental reasons, however decisive they may appear, simply help to make a choice between the different hypotheses, but cannot impose that choice without any restriction I have no doubt as to the plan of the Bṛhatkathā, because there I base my conclusions on positive proofs, but I cannot be so affirmative with regard to the subject matter The plan of the Bṛhatkathā is not original. It reminds us of the plan of the Rāmāyana As Rāma sets out, without any other help but that of his brother Laksmaṇa, to recover Sītā, and finds allies on the way, so Naravāhanadatta sets forth with Vegavatī, and soon having lost her, but having found again his faithful Gomukha, thanks to his lucky star, he gains for himself valuable

alliances one by one. Their adventures bear no other resemblance to each other, only the beginning and the end are somewhat alike. Rāma sees the end of his trials, and regains his throne the day he finds Sītā, so does Naravāhanadatta obtain together the Empire and Madanamañjukā. As Sītā has preserved herself pure against Rāvaṇa, so Madanamañjukā has resisted all the attempts of her abductor Mānasavega I have no doubt that Guṇāḍhya has knowingly drawn inspiration from the Rāmāyana. His originality is not in the plan, but in the way he has filled it up. The Rāmāyaṇa is the Epopee of kings and Brahmins, the Bṛhatkathā that of merchants, seafaring men, and artisans. Vālmīki borrows his heroes from national legends and old myths, Guṇāḍhya from local legends, and from accounts of fairy travels to the country of Enchanters, when it is not from his own surroundings. The Supreme God is not Çiva or Visnu, it is Kuvera, king of treasures and patron of merchants. He places on the throne of the Enchanters, in the dignity of the Universal Emperor, a petty prince who had been roaming about the world, and who had not considered it a disgrace to become the chief of a guild in Benares; as for the Sītā of this *bourgeois* Rāma, she was not born in a royal palace, but in the house of a courtesan. It is in all these details that we must look for the real originality of Guṇāḍhya.

CHAPTER IV

SOURCES OF THE BṚHATKATHĀ

THE personages to whom the Legend of the Buddha assigns a part in the history of the Master, have not got the *epic relief* of the Brahmanic heroes. When they are monks their monastic character condemns them to attain pre-eminence only by edifying acts, if they are laymen, they can fill up only secondary parts. Besides, it is very seldom that they are presented as interesting in themselves It is simply in the interest of the exposition that they are made to come in—when it is necessary to explain under what circumstance such teaching has been delivered or such formality prescribed. Kings and great lay personages are relegated to the second plan, at an enormous distance from the Buddha and even of the holy members of the community. The real heroes of the vast Epopee are the monks, at the *arrière plan* the people, among whom it is of no importance whatever, to make a distinction between kings and merchants, between noble men and çūdras In fact, the people, if we understand the word in its narrow sense, hardly appear in the legend, though this does not mean that the princes and nobles occupy a prominent place in it; Bimbisāra, though treated with great honour, is not given a more honourable part to play than Anāthapiṇḍika. The favourite personage ordinarily belongs to the middle classes, it is a man well educated, intelligent, having always a great regard for truth, generally a rich merchant; instances are numerous. Often also, those whose intelligence and moral perfections are praised are not, properly speaking, men of low caste, but people out of the ordinary run of life, sons of a servant maid, like the merchant Pūrṇa, or sons of a courtesan like the physician, Jīvaka, abandoned at his birth and picked up on a dunghill. Visibly, the edifying

narratives are not at all for the exclusive use of the superior classes, but are meant for a mixed public, that very public, who enjoys the fables of the Jātaka, which have their origin in a popular stock of stories, adapted without any effort and developed by Buddhism When kings and princes appear on the scene, their adventures remain in the *ton bourgeois*, and are more suitable to comedy and tales, than to epic poetry. In any case, it should be inconceivable that, in the public admiration, they should be allowed to compete with the monks. This is the reason why the great personages who appear in the Buddhist Legend have not been assigned, in the works of the classical period, a part to be compared with that of the Brahmanical heroes. They have been able to find a place for themselves only in works meant for the monks. We may attribute this to religious reasons, but, no doubt, there were also literary ones, and we can very well admit that those personages could hardly be considered worthy to have a place in epic poetry

Among those, the best known is Udayana who owes his fame to Gunāḍhya. To draw from an unexploited store, to surround Udayana and his son with the same lustre, with which epic poetry of former ages had surrounded a Rāma or an Arjuna, to make the narrated events take place in a mixed world of *bourgeois* and *thaumaturges*, according to the favourite formula of Buddhism, *that* was the first originality of Guṇādhya, and that very originality was, when Buddhism declined, to be fatal to him. I do not affirm, by any means, that he was himself a Buddhist He may have been, but his work is far from being sectarian , its characteristics are secular and independent. In Nepal, the Brhatkathā has been considered as Çivaite, and not Buddhist. Guṇādhya is not mentioned in the Svayambhūpurāṇa. The Brhatkathā is Buddhist only in a literary sense, in the subject matter, the heroes, their surroundings, and the manner the subject has been dealt with, much more than in the doctrine. No doubt, the Upanisads are laughed at, the Çivaite ascetics (Kāpālikas) behave, without exception, as rascals and drunkards. If a Brahmin appears on the scene, honest people are warned to look after their purse ! The Jainas themselves, under an appearance of great austerity, are represented as given up to unbridled sensuality. Those jokes, peculiar to the Çlokasaṃgraha, supposing that Budhasvāmin is not responsible for them, are scattered here and there, and on the whole are of a trifling nature. On the other hand, from Sāgaradatta and Buddhavarman one might come to the conclusion that it is the Buddhist who is a rascal. In short, those were current jokes, and they do not give us a right to see in Guṇāḍhya, beneath the poet, a polemist or a doctor. Yet one thing is certain, namely, that in his work there are traces of a latent and undeniable Buddhism.

No less striking is the local colouring in the Brhatkathā. Kauçāmbī, its gardens, its festivals, its streets, its river—the Yamunā full of sandbanks, and crossed in a ferry boat—the wood of the serpents, and the yātrā which takes place every year, everything is described with an original touch. When Gunāḍhya mentions the Bhadravatī gate or the garden of "antelope skins," and

recounts the legends connected with them, it is easy to believe that he relates local traditions. When he explains through what street the carriage passed that took Gomukha from the royal palace to the house of Kalingasenā—a narrow street, then the market place, then a locality full of gardens and villages—the itinerary does not strike one as being fanciful It is easy for the reader to guess, before the harmless Gomukha does it, to what "temple of wit" he was being driven. Those details of a strictly local interest had every chance of disappearing in the several retouchings and, as a matter of fact, the Çlokasaṃgraha is the only work which has preserved them

Udayana himself is a local hero It is with him as with Pradyota, Bimbisāra and Prasenajit All those are personages belonging to the particular folklore of each city. Their legend has gained a certain amount of universality, though far inferior to that of the epic heroes of Brahmanism, only because it has been utilized in the legend of the Buddha, still it is not specifically Buddhist, and it is very probable that only bit by bit it has found its way in Buddhist * books. When a community became flourishing in a part of the country, its ambition was to invent a legend, to show that the local heroes of each city had been in relation with the Master. It amalgamated the several legends and the Buddha was given a part to play in stories which, at first, had nothing Buddhistic in them. The countries which, beyond doubt, the Buddha had never visited found easy means to satisfy the local vanity by pretending that they had had the Buddha in their midst at least as a Bodhisattva!

When we speak of the Buddhistic sources of the Bṛhatkathā, we do not pretend in any way that Guṇāḍhya has used the legends in the written form in which they have reached us, that is, manipulated for the use of the Faithful alone, but that he has studied them in the original, and in the very places where they had developed themselves. Drawing the first material of his work from the traditions of Kauçāmbī, enriching it with allusions to local events and monuments, Guṇāḍhya has been, to a certain extent, a poet "*de clocher*".

The text tells us repeatedly that each local feast was attended by a great concourse of visitors of every description, pilgrims, merchants—a public composed of ordinary people, whom strolling singers amused with epic accounts, illustrating the glory of the local sanctuary, of the local saint or hero. Patañjali informs us, as we have seen before, how the names of those singers were formed according to the song which was their speciality. I believe that the Brhatkathā was composed to be recited or sung before the crowds, which were attracted to Ujjayinī by the feast of the Udakadānaka, and to Kauçāmbī by the yātrā of the Nāgavana. It was said that the Udakadānaka had been instituted to appease the waves of Añgāraka: could there be a better occasion to relate—and if need be to amplify—the legend of his descendants, Pradyota, Gopāla, Avantivardhana! At Kauçāmbī, the Nāgavana, at the time of the yearly yātrā, had been the scene of

---

* *Cf* Schiefner, *Mahākātjājana und König Tshanda—Pradjota* (*Mém de l'Ac. Imp. des Sciences, de Saint-Pétersbourg* VIIe S., t XXII (1875), No. 7), *Vorwort*

the first amorous adventures of Naravāhanadatta · could there be a better story, to keep there, a few days longer, for the profit of the priests and of the merchants, the public who had come in crowds to attend that yātrā ? *

Kauçāmbī was outside that part of the country which saw the birth of Buddhism though not very far on the west. The Legend makes the Buddha, on his return from the country of the Mallas, sojourn there in the garden Ghosita. In former times monks were found there in great numbers, Kauçāmbī is mentioned along with Campā, Benares, Rājagrha, Çrāvastī and Saketa, among the cities where Ānanda asked the Buddha to select the place of his demise, because in them were many of his followers who would look carefully after his obsequies That shows that very early, even during the life of the Buddha, Buddhism had taken root in that region. Kauçāmbī was on the left bank of the Yamunā, about thirty miles from the confluence of that river with the Ganges, but at some distance from the river itself. One had to pass it, when going from Rājagrha to Ujjayinī. It is there that Jīvaka returning to the Magadha, after having cured Pradyota of Ujjayinī, was joined by Kāka, who was riding the she-elephant Bhadravatikā. Very early Buddhism followed towards the south-west, in its expansion, the way traced by the caravans, the main road which led from Pātalīputra (Patna) to Baharukaccha (Barygaza). The region of which the stūpa of Barhut a little more to the south-west may be considered the centre, was that which, very likely, witnessed a large expansion of the Buddhist Church and its pretension to universality.

It is precisely along that same road that Guṇāḍhya places the several halting places in the career of his heroes, before he endows them with supernatural powers, and sends them to wage war in the mysterious Himālaya Ujjayinī, Kauçāmbī, Benares, Rājagrha, and more towards the east, Campā Those were the places which must have been familiar to his readers, if they had travelled themselves, or at least listened to the accounts of travellers. Guṇādhya did not carry his reader all at once into an enchanted world, even when he led the personages of his " Great Story " to other parts of India, to Tāmraliptī, a wealthy city, where, Hiouen-Tsang tells us, abounded merchandises, rare and precious, whence coasters set sail to the Coromandel Coast, where lived the fishers of pearls, to the Pāndya country from where caravans brought bales of cotton. The scene where he places those adventures is not at all devoid of reality. Guṇādhya himself must have frequently resorted to the caravansarails he met with along that high way. Even when the places mentioned do not reveal such precise geographical knowledge, they do not appear altogether imaginary, for instance the Land of Gold (Indo-China, if we judge by the direction the sailors follow) and its difficult passes, which one crosses on the back of goats, just as, according to Tavernier, baggage was carried across the passes of the Himālaya.†

* Mr J Bédier has in a similar manner explained the origin of the French " Chansons de geste " (*Les legendes epiques, Recherches sur la formation des Chansons de gestes, I*)

† In S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, p. 97.

Lastly, when the framework is distinctly a work of imagination, the inventions or borrowings of the author of the Bṛhatkathā are of that kind which pleases childish imaginations, fond of accounts of extraordinary voyages It is the Çrikuñja, solitary, which lifts its diamond summits in the midst of a lonely sea. It is the Isle of the Forests where King Spring and his son Prince Charming, whose ministers bear the names of shrubs, spend their lives in distilling perfumes.

The Bṛhatkathā addressed itself to a large popular public It bears deeply the mark of a certain class of hearers, of a particular region of India, and, in the sense we have explained before, of a special religion.

THE LEGEND OF PRADYOTA

At the same time as Buddha, say the Tibetans, were born four sons of kings, who coming into this world illumined the regions of the horizon * at Çrāvastī, Prasenajit, son of Brahmadatta: at Rājagṛha, Bimbisāra, son of Mahāpadma, at Ujjayinī, Pradyota, son of Anantanemi, at Kauçāmbī, Udayana, son of Çatānīka. † The four of them appear as secondary personages in the Legend of the Buddha. Guṇāḍhya has made use of the history of the last two. For the reason I have mentioned above, the Bṛhatkathā must be considered, in that respect, as a source of original information, not so reliable as the others on account of its literary pretensions, yet independent of them all.

In the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, Pradyota is king of Magadha, and father of Padmāvatī, second wife of Udayana. In the Çlokasaṃgraha, Padmāvatī is repeatedly called the " Magadha woman", but her father's name is not mentioned. The name Pradyota in the Çlokasaṃgraha coupled with the word Mahāsena, is the name of Vāsavadattā's father. It is the Mahāsena of Kṣemendra, the Caṇḍamahāsena of Somadeva. The surname, Mahāsena, is frequently met with. Several kings have borne it. The appellation Pradyota individualises the personage. He is called Caṇḍapradyota (Caṇḍapajjota) in the Aṭṭhakathā of the Dhammapada, in the Pāli Jātaka and in the Kandjur, Harsa (Priyadarçikā 5, 11 *Cappeller*) calls him Pradyota as does Budhasvāmin The epithet caṇḍa (the choleric) added to his name is due to the fierceness of his temper. ‡ We read in the Kandjur,§ which agrees with the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya of the Chinese recension.||

" At the time when Çākyamuni attained supreme knowledge the son of king Anantanemi, Pradyota, was anointed king of Ujjayinī. He possessed an elephant, Naḍagiri, a she-elephant, Bhadravatī; a camel, Sāgarapāda, a horse,

* Schiefner *Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Çākyamunis*, p. 235.

† Çatānīka is the father of Udayana in the B K.C.S., his grandfather in the K.S.S. and the B.K.M.

‡ In the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā it is Durgā (Caṇḍī) who gave him the name of Caṇḍamahāsena because, in order to curry favour with the goddess, he had cut off and burnt up bits of his own flesh (K S S., XI, 40, B K M. 2, II, 24)

§ Schiefner, l c, 1 sq

|| The concordance has been brought to my notice by Mr S Lévi, Mr Sakaki has confirmed it.—*Cf.* also Huber "*Etudes de litterature bouddhique, Les sources du Divyāvadāna, Bul. de l'Ec. franc. d'Ext. Orient (1906, janv.-mars),*" *p. 24 n, du tir. à part*

Celakantha and a messenger, Kāka. The elephant, Nadagiri, could run at the rate of 100 yojanas, the camel, Sāgarapāda of 70, the horse, Celakantha of 50, the messenger, Kāka of 20. As the king was living in great luxury he became subject to sleeplessness, due to the humours in his body not being in proper order. He could not bear any kind of oil, but was addicted to inebriating drinks. So he was not able to drink the oils ordered by his medical advisers, even when extracted from the most excellent substances. As his wives, the princes, the ministers and the courtiers were advising him to take a remedy of that kind, he got into a still greater rage and threatened that, if any one dared to mention the word *oil* in his hearing, he would have his head cut off. As that state of sleeplessness was continuing, he used to spend the first part of the night with his wives, during the the second part he inspected his elephants and his horses and during the third he would go round and inspect his sentries. If a sentry did not answer the first call he was forgiven, also if he did not answer the second one, but if no answer was given to the third call, the sentry had his head cut off, that is why people got into the habit of calling him—Candapradyota (Pradyota the choleric).

Pradyota acted on the idea of making his women act as sentries, after a certain time they refused to keep guard any longer, it was not their business, they said, but that of the princes. These passed on that dangerous duty to the ministers, the ministers to the soldiers and these again to the town people, who were forced to keep guard in turn. The turn comes to the son of a grocer, who afraid that he might go to sleep, hires the services of a neighbour, a man from Gandhāra. On the promise of five hundred Kārṣāpanas, the Gandhāra man agrees to act as sentry in his place. Before going on duty, he gives a fine treat to the king's servants, and from them obtains useful information about the king's habits. They also promise to wake him up if he falls asleep. They keep their word and at the third call of the king, the man is able to answer."

"Who is on sentry go?'—"I, the Gandhāra."—The king asks: "Gandhāra, what art thou thinking of?" The Gandhāra, who was an acute man and who knew the stories of the world, answered: "I am thinking of what the world thinks." The king asks.—"Gandhāra, what does the world think?"—"Sire, that a living owl, with or without feathers, weighs the same amount, if put in the scale, and this every one considers as wonderful"—"Is it possible?"— "Sire, I will show thee."—The Gandhāra brings an owl, weighs it with the feathers before the king's eyes, weighs it again with feathers plucked. The weight is exactly the same. The king asks the Gandhāra, "How is that?"—"Sire," he replies, "the reason is that the feathers are full of air."—"Gandhāra," says the king, "thou art an acute man!"

Eleven times the Gandhāra mounted guard, eleven times the king obtained from him cunning replies to embarrassing questions*.

* Note the eighth: Why does a man weigh less dead than alive? Because a demon has carried away the vital force.—The same answer is given, but I do not see in what sense, to the ninth question: Why cannot the whole earth, removed when digging a grave, be put back into it?

He then said, "As thou seemest to know everything tell me the cause of my sleeplessness"—"Sire, I will tell thee if thou assurest me of impunity"—"Speak out, I assure thee of impunity"—"Sire, thou wast born of a sin" "Gandhāra, how darest thou to be thus impertinent to me?"—"Sire, do not speak thus, how could I be impertinent to the king. Sire, I am going to show thee that I have said nothing impertinent." "All right, Gandhāra."

The Gandhāra dug out a pit, filled it up with dry cow-dung, prepared a bed and said to the king: "Sire, lie down on that couch to sleep." The king laid down on the couch and at once fell asleep. When he woke up the Gandhāra said to him—"Sire, art thou convinced now?"—The king seeing that the Gandhāra was right, went to the women's apartments, where in answer to his questions, his mother confessed that he had been born of a sin. *

The king thought within himself: "This Gandhāra is a cunning fellow He knows who I am, but I have pledged my word not to punish him. I cannot either kill him or have him killed I will make him a present and banish him from the country." He then gave him five hundred kārsāpanas and sent into banishment An irregular birth, from Singhalese sources, accounts both for his cruelty, and his repugnance for oil. Having preserved, better than the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya, the natural character of the story, they represent Pradyota as having been born of a scorpion †

The continuation of the narrative in the Kandjur relates the cure of Pradyota by the physician Jīvaka The story of Jīvaka is well known through the southern traditions,‡ but in the northern accounts it is Pradyota and not Jīvaka, who is the central figure of the story. Schiefner § is of opinion that a Pradyota cycle was formed, in grouping together fragments borrowed from some other stories. Thus from the Jīvaka's story would have been borrowed only the episode of Pradyota's cure.

It agrees with the southern version, but in order to link it with the episode of the Gandhāra, which precedes it, jaundice mentioned in that version has been replaced by sleeplessness. Pradyota makes up his mind to send for Jīvaka, because he understands that his illness has a deep seated cause. The rest does not present any particularity worth noticing, except that Jīvaka running away on Bhadravatikā (Naḍagiri according to Hardy) is overtaken by Kāka mounted on Nadagiri. This detail sets off better the parallelism of that account with that of Udayana pursued by Gopāla.

Later on, we are told of the origin of the holy man Mahākātyāyana, and how, when an epidemic was raging at Ujjayinī, his presence alone caused the scourge to diminish by half Pradyota put to the test Brahmins and monks on the question of sensuality It is an ascetic tournament in which the monks are easy winners. Meanwhile young Keçinī, daughter of a widow whose husband has been

* Some crude and unnecessary details have been left out (Translator)

† Hardy, A manual of Buddhism, p 244.

‡ The account is easily accessible in Kern, Hist du bouddh. dans l'Inde, I, 122-134.

§ l c, p IV

a friend of Mahākātyāyana, sells her hair to procure for her mother the means to offer hospitality to the holy man and to his five hundred disciples.

The holy man brings that fact to the notice of the king, who weds the maiden under the name of Çāntā. It is she who becomes the adoptive mother of Gopāla, Pradyota's son by the wife of a merchant whom he had seduced.

Follows now a long section which, though at first sight it does not seem to have any connection with the Bṛhatkathā, yet is worth analysing.

Puṣkarasārin, king of Takṣaçilā, is waging war on Pradyota, who is defeated. Whilst his ministers shut themselves up in Ujjayinī, he makes for the hills. A ryot Ghrāna gives him hospitality without knowing who he is Meanwhile Puṣkarasārin is threatened in his own kingdom by the Pāndavas. After several incidents he raises the siege and returns to Takṣaçilā Pradyota himself returns to Ujjayinī, after having invited his host and his wife to pay him a visit They will have only to ask, at the gate of the city, for Bahvaçva. The time of a great festival, probably the *udakadānaka*, makes travellers crowd into the city. The ryot's wife is anxious to see the feast—splendid opportunity to pay the promised visit to Bahvaçva. The guard at the gate, from whom they inquire for the house of their friend, takes them to the Palace. Pradyota welcomes them with great magnificence, and, as he has had an occasion to appreciate the determined character of Ghrāṇa, he keeps him as his minister, under the name of Bharata. It is not without great difficulties, that the new dignitary is able to overcome the jealousy of his colleagues and the public malignity which cannot forgive him his sudden elevation, but his cunning, his perseverance and the favour of Pradyota, who goes so far as to wash his feet in the presence of his courtiers, end by strengthening his authority.

King Pradyota was of a very licentious temperament. One day he hears of the beautiful courtesan Bhadrikā, in the evening he goes to her house, offers her five hundred kārsāpaṇas He is made welcome. The courtesan orders one of her maids to look after him. Thereupon arrives another visitor In those circumstances the courtesan used to get the first one murdered in order not to lose the benefit of the second The servant maid is moved with pity for the king, who is so young and so handsome. She is in tears. The king questions her She reveals the danger. There is no way to escape as the house has only one door, and the executioners guard it. In spite of all those precautions, the king makes good his escape through a cesspool. While he is in the act of escaping a neighbour, skilful in the art of divination, is reading in the stars that the king is in danger, and then out of it, and is communicating his observations to his wife. The king hears him. On his return to the palace Pradyota summons all the soothsayers. "What has happened to me during the night?" he asks. They all reply. "What must happen to a king who has been anointed with the sacred rites and who rules in conformity with the law." Pradyota then sends for the Brahmin who replies without any fear according to the truth. Pradyota gives him then all the presents he may desire and appoints him his chaplain.

Another amorous adventure of the king which is of less interest.—Bharata, having defeated the Pāndavas, brings back hostages, amongst whom a young girl covered with ulcers, at whose sight Pradyota manifests his horror. Bharata attends to her, cures her and adopts her for his daughter giving her the name of Tārā. He succeeds so well that the king seeing her beautifully decked out, playing a ball game, falls in love with her, submits himself to all her fancies, goes so far as to carry her on his back as if he were a horse. Meanwhile the purohita recites formulas and a musician plays on a lute.

We need not be detained by the quarrels between Bharata and the chaplain. We come now to a section in which Gopāla appears on the scene. His father has entrusted him for a week with the kingly functions *ad interim*. The young man shows a scandalous indulgence for those guilty of adultery. The King wishes to put his son to the test, he manages that his daughter-in-law should misbehave herself with a merchant, but Gopāla cannot be jealous as he remembers his anterior existence. She was then married to a chief of caravans Not satisfied with making free with the five hundred brigands, who had assassinated her husband, she caused through jealousy all the women, who were sharing her captivity to be thrown into a well, where they perished

This story related by Gopāla and a new experience made by Pradyota of the frailty of feminine virtue, give him food for reflection How could he keep in his harem so many women when a hunter has not been able to keep only one in the heart of the forest? He then gives all his women leave to roam at night at their sweet will, till they hear the sound of the drum All avail themselves of that permission except Çāntā.

"When Udayana, King of Kauçāmbī, had heard of the permission given by Caṇḍapradyota, he said to Yaugandhara "The King Caṇḍapradyota has given leave to the women of his court to be out at night. I am going to see how that works." "King Candapradyota" replied Yaugandhara, "has been for a long time thy adversary and mortal enemy. If thou goest to Ujjayinī and meetest him, there might be danger for thee." The king replied, "Among men there are some who can boast of daring I will go. *Thou* canst remain here"—"If the king is so anxious and if he knows no fear, let him go but it is natural for me to feel some apprehension."—King Udayana, being very licentious, did not heed the words of Yaugandhara but set out for Ujjayinī.* There, Tārā, the young Pāṇdavī, saw him but was well able to look after herself. At the sound of the drum she went away after informing him of the ordinance of the king, but before going she managed to steal Udayana's ring.

The ring reveals to Pradyota the audacity of Udayana. Bharata undertakes to settle the business. Meanwhile Udayana, who has returned to Kauçāmbī, resolves to make a new attempt, but this time Yaugandhara accompanies him. They put up in a house which Bharata, who has heard of the adventure, causes to be surrounded. The cunning Yaugandhara disguises Udayana into a servant

* Some more crude details have been left out. (Translator)

maid He makes good his escape Pradyota who can do nothing against Yaugandhara, who after all has done only his duty as a good servant, turns against the clumsy Bharata and threatens him with death, if he does not capture Udayana. Bharata causes a notice to be issued to the effect that the elephant, Nadagiri, has run away Meanwhile some artisans have fashioned a huge mechanical elephant capable of hiding five hundred men in its inside. Bharata takes automaton to Kauçāmbī. Udayana under the impression that the animal is Nadagiri, comes with an army to capture it. The elephant runs away Then, just in time, it is remembered that Udayana knows some secrets to tame elephants. The army is sent away and the king alone approaches the animal in playing on a lute. He is captured and taken prisoner to Ujjayinī.

Pradyota orders Bharata to put him to death. The minister replies · "Sire, the king knows the art of taming elephants, if we kill him, the art disappears. Let him first teach that art to some one and we shall then put thy order into execution." The king replied "If it is so, Bharata, let him teach thee that wonderful art" "In that case," said Bharata, "he will become my master and I cannot become the murderer of my master"

Bharata suggests that Udayana should teach Pradyota's daughter, Vāsavadattā The master and the pupil are separated by a curtain; they must not see each other as the sight of the prisoner, she has been told, would be mortal for her. Yaugandhara is becoming anxious. Is the king still alive? He sends his sister, Kāñcanamālā, for information Under the disguise of a beggar woman, Kāñcanamālā succeeds in entering Ujjayinī, hears that the king is not dead, but that he is teaching Vāsavadattā the art of taming elephants. By some means or other she contrives to see the king and his pupil. She reveals to the pupil the identity of the master Vāsavadattā draws up the curtain and falls in love with him. Kāñcanamālā manages a meeting between them, both are in love with each other, and Yaugandhara, apprized of the fact, comes to Ujjayinī, under the name of Vasantaka, and plays the part of a mad man. Vāsavadattā opens her heart to Udayana expressing the wish to elope together. On the advice of Udayana, she informs her father that she knows the theory of managing elephants, what she needs is a few practical lessons. She obtains permission to go for rides with Udayana, both mounted on Bhadravatī. They get into the habit of going out and coming in at all hours. Meanwhile they avail themselves of that freedom to arrange with Yaugandhara a plan of escape. The minister, thanks to his simulated madness, is able to procure, without awaking suspicion, some elephant excrements, which he deposits in two places on the road to Kauçāmbī. When everything is ready, Udayana and Vāsavadattā, accompanied by Yaugandhara and his sister, mount Bhadravatī and escape together. In the evening Pradyota, not seeing his daughter return, begins to feel anxious. Bharata discovers the plot and starts in pursuit of the fugitives, mounted on Naḍagiri. The elephant loses time in smelling the excrements that have been left on the road, so that, when it reaches the frontier of the country, Bhadravatī has already crossed it. Udayana,

having attained his object, reveals his cruel nature. He is impatient to be reveng-ed on Pradyota, and he will have no peace till he has him as his prisoner, and is able to force him to learn the trade of a weaver. Vāsavadattā, becoming acquaint-ed with his intention, loses her regard for him. Yaugandhara sets out for Ujjayinī under the disguise of a chief of caravan and making use of Pradyota's licentious temperament, makes him fall into an ambush Now, Pradyota is a prisoner in his turn, taken to Kauçāmbī and reduced to the condition of a weaver. Udayana is cruel enough to show him to Vāsavadattā, when he is leaving the weaving room. She says not a word, but swears to herself to avenge her father. She contrives to have him set at liberty and taken him back to Ujjayinī She then devises an atrocious revenge. She pushes Udayana into a deep pit where he is devoured by ferocious dogs The ministers have her punished by burning her alive

The rest of Pradyota s history, in the Kandjur, has characteristics more clearly Buddhist. It needs not detain us long, as it has fewer points of contact with the Brhatkathā. Pradyota causes five hundred witches and eighty thousand Brahmins to be put to death. He had a dream which lying Brahmins interpret against him, but which is interpreted in his favour by the holy man Mahākātyāyana. That makes him heap favours on the Buddhist church. The last episode completes, one might say, his moral transformation. He has a quarrel with Çāntā. She flings a plate at his head, and cuts his head open He fears for his life and orders the guilty wife to be put to death. Bharata is too cunning to put that order into execution. He simply hides the queen away. Soon, the wrath of the king is appeased, and he asks for his favourite wife. This is the occasion of a long and moving dialogue between himself and Bharata. At the end, Pradyota is appeased, becomes considerate, wise and good. He is too happy to hear that Çāntā is alive, and to be able to forgive her He does not deserve any longer the name of Caṇḍapra-dyota !

There is no doubt that a pious hand has manipulated that story. The moral effect of the successive adventures has been graduated with great skill. Pradyota was sensual and choleric. The first episode shows him to us under the traits of an abominable tyrant Little by little, I will not say that his soul becomes purer, but he becomes, with each new adventure, less unjust and above all, he under-stands better the vanity of sensual objects. He is, in fine, more able to under-stand the Buddhist law. The atrocities of the beginning are wiped out by the clemency of the end. In other works the picture of Pradyota's character is very much less flattered. In the Atthakathā of the Dhammapada he is represented only as cunning, cruel and even ridiculous. Whereas here he has at least an apparent grievance against Udayana, in the Pāli text no other motive is given for his perfidy than jealousy against a powerful neighbour. Similarly, in the story (Southern) of Jīvaka he is only a wicked man. It is a pleasure for all when one is able to make a fool of him. Elsewhere, when allusion to him is not limited to the simple mention of his existence (as is the case in the Jātaka : 522 (F , V, 133, 15), 423 (F , III, 463, 13) under the name of Pajaka), it is always the traits

of his violent and cruel nature on which the author delights to throw light. If at any time he shows signs of amendment, it is only through fear, not because his mind is any better, but because he has found somebody stronger than he. Always at war with his neighbours, he arms himself against Ajātasattu, king of Magadha (*cf.* Gopakamoggallāna Suttanta of the Majjhima Nikāya), against the king of Suvīra, Udāyin or Udayana (?).* He orders Çarana, the son of latter, to be whipped most cruelly because, after having become a monk under Kātyāyana, he has found his way into the palace court yard in order to preach to the women and who has not shown himself in the king's opinion as endowed with a sufficient degree of perfection. Çaraṇa is thinking of asking his father to send an army to chastise the tyrant Pradyota, having learnt the status of his victim, humbles himself in a degrading manner before Çarana and invites the monks to be his guests for seven days. On another occasion, he causes a whole village of Caṇḍālas, to be burnt including the women and children because some Caṇḍālas had stolen some mangoes from his park. On account of that crime, a young Caṇḍāla foretells his death within seven days. It is fortunate for Pradyota that the young man is converted just in time by Kātyāyana and cancels the curse. The king humbles himself and, to obtain forgiveness, he offers to receive the Buddha as a guest for a whole week.† It seems worth noticing that his favourite elephant, Nadagiri, has given its name to the wicked beast whom Devadatta causes to be pushed on the Buddha to crush him? ‡

On the contrary, in the text of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins the story is on the whole to the credit of Pradyota. In it, he is incontestably the sympathetic personage. Where can that legend have been written in that form, if not where Pradyota was a national hero, to whom an honourable place had to be found in the cycle of pious stories: that is at Ujjayinī? On the other hand, Udayana, the fascinating hero of romance, is very badly treated. His behaviour is that of a poor wretch. His end is atrocious; he has deserved it by a crime committed in an anterior existence. When he was a Brahmin and Purohita, in a village of the mountain, he had let loose his dogs on a pratyekabuddha who had come to collect alms. He is condemned to spend five hundred successive existences under the teeth of dogs. It is the old hatred of Ujjayinī against Kauçāmbī, which inspires the author. Pradyota's legend bears the mark of the local patriotism. If it has been certainly *manipulated* to figure in the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins, it has not been invented in a block for the circumstance, neither has it been compiled, as holds Schiefner, by the use at random, of all the details concerning

* L. Feer, Karma-çataka (89, VII, 7), *Journal As.*, IXe. S. 17 (1901), p. 439. The Karma-çataka calls Char-Ka (Udayana ?) king of the Vatsas 6,-I, 6 (Feer, l.c., p. 70) and king of Suvīra 62,-V. 3 (F. l. c. p. 300) and 89, VII, 7 (F. l. c., p. 439). Udayana (Udena), king of Suvīra, is not the same as the king of the Vatsas, V. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāshtrī*, III, p. 28.

† L. Feer, l.c. (62, V. 3), p. 300 sq.

‡ Hardy, *Man. of B.*, 321, Dhammapada (Fausboll), p. 144, Jātaka 222 (F., II, 199), 329 (F., III, 97), 358 (F., III, 178), 416 (F., III, 415), 438 (F., III, 536), 533 (F., V, 333).

Pradyota, which were found in various stories. Prior to the use that has been made of it in the Vinaya, it seems to me that there existed at Ujjayinī a cycle of old stories about a local hero, Pradyota, probably already grouped together in a composition more or less literary.

As I am concerned here not with the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins but only with Guṇāḍhya, I will only suggest the hypothesis that that sect may have had special connections with Ujjayinī, if it had not originated there In any case the Vinaya, composed, as we have already seen, in Sanskrit, and certainly going back to the fourth century of our era,* has made use of the local version of the Pradyota's legend. It is difficult to admit that Guṇāḍhya had under his eyes the very text of the Vinaya, which is not, beyond doubt, anterior to the Brhatkathā, but I am inclined to believe that he has made use of the same version used by the authors of the Vinaya We shall see later on that many details about the Pradyota of Guṇāḍhya are identical with those of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins' Pradyota. This question we can discuss only after having studied the legend of Udayana.

THE LEGEND OF UDAYANA

Nowhere do we find a Udayana cycle, grouped in a manner comparable to that of Pradyota, but, if we except the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins—Vinaya. Pradyota always plays a secondary part in all the stories, in which he is not the central figure, whereas Udayana is most of the time the principal personage Very likely, it is because, among all princes mentioned as contemporaries of the Buddha, he enjoyed, above all others, a reputation universally established, that he has been represented as receiving from the Master himself lessons on kingly duties A Nītiçāstra† is supposed to have been addressed to him by the Buddha.

Udayana is meditating in solitude, trying to find out in what consist the merit, and the demerit of kings "If there were here," says he to himself, "some çramaṇa, perfect in his conduct, he might give me some information on that point." He then thinks of the Buddha who knows everything, goes to him, does homage to him and asks him the question The Buddha expounds to him the ten merits and the ten demerits of kings—the five ways, which lead royal families to ruin, the five qualities, which make them prosperous, and at last the five means to acquire those qualities; in conclusion he promises him the protection of all the Buddhas and all the Bodhisattvas, the Devas and the Nāgas, if he follows those precepts. Udayana agrees.

---

* *Cf* S Lévi, *Les elements de formation du Divyāvadāna*, T'oung Pao (1907), p 121 *A compilation of the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivād seems to have received its final form only after the third century, possibly in Nepal*, in any case in localities in the vicinity of the *Himalaya regions*

† Bunyu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, 1006 Sūtra addressed by the Buddha to King Udayana on the law of kings and councils for administration Translated by Amogha-Vajra, A D. 746-771 As I am unable, not knowing the language, to read the Chinese version I am indebted for the detailed analysis of this text as well as of the other text of the Chinese translation which will be quoted later on, and which have never been translated into any European language, to the courtesy of Mr. M. R Sakaki.

In all this, there is nothing different from what we can read in any çāstra on the same subject, nothing even particularly Buddhist. Naturally, the Buddha insists on the performance of religious duties. Yet, he expresses himself altogether as a politician. About Udayana, that text gives us no information, but it is worth noticing that it shows that in a Buddhist country the name of Udayana came naturally to the mind when it was a question of inserting, in the legendary cycle, a treatise on politics. To show Udayana being instructed by the Buddha was as natural as it would have been for a Greek to show Ulysses instructed by Pallas Athene.

Besides that *Nītiçāstra*, another text of the Chinese Tripiṭaka displays, in its title, the name of Udayana. There is in fact a Udayana vatsarāja-paripṛcchā. The framework is an episode detached from the Mākandikāvadāna. We shall study it later on.

A detailed story, in which Udayana plays a part, is found in the Divyāvadāna, XXXVI, corresponding to the Chinese Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya (ed. of Tōkyō) XVI, 9, p. 103 col. 13—p 190.* But it is in the Aṭṭhakathā of the Dhammapada that we find more ample details on Udayana. Whereas the Divyāvadāna gives us no information on Vāsavadattā, a fact which is not surprising, considering the fragmentary character of that compilation, and that the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya gives the history of Vāsavadattā, as an episode of Pradyota's history as we have seen above, Buddhaghosa incorporates that story in the story of Udayana I see in this a sign of a desire to form a Udayana cycle. This desire I see also in the care Buddhaghoṣa takes to put at the head of his narrative, the account of Udayana's birth, as if his intention were to give us, in a chronological order, the whole of the life of the king of the Vatsas.

I begin then with the Aṭṭhakathā of the Dhammapada (ad 21-23). I use the edition of Fausböll, and, for particulars which he has suppressed, the Singhalese edition (of Gunaratana, *Colombo* 1886).†

The king of Kosambī, Parantapa, is seated on the terrace of his palace with the queen, who is pregnant, to bask in the rays of the rising sun. The queen is wrapped in a precious red shawl, which the king uses as a mantle. She is conversing with her husband and in play, she removes his ring which bears the royal seal and puts it on her own finger. "At that moment a vulture, *hatthiliṅga*, was flying throughout the space above. From a distance, he sees the queen wrapped up in that red stuff, and thinks that it is a heap of raw meat He folds up his wings and lets himself fall to the ground. The king frightened by the noise gets up and takes refuge in his apartments. The queen, on account of her state of health, and also of the timidity of her nature, is not quick enough in escaping. The bird pounces upon her, seizes her in his claws and flies up again in the air, as quick as lightning

* *Cf* S Lévi, T'oung Pao (1907), p. 109

† Mrs Mabel Bode has been so kind as to write a copy for me of the passages referred to in the Singhalese edition, and also to compare the text of Fausböll with that edition, which in some passages is more complete

Those birds "as strong as five elephants" usually carry their prey to their aeries where they eat it at leisure. Whilst being carried off, the queen thinks within herself that, if she cries out, the bird will be startled, as all animals fear the human voice, and will let her drop; better then wait.

The vulture carries her to a remote place on Mount Himavat, to a fig-tree and leaves her between two of the branches. When the bird is examining his surroundings, before beginning his meal, she claps her hands and shouts out The bird frightened, flies away. It is a stormy night which the queen, half heart-broken, spends without a wink of sleep. In the early morning, the clouds clear up and at the same moment as dawn appears, the queen is delivered. As her son has been born during a storm, at dawn, and on a mountain,* she gives him the name of Udena. It happened that near by lived king Allakappa, who had become a hermit. He finds her, has pity on her, makes her come down from the tree with her son, without touching her He takes her to his hermitage and gives her to eat. Meanwhile she ponders over the matter; if she were to leave him she would perish with her child, as she does not know by what way she came or how she could return to her own country. There is only one way to get out of the difficulty, to seduce him. She succeeds and they live together happily.

One day the hermit, observing the stars, exclaims "King Parantapa is dead!" The queen begins to cry.—What is it?—She reveals that Parantapa was her husband. "Whatever is born is mortal" says the hermit, by way of consolation.—It is for her son that she is crying. He will not inherit the kingdom. "I will give him the means to do it," says the hermit. He gives the child a lute and teaches him a formula wherewith to tame elephants. Three days' practice are sufficient to show that he is sure of success as soon as he may try. On the third day, the head elephant comes and kneels before him †

The hermit invites the mother to give her instructions to her son, who must leave the hermitage only to become king The mother informs Udena that he is the son of the king of Kosambī—, Parantapa, she tells him the names of his father's ministers, and she gives him, to prove his identity, the red mantle, and the royal signet Udena sits on a low branch of a tree and recites the magic formula. The head elephant comes and kneels in front of him. He mounts him and whispers in his ears, who he is and what he desires. The elephant gives a call· the other elephants answer it by the thousand. The chief sends away the old and young ones and keeps only those who are fit for battle. Udena escorted by that imposing army, enters his kingdom and claims a battle or the throne. "No," say the people, "we cannot do either as long as we do not know whether our queen who, years ago, was carried off by a vulture, during her pregnancy, is alive or dead." Udena gives the name of the ministers, shows the red mantle and the signet. The gates of the city are thrown open to him, and he is crowned as king.

We find the same story, though very much condensed, in the Papañcasūdanī

---

* Pabbatautuñ ca *èd of Colombo et Papañcasūdanī*, v infra.

† According to the text of the Colombo edition

Majjhimanikāya-atthakathā), at the Bodhirājakumārasutta, it is followed immediately by the mention, in a few lines, of the capture of Udena by Candapajjota, of the lessons given to the daughter of the latter, and of the flight of the wooers.*

I will not analyse the story which follows in the Dhammapada-atthakathā, that of the merchant Ghosaka during his second existence, and which we find again in the Manoratha-Pūranī (p. 251 ed of Colombo, 1893) It has been translated and published in the two versions by Mr. Hardy (*Journal of the R.A.S Oct 1898*) Udena, there, plays only a very secondary part He appears in the story, simply to hand over to Ghosaka the succession of his father

We pass on to the story of Sāmavatī, daughter of a merchant of Bhaddavatī, who was on friendly terms with Ghosita (the Ghosaka of the preceding story) She has come to Kosambī, with her parents, to escape an epidemic which was raging in her native town They suffer a great deal from hunger on the way, and beg for food at the gates of the city The father and mother die before meeting Ghosita. After many hardships Sāmavatī is taken into his house by Ghosita, the generous merchant who adopts her One day Udena sees her, falls in love with her, and orders Ghosita to give her up to him The merchant refuses to comply with the king's wishes Enraged, Udena turns Ghosita out of his own house. Then Sāmavatī begs her adopted father to give in to the king's desire, on condition that she will be treated honourably, and will have waiting maids of her own. The king consents, weds her and houses her and her maids in the palace of his lawful wives

Udena had another wife, called Vāsuladattā, daughter of Candapajjota, king of Ujjenī This king, jealous of Udena, contrives the trick of the mechanical elephant and captures his enemy. He throws him into prison and, overjoyed at his success, gives himself up to debauch for three days Udena, informed by a guard, severely reproaches Pajjota with his conduct Goaded by those reproaches, Pajjota demands that his prisoner should reveal to him the secret formula whereby to tame elephants. Udena refuses to reveal it unless homage be done to him. Too proud to consent to that humiliation, Pajjota conceives the idea of giving his daughter as a pupil to Udena. "I have in my house," he says, "a girl who is hunchbacked She will stand behind a curtain and thou in front and thou shalt teach her the formula." Udena accepts. Pajjota tells Vāsuladattā that she is going to be taught by a leper who will be hidden behind a curtain. The lessons commence. the pupil is very dull, and the teacher becomes impatient In a fit of impatience he calls out "Hunchbacked girl!" Furious, she replies, "Leper!" Puzzled, he lifts up a corner of the curtain, both are very much surprised! Explanations follow. The trick, invented by Pajjota to prevent them from seeing each other results in their becoming friends. They are now very anxious to make the lessons last as long as possible. After some time, Udena persuades Vāsuladattā to elope with him, promising that he will make her his lawful wife, and that she

* I am indebted for the copy of this text to Mrs. Bode who has made it for me on a transcription kindly lent by Mr Rhys Davids

will rule over a numerous harem Meanwhile, she deceives her father into the belief that she is making great progress, and obtains from him permission to go out at night through a certain door, under the pretext of collecting, at the hour indicated by the stars, a magic herb which is necessary, in order that the famous formula may have its effect People get used to seeing them pass together through that door. Pajjota possessed a she-elephant, Bhaddavatī, who covered over 50 yojanas in a day, a runner, Kāka, who covered 60, two horses Celakaṇṭhi and Muñjakesi, who covered 100, an elephant, Nālāgiri, able to cover 120. In this connection follows a story "*Once upon a time*" without any interest for us here. One day, Pajjota had gone to amuse himself in his garden. Udena comes to the conclusion that the moment is favourable He fills up with gold some leather bottles, puts them on Bhaddavatī, mounts the beast with Vāsuladattā, and both make off Pajjota, informed by the guard of the harem, sends an army in pursuit. Udena seeing them approaching, burst open one of the bottles, the soldiers tarry to pick up the gold, the repetition of that trick allows the fugitives to reach the frontier. Udena, on his return to Kosambī, weds Vāsuladattā and makes her one of his lawful wives. Udena had another wife called Māgandiyā Her history is intimately connected with that of Sāmavatī, which is itself, in a way, a part of the history of the merchant Ghosita, but it has nothing to do with that of Vāsuladattā, which, inserted between the two, has broken up the sequence of the narrative.

Māgandiyā is the daughter of the Brahmin Māgandiya. Her parents offer her in marriage to the Buddha, who declines. Thereupon Māgandiya and his wife, having joined the confraternity, hand over the young girl to her uncle, called also Māgandiya (Māgandika). This one, thinking that she is fit to be wedded by Udena, takes her to Kosambī. Udena sees her, falls in love with her, places her among his lawful wives and gives her five hundred waiting maids as he had done for Sāmavatī and Vāsuladattā. It so happened that there were three merchants, Ghosita, Kukkuta and Pāvāriya who had each built a vihara for the Buddha, the Ghositārāma, the Kukkutārāma and the Pāvārikārāma. At their invitation the Buddha came to reside there, being the guest of each in turn.

A florist Sumana, servant of the three merchants, obtains the favour that the Buddha should come to dine at his place. This gives one of the maids of Sāmavatī, Khujjuttarā, who comes every day to Sumana's shop to buy flowers for her mistress, the occasion to hear the Buddha's preaching and to obtain as a reward, the state of *sotāpatti*. On her return home, she preaches the good tidings to the five hundred maids of Sāmavatī, who asks her to go again to hear the Buddha in order to repeat his teaching to them. Then they become very anxious to see the Buddha himself. By making an opening in the wall of the inner chamber, they succeed in having a peep at him, while he is going with his disciples to the three merchants' houses. Māgandiyā has become aware of the fact. As she is anxious of having her revenge on the Buddha, she betrays Sāmavatī to the king and does her utmost to inspire him with fear as to his own security. Udena contents himself with

having all the openings of the chambers walled up The room will then have openings only in the ceiling. Māgandiyā urges men to insult the Buddha when he is passing in the streets. Ānanda advises his master to leave the city, but he refuses.

"What wile can I invent," says Māgandiyā to herself? She causes some fowls to be brought alive to Sāmavatī, which she must prepare for the king's dinner. Sāmavatī cannot possibly do it as her faith forbids murder, but those same fowls, which Māgandiyā is careful to have killed beforehand, she is willing to prepare for the Buddha Again Udena refuses to get angry. Another wile, Māgandiyā introduces a serpent in the vina which Udena uses to charm the elephants, and which never leaves him. The king visits his wives in turn. It is Sāmavatī's turn. Māgandiyā endeavours to keep Udena back. She has had, she says, a bad dream. As he does not take any notice, she insists on accompanying him and then makes the serpent come out of the vina into Udena's bed. This is really the dangerous adventure foretold by the dream. This time Udena, convinced that Sāmavatī is seeking his life, gets hold of his bow with the intention of slaying the guilty one. In vain does he aim several times at Sāmavatī's breast, the arrow always returns to the bow. A senseless object, an arrow, thinks Udena, knows the virtue of Sāmavatī and I would not recognize it! He throws the bow on the ground and falls at the feet of Sāmavatī, imploring her protection. "It is the Buddha who is the refuge," says she, and then she persuades Udena without any difficulty to ask the Buddha, with his five hundred monks, to come and preach in his house. The Buddha sends Ānanda with five hundred monks—Gifts of garments from the king.

Māgandiyā is bent on putting an end to all this. At her instigation, her uncle finds his way into Sāmavatī's house, shuts up the women in their apartments, gets the oil and the cloths from the cabinets in which they were kept, and sets fire to them. Udena hastens to the spot but it is too late. Sāmavatī and her women have perished in the flames! Suspicion falls at once on Māgandiyā. "It is through jealousy thou hast done this thing—a wonderful proof of the love thou bearest me," says Udena dissembling "I wish to reward thee with a present and also all thy relatives" They all hasten to the Palace, many even who were no relations whatever of Māgandiyā The king has them all thrown into a pit Straw is piled up on the top of them, and fire set to it. They are also roasted, and Udena goes so far as to eat of the roasted flesh of Māgandiyā.

Then follows a story "*Once upon a time*".

In spite of the application made at the end to Māgandiyā and to Samavatī of the verses 21—23 * of the Dhammapada, it is evident that other stories might

---

* appamādo amatapadam pamādo maccuno padam
appamattā na mīyanti ye pamattā yathāmatā (21)
etam visesato ñatvā appamādamhi panditā
appamāde pamodanti ariyānam gocare ratā (22)
te jhāyino sātatikā niccam dalhaparakkamā
phusanti dhīrā nibbānam yogakkhemam annuttaram (23)

Cf Atthakathā p. 179 (*Fausboll*) Māgandiyā jīvantī pi matā yeva nāma, Sāmavatīpamukhā matā jīvanti yeva nāma

have been used to illustrate a sentence of such a general range. My idea is that Buddhaghosa has made choice of that one, simply because he wanted to find some room, somewhere, for a story which he thought interesting. We might ask why he commences by relating the history of Udena's birth and then that of Vāsuladattā's abduction? It is clear that, if we take the narrative *en bloc* the heroine is Sāmavatī. One can understand that her history might be mixed up with that of Māgandiyā, but the history of Vāsuladattā is a mere digression. We have already noted that it was not at all in its proper place, and that it was breaking off, quite uselessly, the sequence of the narrative On the other hand, as the work begins with the section *Udenassa uppatti*, and that, as a heading of the sections of Vāsuladattā and of Māgandiyā, we read the formulas.—*Udenassa pana aparāpi Vāsuladattā nāma devī ahosi. Aparā pana Māgandiyā, nāma ranno santikā aggamahesitthānam labhi*, the reader might be deceived into imagining that the author's intention is to narrate a complete history of Udena and his several wives. The composition of Buddhaghosa is of a hybrid character. It is a history of Sāmavatī into which he has incorporated, in a very clumsy manner, two episodes of a legend of Udena, which, as we have seen, are intimately connected with each other in the Papañcasūdanī.

We shall, again, come across the story of Sāmavatī (Çyāmāvatī) in the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya. There the object seems more apparent. It is, if one judges by the episode of Çrīmatī receiving lessons from Çāriputra which concludes it, to explain the liberty, given to his monks by the Buddha, to remain, under certain circumstances, in the king's harem after sunset. *

The essential part of the story might have been told in a few lines. The author has gone back a great deal. The history of Çyāmāvatī is divided into two sections :—1st. Rudrāyaṇa-avadāna, 2nd. Mākandika-avadāna, which the compiler of the Divyāvadāna has given us in the wrong order, respectively XXXVII and XXXVI, but which the Chinese text places in their natural sequence, giving us also the portion suppressed in the Sanscrit compilation. †

The first section (Rudrāyaṇa) has for object to explain the origin of Cyāmāvatī. She is made to be the daughter of Bhiru, minister of Rudrāyaṇa, king of Roruka. Bhiru has entrusted her to the nun, Çailā, with instructions to take her to Kauçāmbī, to his friend the merchant Ghosita In the Pāli commentary Çyāmāvatī was the daughter of a foreign merchant. Here, she is the daughter of a foreign minister. There she was flying from her native town, in which an epidemic was raging. Here, she flies from Roruka which has been destroyed by a rain of sand dust. It is clear that, according to tradition, Çyāmāvatī, destined to wed Udayana, had to be a stranger, exiled to Kauçāmbī, as a result of her country's misfortune, and had to be received there as an act of charity. As for giving her as the daughter of Bhiru of Roruka, it is simply a contrivance to bring in the story

* *Cf.* Huber, *Et de lit. bouddhique, V, Les sources du Divyāvadāna, Bul de l'Ec. fr. d'Ext Or.*, janv.—mars 1906, p 27 du tirage à part

† The Chinese text has been analysed by Mr Huber, *l. c*

of Rudrāyaṇa, and of the destruction of Roruka. That story has two points of contact with Udayana's legend. First of all, the resemblance between the names Udayana and Rudrāyana (we find also Udrayana) has caused to be attributed to the second personage a trait which belonged to the first. In the second place, the presence at Roruka of the statue of the Buddha, brought from Kauçāmbī, may also have caused the confusion, but the two personages are in no way identical in spite of Mr. Kern's assertion. Roruka is localized, with a great deal of probability, by Mr. Huber, in Turkestan.

The Tibetans * relate that Udayana, king of Bénarés (!) had a statue of the Buddha made of yellow sandal wood. Hiouen-Tsang says that Udayana, king of Kauçāmbī, had that statue fashioned by an artist who, thanks to the favour of Maudgalyāyana, had been to heaven to contemplate the Buddha,† and that on hearing of this, Prasenajit had a similar one made.

Same story with the Jainas, but naturally it is a statue of the Jina. Udayana, the Sauvīra, fought with Pradyota, who wanted to steal it away from him‡. That very statue of the Buddha, Hiouen-Tsang $ says he saw at Pi-mo (Bhimā), where it was working miracles. From Kauçāmbī, after the death of the Buddha, it took its flight through the air to the town of Roruka (Ho–lao–lo–kia). || As a result of the inhabitants having, at the king's order, covered with sand, an arhat who was saluting the statue, the town was buried under showers of sand, and the statue was carried through the air from Roruka to Bhimā.

In the Mūla–Sarvāstivāda–Vinaya, the story of Rudrāyaṇa begins with the exchange of presents between that king and Bimbisāra. The latter sends a portrait of the Buddha. On its reaching the place, some merchants of Madhyadeça explain to Rudrāyaṇa the meaning of the formulas which accompany it. ¶ Rudrāyaṇa asks the Buddha for one monk, the Buddha sends Kātyāyana with five hundred monks who make many converts. But they are not allowed to enter the harem, as this is forbidden by the Buddha. It is the nun Çailā, who with five hundred nuns, comes to preach the law to the king's women. Rudrāyana, playing on the lute, to make the queen Candraprabhā dance (a trait of Udayana's legend) perceives on the body of his wife signs which foretell an early death. She, at once, avails herself of the seven days of life which remain to her, to be converted and instructed by the Buddha. She informs her husband that he must become a monk to be united again with her in the country of the Devas. Rudrāyaṇa abdicates in favour of his son Çikhaṇḍin, becomes a monk, and later on is put to death by the order of

---

* Schiefner *Tib Lebensb Çākyamunis*, 273.

† *Mémoires* II, 284 —according to another Chinese tradition, Udayana had at first a statue cast in gold *Cf* Chavannes, *J. As*, Xe s, 11 (1908), p. 504

‡ Cunningham, *Arch. Surv.* III, 47. Kern has collected old documents on the images of the Buddha, *Hist. du bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, 11, 157 sq.

$ *Mémoires*, II, 243 sq

|| *Cf.* Huber, *Et de lit. bouddhique*, VIII, *La destruction de Roruka*, *Bul. de l'Ec. fr. d'Ext.—Or.*, juil.—dec. 1906. p. 335 sq.

¶ This portion has been translated by Burnouf, *Intr*, p 341 sq

that same son, who fears for his throne. At last, Çikhaṇḍin's impiety is the cause of the destruction of Roruka, as Hiouen-Tsang relates in some parts of his work. It is then that Bhiru entrusts his daughter Çyāmāvatī to Çailā's care. I pass over the story of Çyāmāka, son of the second minister, Hiru, entrusted by him to Kātyāyana, who flies followed by the guardian deity of the town of Roruka, as also the story "*Once upon a time*" which closes that section and Chapter XXXVII of the Divyāvadāna.

Follows, but only in the Chinese text, in a version altogether different from the Pāli one, the history of the merchant Ghosila who became minister of Udayana and founded the Ghositārāma. Çyāmāvatī, adopted by him, is sought after in marriage by several kings, amongst whom is Udayana. Her choice falls on Hatthālavaka,* king of Ātavī, whose history is then given The very day Çyāmāvatī arrives at Ātavī her fiancé becomes a convert. He is no longer allowed to marry her. In spite of the occurrence, Çyāmāvatī remains at Ātavī, and devotes herself to the service of the monks A short time after, the king having died, she returns to Kauçāmbī. There Udayana seeks her again in marriage, this time with success The story of her maid, Kubjottarā, and of the merchant of flowers (here of perfumes) follows, very similar to that we have already met in the Pāli version. Kubjottarā relates to Çyāmāvatī the teachings of the Buddha

Next comes the section of Mākandika, which forms chapter XXXVI of the Divyāvadāna. Mākandika is a Brahmin of Kalmāsadamya. He has a daughter of peerless beauty, Anupamā, whom he offers in marriage to the Buddha. The Buddha refuses the offer and Anupamā vows to him a mortal enmity. It is exactly the story of the Māgandiyā of Buddhaghosa Follows the episode of the old monk, who falls in love with Anupamā. Being snubbed by her, he dies of anger, and is hurled into hell. Next a long story "*Once upon a time*" (Simhala and the witches of the Tāmradvīpa), very much curtailed in the Divyāvadāna The narrative starts again after the arrival of Mākandika at Kauçāmbī He halts, with Anupamā, in a certain garden. The watchman of the garden informs Udayana, king of the Vatsas, "Sire," says he, "a beautiful woman, comely to look at, really charming, is in the garden, just the kind that will suit Your Majesty." The king goes into the garden, sees her and falls in love with her Genuine love at first sight! She has enraptured his senses —He asks the hermit, Mākandika · "To whom does that girl belong?" He replies, "Sire, she is my daughter, and belongs to no one"—"Why dost not thou give her to me?"—"Sire, she belongs to Your Majesty."—Anupamā is then taken to the palace of the lawful wives, with a retinue of five hundred waiting women, and a daily allowance of five hundred kārṣāpaṇas, for perfumes and garlands

Not long after, the king has occasion to engage two new servants one to announce good news, and the other bad news

* As that portion is missing in the Divyāvadāna I borrow it from Mr Huber (*Les Sources du Div.*) He gives the name Hatthālavaka under a Pāli form, because he borrows it from a Burmese source (*l. c.* p 18 n 2)

"Sometime after that incident, Udayana, Çyāmāvatī and Anupamā happened to be together. The king sneezed. "Homage to the Buddha" said Çyāmāvatī. "Homage to the king!" said Anupamā. "Sire, look, Çyāmāvatī is eating Your Majesty's bread, but it is to the Çramaṇa Gautama she does homage." "Anupamā," said the king, "in this circumstance it is not so." "Çyāmāvatī, who is very devout, has unthinkingly done homage to the Çramaṇa Gautama"— She did not answer the king, but told one of the maids: "Girl, when the king, Çyāmāvatī and myself are alone together, let a metal plate fall on the staircase." "All right," answered the maid So, when the three were alone together, she let a metal plate fall on the staircase "Homage to the Buddha" exclaimed Çyāmāvatī." The former scene is enacted again.

Udayana shares his favours in turn, between Çyāmāvatī and Anupamā The day, which was Çyāmāvatī's, she orders the bird-catcher to bring some hazel hens alive. The bird-catcher brings them. "Give them to Anupāmā" says the king. Anupamā hears him, "Sire, it is not my turn, but Çyāmāvatī's." "Hallo man!" says the king, "go and take them to Çyāmāvatī."—The bird-catcher brings them to Çyāmāvatī and tells her to prepare them for the king. Says Çyāmāvatī, "Am I a bird-catcher? To kill any living thing is no business of mine." Anupamā had heard her, "Sire," says she, "had she been told to prepare them for the Çramana Gautama, she and her maids would have prepared them at once." The king thinks that it might be so. So he tells the man to go and order her to prepare them for the Blessed One. As he was going, Anupamā tells him secretly "Kill them before thou takest them to her." He kills them, and takes them to Çyāmāvatī.—"The king sends word that thou should'st prepare them for the Blessed One" She with her maids sets to work at once The bird-catcher goes to inform the king "Sire, she has set to work with her maids." "Your Majesty has heard", says Anupamā, "If it is not allowed to kill living things, it is not allowed to do it for the Çramaṇa, on the other hand, if it is allowed to do it for the Çramaṇa, it should also be allowed to do it for the king, but she said that she was not to kill for the king. How is that?" Udayana, in a rage, wants to slay Çyāmāvatī. Follows the episode of the arrows which refuse to reach their aim. The king's wrath subsides, and he consents to have the Law explained before Çyāmāvatī in the harem.

Rage of Anupamā, who thinks only of revenge. It so happens that Udayana is forced to set out on an expedition against a rebel vassal who has defeated the royal troops. He leaves Çyāmāvatī to the care of Mākandika, with orders to carry out all her wishes. Anupamā urges her father to help her in her revenge. She begs and threatens by turns. At last he gives in and contrives a wile against Çyāmāvatī. He goes to offer his services to her. She is not in need of anything. Yet, says she, "those young maids, during the night, by lamp light, study the words of the Buddha. For that purpose they require some bark from birch trees, some sesame oil, some pens, and pencils." Mākandika piles up all that inflammable material and sets fire to it. Meanwhile, the women's parents flock together

to put out the fire. Mākandika, sword in hand, obstructs the passage, fearing, he says, that they might violate the king's harem. Çyāmāvatī, thanks to the supernatural powers with which she has been endowed, as a reward for her merits, rises up in the air, delivers a short sermon and falls in the flames, with all her companions. Alone Kubjottarā escapes Mākandika gets rid of all the bodies and the parents of the victims go into exile lamenting those they have lost

The Buddha is informed of the incident. It is the occasion of a sermon.

But who will take the news to Udayana? "The man of bad news"! He agrees, on condition that he be given an army, and, on a painted canvas, pictures representing the whole series of events, which have caused the death of Çyāmāvatī. He goes into a foreign country and from there, giving himself out as a king, he writes to Udayana to ask him for assistance against Mṛtyu (Death) who has deprived him of his son. "He is mad," thinks Udayana, who nevertheless sends a favourable reply, on condition that the sham king should first help him to chastise the rebel vassal. The rebel takes fright and makes his submission. The new ally urges Udayana to keep his promise. "Thou art mad", replies the king, "Has it ever been heard that any one has ever been brought back from Mrtyu's place?" "Then look at this picture," says the messenger. "Çyāmāvatī has died in flames"! exclaims the king. "*Thou* hast said it." "But for that stratagem I would have had thy head cut off."

On his return to Kauçāmbī, Udayana orders Yaugandharāyana to have Mākandika and Anupamā burnt in the torture chamber. The minister shuts up Anupamā in a cave. The king's grief lasts for seven days. After a week, Udayana is consoled and asks for Anupamā. Yaugandharāyana confesses his disobedience, of which the king approves Anupamā is taken out of the cave, those seven days of fast have done her no harm. Udayana goes to see the Buddha, and asks him why Çyāmāvatī has died in the flames and why her maid Kubjottarā has been the only one to escape? The Buddha relates to Udayana a story "*Once upon a time*" and after the king's departure relates a second, and a third story about Kubjottarā and Anupamā in a previous existence. Those stories have no interest for us here

In a previous existence, Anupamā had a friend, the daughter of a Brahmin, who, as a reward for having given alms to a monk, has obtained the favour to be reborn in her present existence, as a daughter of the householder Ghoṣila.* She is beautiful and her name is Çrīmatī. Udayana falls in love with her and marries her. One day she asks to see the monks, threatening to starve herself to death, if her wish is not complied with. Ghosila's house is next door to the king's palace. Udayana orders his father-in-law to prepare in his house a meal for the monks, and to have an opening made in the wall separating the two houses, in

* The Divyāvadāna connects intimately, but in a clumsy way, the history of Çrīmatī in her present existence with that of Anupamā in a previous one In the Chinese version, followed by Mr. Huber (*l c.*, p 26), the two stories have no connection whatever. Çrīmatī, in a previous existence, was not the young brahmin referred to above, but a servant maid of Ghosila.

order that Çrīmatī may satisfy her curiosity The Buddha sends Çāriputra, who delivers a sermon to the queen. Against the rules, he remains to instruct her after sunset, because by that time she has not yet attained the state of *çrotāpatti* The Buddha approves of that conduct (*vide supra*)

This last episode is simply an addition to illustrate an exception made to the rule of discipline. The personage of Çrīmatī is merely a replica of that of Çyāmāvatī same father, same wish to know the Buddha, same means used as in the story of Çyāmāvatī in the Pāli commentary (making an aperture in the wall) but here without Udayana's consent. If then we suppress, at the end, the episode of Çrīmatī, and at the beginning, the whole Rudrāyaṇa-avadāna, which as we have seen already, a very simple contrivance had allowed to connect with what followed, we have, remaining to us, exactly the story of Çyāmāvatī and Anupamā Exception made of the accessory details, the most important of which bear on the circumstances of the arrival of Çyāmāvatī at Kauçāmbī, and on the chastisement of Anupamā it is similar to the story of Sāmavatī and of Māgandiyā in the Pāli version In spite of the Buddhist merits acquired by the heroines and of the stories "*Once upon a time*" related by the Buddha, it seems to me that, in its origin, that tale did not aim at edification. It was merely a harem drama, a king subduing a jealous woman who tries, by every possible means, to destroy her rival, whom at last she causes to perish in a conflagration, a husband who chastises the guilty wife The story ends as a tragedy in the Pāli version, and as a comedy in the other one I am quite willing to admit that the first inventor of the tale has made Çyāmāvatī a Buddhist and Anupamā an enemy of the Buddha, but I do not believe for a moment that the complicated tale has been put together to illustrate a point of discipline. What has happened in the case of other Buddhist stories, has happened in the case of this one also. The writers have drawn out of a profane stock which they have manipulated the best way they could. My idea is that their object was similar to that we must suppose in the compilers of the Mahābhārata. The "*ensemble*" of the books of a particular school had, as a matter of principle, to contain everything first of all, of course, doctrine, but also a full stock of legends Those stories were for the simple-minded Buddhists what the Purāṇas have been for their Brahminic brethren.

To sum up Of a Udayana cycle we possess two lengthy fragments which, alone, Buddhaghosa had blended together, but without being able to make them really one! First, birth of Udayana and abduction of Vāsavadattā. Secondly, Çyāmāvatī and Anupamā (eliminating Rudrāyaṇa and Çrīmatī). Excepting the stories of the hero's birth, which I have not found in the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins, the canon of that school gives us the two fragments, but separated, the first one being a part of the Pradyota's legend. I am not surprised not to have found in it a complete Udayana's cycle similar to the Pradyota's cycle. The existence of one was bound to do some harm to the other. For instance, whilst in the Pradyota's legend, Udayana plays a part, far from honourable, in the story of Çyāmāvatī he is incontestably a sympathetic personage. He honours the

Buddha, favours his preaching, goes and asks for his advice, a very little more and he would become a convert. The cycle, from which this story is borrowed, was to the hero's glory It was a counterpart to that of the Pradyota's story which the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins have inserted in their work But from the fact that they have borrowed only a part from the first story, it does not follow that it did not exist elsewhere in a more complete form. Buddhaghosa has been for a long time suspected to have been familiar with the literature of the North. Is it not possible that he may have known some story of Udayana, which has helped him to write the one he has given us? It is, of course, only a hypothesis but one which is plausible enough. Wherefrom did he get the details about Udayana's birth? And wherefrom come the other texts which supply us with particulars on Udayana and in which that personage is held in odour of sanctity?

According to the Tibetan tradition, the Buddha converted Udayana whose son, Rāstrapāla, joined the religious state * The Karma-çataka† says the same of his son Çarana (supposing Udayana, king of Suvīra, to be the same with Udayana, king of Kauçāmbī). In the Samyutta-Nikāya (Part IV, No. 127) we see Udena being instructed by Bhāradvāja The same in the Karma-Çataka which is preserved in the Tibetan version Pindola Bhāradvāja is represented as preaching in the Ghositārāma, Udayana seeing a great concourse of people going there, goes himself to pay a visit to the Saint! Bhāradvāja does not salute him. The king feels very angry at this snub, and, some time later, he returns to the Ghositārāma quite determined to have the head of the proud monk cut off. This one lays a curse upon the king, and, for six months, Udayana, who has lost his way whilst hunting, loses his memory also, and lives in a low condition with a cowherd. After that period of trial, his memory returns and with it comes Faith. He entertains Pindola Bhāradvāja with great magnificence for seven days The Buddha, having come to Kauçāmbī, receives with all his community the king's hospitality for three months and preaches the Law. ‡ The first portion of that story is found in a different form at the beginning of the Jātaka 497 (*Fausboll* IV, 375 sq.). The holy man Pindola Bhāradvāja, travelling through the air, stops to spend the hot hours of the day in Udayana's park, at Kosāmbī. The king comes with his wives to recreate himself. As for one week he has been indulging in drink, he falls asleep, the women scatter themselves over the park, picking up flowers and fruits. They come across the monk who starts preaching to them The king wakes up. "What has become of those foolish women," he exclaims. He is told that they are all around a monk, who is preaching to them Furious, Udayana wants to have the monk devoured by red ants. He orders that a bagful of them should be thrown on him. The holy man escapes and, rising in the air, goes to the Jetavana to relate the adventure to the Buddha.

---

* Schiefner, *Tib. Lebensb. Câk*, 269.

† Feer, K-C (89, VII, 7) J. As., IXe s., 17 (1901), p 439 sq.

‡ L. Feer, K-C., *l. c.* p. 70 sq.

Udayana's story was certainly well known, and we find in the Jātaka (409, *Fausboll* III, 384 sq.) a very precise allusion to the abduction of Vāsuladattā as related by the Atthakathā of the Dhammapada That allusion could not have any meaning except for readers very familiar with all the details of the legend The she-elephant, Bhaddavatikā, comes to see the Buddha who is staying in the Ghositārāma She complains of her master, Udena, "Formerly", she says, "he honoured me, looked after me, saying: "To thee I owe my *life*, *my kingdom and my wife*, now he neglects me, because I am old and incapable to render any service." The Buddha goes to see the king. "Where is Bhaddavatikā?" he asks. "I do not know" answers Udena —The Buddha shames him on account of his ingratitude Hereafter Udena must surround Bhaddavatikā with the same care as formerly.

One of the Chinese versions of the Dhammapada, which has been translated by S. Beal* represents, in section XXXIII, Udayana as a very devout king. That section, which Beal has not identified, is simply the story of Çyāmāvatī and of Anupamā, but very much abridged and arranged for purposes of edification, which means that it is quite different from its original form. I leave the reader to judge.

The Buddha is at Kaucāmbī in the vihāra called Mi-yin (*lovely sound*, says Beal—it is the Ghositārāma) He is preaching the Law to Devas and men. At that time, the king of Kauçāmbī was Udayana and the queen had a great reputation for chastity (*it is Cyāmāvatī*). Having heard of the presence of the Buddha, the king, the queen and the maids go to listen to him, and become his disciples At the same time, a certain Brahmin had a daughter of peerless beauty (it is the translation of her name, Anupamā) Smitten with the handsome looks of the Buddha he offers her to him. The Buddha refuses. Furious, the Brahmin offers her to Udayana, who weds her and makes her his second queen She becomes jealous of the first one and contrives a wile to ruin her. One day, that her rival is engaged in her devotions, which she cannot interrupt, she manages for the king to send for her. The first queen does not obey the order. In a rage, Udayana has her brought before him and endeavours to pierce her with arrows, but the arrows instead of reaching the aim return to him.†—What is that magic power?—It is that I have found a refuge in the three jewels.—Udayana sends back the second queen to her parents and goes to see the Buddha. General conversion.

It is also, as a zealous disciple of the Buddha, that Udayana is represented in the *Udayana-vatsarāja-paripṛcchā*. That text exists in three versions in the Chinese *Tripitaka*.‡ The frame-work is borrowed from the Mākandika-avadāna.

---

* *Texts from the Buddhist Canon commonly known as "Dhammapada" with accompanying narratives*

† In connection with arrows which refuse to reach their aim, but return to the bowman, see the story of the "Gazelles of wind," B K.C.S, VIII.

‡ *Catalogue* of Nanjio, 38, *Udayana-vatsa-rāja-paripṛcchā* Translated by Fā-cu of the Western Tsin dynasty, A.D. 265-316-788

Buddha-bhāsita-mahāyāna-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra. Translated by (Fâ-Hien) Dharmadeva, a çramana of the Nālanda (973-1001)—23 (29) *Udayana-vatsa-rāja-paripṛcchā*. Translated by Bodhiruci of the Thān dynasty, A D 618—907.

Let us see, first, No. 38 of Nanjio During the reign of Udayana at Kauçāmbī, a man, called Mākandika, has a daughter who owes to her peerless beauty the name Anupamā. Kings and great personages seek her in marriage, but Mākandika, having seen on the Buddha's body the thirty-two marks, will have, for son-in-law, no one else but him. In spite of his wife's remonstrances, he goes, and offers Anupamā to the Buddha. The Buddha's refusal and preaching. All exactly similar to the version of that tale quoted above. Mākandika asks the Buddha whether it would be the proper thing to give his daughter to the king. The Buddha does not give any reply. Mākandika, accordingly, offers Anupamā to the king, who accepts her with joy, and has a palace built for her. It so happens that the lawful queen is a devotee of the Buddha. Anupamā, who is jealous of her, calumniates her to the king, and does her best to throw suspicion on her relations with the Buddha The credulous king attempts to slay the queen with arrows. The miracle, we have already seen, takes place Udayana, in a great state, goes to see the Buddha, confesses his crime, and begs for forgiveness. "I am of a ferocious temperament, easily provoked to anger, full of indulgence for myself I am without any for others. Goaded on by the three kinds of poison (*trsnā, krōdha, mōha*), I take my pleasure in doing evil. Listening to the mischievous advice of women I am no distinguisher between good and evil. Hell will be my lot after my death. Have mercy upon me, O Thou, who hast got the Light? Teach me in detail the real aspect of these monsters, who are hidden under the feminine form" Buddha replies that, from the day men give themselves up to the pleasures of the flesh, they suffer from those monsters. The Buddha's speech is developed in four lengthy parts: The man addicted to carnal pleasures, thinks only of women, he deviates from the right paths becomes sceptic as to the truth, is no longer able to distinguish between what is pure and what is impure, he forgets his parents, neglects, for a woman's sake, to show them the gratitude he owes them—instead of remaining pious, honest, respectful of the çramaṇas as he was whilst a student before going into the world, he no longer gives alms, does no longer care about a future life; he amasses riches not to do good, but to satisfy his passions, etc. At last, the Buddha gives in gāthās a long exposition of the evils due to the society of women. It is a lengthy *réquisitoire*. Udayana acknowledges the truth of that teaching, promises not to break any more the duties commanded by religion and goes away converted No. 788 of Nanjio gives the same story and the same preaching, but much more developed. The Buddha is at Kauçāmbī, in the garden Ghosita or Ghosila, with five-hundred monks. At that time, Anupamā, daughter of Mākandika, is jealous of the queen, Çyāmāvatī, and very anxious to get rid of her. She makes Udayana believe that Çyāmāvatī and her five-hundred women are having improper relations with the Buddha and his monks—then follow the story of the king's wrath, of the miracle, of the questions and answers of Udayana and Çyāmāvatī as in the Mākandika-avadāna. The preaching of Çyāmāvatī (in gāthās) is largely developed. The rest as in No 38, but more detailed. The whole preaching of the Buddha is in gāthās.

No. 23 (29) of Nanjio is a more modern version of No. 38, but, in the arrangement of the material, agrees better with No. 788. The scene is in the garden Ghosila, where the Buddha is with twelve-hundred-and-fifty monks, the jealous woman is called Devakanyā (it is an equivalent of Anupamā).*

To sum up, the legend has been interpreted as favourable to Udayana. If it has been chosen to serve as a framework for the Buddha's preaching on women, it is because it supplies a memorable instance to what degradation licentiousness can lead a king, and also because it was generally admitted that the guilty king had been converted. The traits of the drama in which Udayana was an actor have become softened. He himself has appeared, in the end, under the figure of a devotee, duly converted, almost a saint, in any case, a personage of the *Légende dorée* of Buddhism

I am inclined to believe that there existed at Kauçāmbī, on the local hero, Udayana, a cycle of stories either in writing or handed down by oral tradition, more comprehensive than what has passed into the Buddhist text. That kind of *Udayanacarita* was naturally to the hero's glory, a mystery surrounded his birth, through magic powers he had been able to recover the throne of his father, he knew the charms wherewith to tame elephants and also his hand never left the enchanted vina, a gift from divine ascetics or from nāgas. He possessed flying chariots and was on terms of intimacy with the Genii. I do not see why we should not accept the testimony of Gunādhya about details which agree so well with the rest of the legend. He is a chivalrous prince, fascinating, addicted to pleasure, loved by women, born under a lucky star : prisoner of his sworn enemy the perfidious Pradyota, he escapes and carries away his daughter. His life is made up of gallant adventures and dramas of love. One of his wives, jealous of her rival, set fire to the palace to cause her to perish. On the other hand, he is also generous and a friend of the monks

Buddhism has adopted that personage and given him an honourable place among the contemporaries of the Buddha. It was for Gunādhya to make him the prototype of romance and of comedy.

POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN THE BRHATKATHĀ AND THE BUDDHIST LEGENDS

A rapid glance at the first "lambhakas" of the Brhatkathā makes it clear to us that Guṇāḍhya was taking liberties with the legend, as is only natural with a romancer, but also that he knew it in detail in the form in which it has come to us

The Bharatarohaka, who is the minister of Pradyota in the Brhatkathā, is no one else but the Bharata, formerly a husbandman under the name of Ghrāṇa,

* *Vide* also No. 1350 of Nanjio the *Dhyāna-nisthā-samādhi-sūtra* treats in passing of bad words (*durbhāsita*) and goes on "After that we must mention king Udayana who took 500 arrows to shoot." Follows an abridgment of the story of Çyāmāvatī and of Anupamā. It is introduced by the formula "As in the Pi-lo-king (Vīra-sūtra ?) the avadāna of king Udayana says." The original is by Sangharaksa who belonged to the court of Kaniska, the translation by Kumārajīva, in 402 and 407

who figures in the narrative of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya. That narrative shows him to us loaded with favours by his master who goes so far as to wash his feet in public, that favourite Bharatarohaka, so beloved by Pradyota, that the king falls into a decline at the news of his death. In this connection, we may note how much more does the Çlokasaṃgraha agree with the data supplied by the legend than the Cashmerian version. Bharatarohaka dies sometime before his master. This is natural. According to the legend, both are more or less contemporaries and both are in an advanced age. It is the sons of Bharatarohaka, Rohantaka and Suroha, who act as ministers to Gopāla, Pālaka and Avantivardhana. On the contrary, the Cashmerian version is guilty of an anachronism in making Bharatarohaka the minister of Pālaka, at a time when Avantivardhana has reached man's estate, when his cousin, Naravāhanadatta, is Cakravartin, and when Udayana and Vāsavadattā have committed suicide, satiated with happiness and a long life.

The continual sleeplessness, from which Pradyota was suffering in the legend, has become, in the Brhatkathā, the cause of his death. That death is preceded by acts of cruelty as we read in the Vinaya, more especially, the slaughter of the Brahmins (B.K.C.S., 1, 39) which forms the subject-matter of one of the last sections.

Only Pradyota's death is recorded in the Bṛhatkathā—at least in what has been preserved of it, but allusions are made to incidents of his life, which we find in his legend. One night, Pradyota had a certain dream which the court Brahmins refused to interpret—similar detail in the narration of the Vinaya.—That dream is interpreted by the Brahmin, Çāṇḍilya, who at first is victim of his outspoken language, but, subsequently, is loaded with honours. This personage is no other than the Brahmin of the legend, who alone having had the courage to speak out the truth, becomes the king's purohita. There is also the dream foretelling Pradyota's death within seven fortnights, which we can compare with the prediction of Çārana (in the Karma-çataka, v *supra*) which foretells the king's death within seven days.

Pradyota, says Budhasvāmin, left to his future heir, Gopāla, every liberty to amuse himself. The legend gives us information on the extraordinary facilities he was granting, on that point to his women themselves Gopāla succeeds his father, in the narration of the Vinaya he is the crown prince. We need not insist on the fact that the traits of the nature of Pradyota the choleric, have been exactly preserved. As for the events, Guṇāḍhya collects them and develops the narration in a different manner, but his part of invention is very small.

It is not altogether the same in the story of Udayana. There was no reason for Guṇāḍhya to spare Pradyota. But he had to present to us, in Udayana, a hero always noble and sympathetic. The future Cakravartin could not possibly be born from a family in which the least stain could be found. Whether Guṇādhya has voluntarily improved the legend, or rather, whether he has found it at Kauçāmbī, already arranged entirely to the hero's glory, the figure of Udayana

does not exhibit, in his work, any unpleasant character. Even the story of his mother, Mrgāvatī, has been modified intentionally. In the legend she lives as his wife with a hermit who has given her shelter. In the Brhatkathā, she remains pure and finds her husband again. That was more decent. As for the rest of the episode, Guṇādhya reproduces it faithfully. Udayana, says the legend, receives from the hermit the magic lute, but we are not told where it comes from. Guṇādhya tells us how the hermit contrives to make Udayana receive it from the Nāgas. The difference is in the abundance and not in the nature of the details. Udayana charms the elephants of the forest and they take him on their back (in the Çlokasamgraha as well as in the legend). Only, the circumstance of the return to Kauçāmbī cannot be the same as, in the Brhatkathā, Udayana's father is still alive, but between the Cashmerian and the Nepalese versions it is the latter which agrees more with the legend, as Çatānīka has nothing to do with his son's return and as Udayana returns accompanied by his mother and with the help of the magic powers.

Guṇādhya still reproduces the legend faithfully when he places the abduction of Vāsavadattā just at the beginning of Udayana's reign. I may refer to what has been said as to the order followed by Buddhaghosa in the Atthakathā of the Dhammapada. Must we believe the Cashmerian version, when it relates that Pradyota was anxious to have Udayana as a son-in-law, and when it shows Udayana in chains no doubt, but yet in a posture less humiliating than in the legend? I cannot tell,—the Çlokasamgraha having suppressed the whole of the Udayanacarita,—but in that version I have come across so many inaccuracies, due to the desire to do away with anything that might look vulgar in the several adventures, not to have some suspicion in regard to it I note details which betray an intimate connection between that narration and that of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya. In both, Yaugandharāyana comes to get information, with Vasantaka according to the Kathāsaritsāgara, under the name of Vasantaka according to the narration of the Vinaya In both, he acts the part of a madman to avoid suspicion, in both, a Kāñcanamālā plays a part, the Kathāsaritsāgara gives her as a confidante of Vāsavadattā, the legend as a sister of Yaugandharāyana. I should not be surprised, were that section of the Brhatkathā to be brought to light again, if one would not find, in the rest of the story, a connection with the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya, closer than the Kathāsaritsāgara leads us to suspect. One instance: we have in the Çlokasamgraha (11, 41) an allusion that it is as a charmer of elephants and not as a musician that Udayana became famous at Pradyota's court. Besides, it is incredible that this story should not have existed in the local traditions of Kauçāmbī with, no doubt, original characteristics.

From the seduction of Vāsavadattā, the divergence becomes greater between the Brhatkathā and the text of the Vinaya, but it is easy to see that Guṇādhya continues to draw from the same sources. The account of the flight of the lovers on Bhadravatī's back is borrowed from them. The pursuit of the fugitives by Pālaka mounted on Nalāgiri is an imitation of the pursuit of Jīvaka by Kāka.

One might, at first sight, think that Gunādhya has omitted the most lengthy portion of the legend, the story of Çyāmāvatī and of Anupamā. This is not the case It is possible that he may have narrated, after the story of Vāsavadattā's marriage, the story of the amours of Udayana with other women, but he has done better. From the story of Anupamā he has built up, in transforming it, that of Padmāvatī. This last personage, who does not figure in the legend, is a creation of Gunāḍhya, who makes of her a type of sweetness and docility quite the opposite of Anupamā, but we must remember by what means Udayana *conquered* this new spouse. She will not be given to him if he has already a wife alive. The ministers conceive the idea of setting fire to Vāsavadattā's palace, and to spread the lying rumour that the queen has perished in the flames Udayana is heart-broken, but as we are told in some other passage that a king's grief lasts only for seven days, he marries Padmāvatī. No use could be made of the personage of Çyāmāvatī. She was very holy and there was no room for her in a love romance. Guṇāḍhya seems to have suppressed her, but, as in her life there was a dramatic episode, he has transferred it to Vāsavadattā. Anupamā's story would also have been out of place in the Brhat-kathā. Padmāvatī has taken her place, and of her atrocious life, remains only the conflagration transformed from a criminal outrage into an innocent artifice.

Even the account of Udayana's death has been made use of by Guṇāḍhya. Can there be any comparison one might well ask ?—In Pradyota's legend, Udayana is a tyrant whom Vāsavadattā causes to fall into a pit where his body becomes the prey of dogs. In the Brhatkathā he is a hero who, weary of the vanities of this world, commits suicide and is taken up to heaven in an aerial chariot. Yet, the story is substantially the same. In both narratives, Udayana is killed because he falls into a precipice, in both, Vāsavadattā follows him in death. Only, the compilers of the Vinaya have made the figure of Udayana look as black as possible whereas Gunādhya has idealized it.

It is not easy to doubt that, between the Brhatkathā and the legends of Pradyota and Udayana, as we find them in the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya, there is an intimate connection. This observation has an importance of its own. Once again the Brhatkathā is localized in a region which goes from Kauçāmbī to Ujjayinī. The legend of Guṇādhya does not deceive us as to that part of India in which he was writing. On the other hand, if this were the place for a more lengthy discussion about the sect of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins, I should ask myself whether that sect did not have a special connection with Guṇādhya's country-men.

The rest of the Brhatkathā will not detain us long. After the history of Udayana, we come to unexplored ground. Naravāhanadatta has no prototype in the legend. As for the accessory tales, not having anything positive to prove their authenticity, the study of their origin could not give us anything definite on the sources of the Brhatkathā. With regard to most, if not all, we are sure that Guṇāḍhya has not invented them. It is certain that there is nothing

Buddhistic in many of them. To give only one instance the story of Trita in the well is very ancient, but it is in Vēdic literature that it is found. To tell the truth, it is specifically neither Brahmin nor Buddhistic. It is the story of a traveller thrown into a well by his companions in a caravan, who wanted to rob him, and who is saved by a miracle as a reward for his merits The substance of the story remaining the same, each one could accommodate the *dénouement* according to his own religious persuasion The Rg-Veda (1, 105) knows that tale. It is found also in several Brahmanic stories * For Gunāḍhya to have been able to mention it, is a proof that it has always been existing in folklore Still, it is in Buddhistic texts that one has a better chance to come across tales made use of by Guṇādhya or at least stories of the same kind. Thus, the whole story of Viçvabhadra, the carpenter, is found in the Kandjur. The first half, which mentions the wonderful skill of the Greeks, is found in one of the tales published by Schiefner (*Bul. de l'Ac Imper des Sciences de St-Pét*, XXI (1876) p. 194). The second half, the story of the newly-married husband, who having gone into a foreign land returns in secret on a flying machine to see his wife, is related in the Karma-çataka (36, III, 4 ; Feer, J As., IX e. s. 17, p. 269). Again, in the Kandjur we find stories of skilful artisans, (Schiefner, l.c., p. 193), notably of Greeks (*ibidem*, p 283). The ingenious deductions of Gomukha, from the traces of Amrtagati's footsteps, are somewhat similar to passages found in the tales of the Chinese Tripitaka.† It is almost superfluous to remind my readers how frequent in the Buddhistic texts are stories of merchants, of caravans, and of shipwrecks. The reason of those analogies is simply that the Buddhistic legend draws, like Guṇāḍhya, from a cycle profane and popular. It is likely that, if we possessed the rest of the contemporary profane literature, it would exhibit the same characteristics

CHAPTER V

THE ORIGINALITY AND INFLUENCE OF GUṆĀDHYA

It is not Udayana whom Guṇāḍhya has chosen to be the hero of his Brhatkathā. He has imagined for that fascinating king a son endowed to a more eminent degree with all the qualities which the legend attributed to the father. Udayana's history has become the portico of the vast edifice of the "Great Story" of which Pradyota's story may be considered as the threshold. But the rest of the narrative—I mean of the framework—has been invented by Guṇāḍhya. With him, the pale Rāstrapāḷa (or Çāraṇa ?) who, in the Buddhistic legend. was a monk, or the Bodhirājakumāra, of whom it records an act of cruelty,‡ has become the young man, destined by Fate to ascend the throne of the Genii, the brilliant

* Cf Sāyaṇa (*ad* Ṛ.-V , 1, 105) mentioning the tradition of the çātyāyanins Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa (Oertel, J.A.O.S., XVIII, p 18) Bṛhaddevatā (III 132 sq.) , Mahābhārata (IX, 36, 7-sq.).

† Cf. E. Chavannes, *Fables et contes de l'Inde extraits du Tripitaka chinois —Actes du XIVe C.I.des Or.*, S, P. 136-138.

‡ Jātaka 353 (F , III, 157).

Naravāhanadatta, beloved of women and protected by the Enchanters. In taking round the world that seeker after adventures, Guṇāḍhya uses, at his sweet will, the epic or the familiar style, and passes from an enchanted to a real world. With the career of the future Cakravartin are associated, on one side, men engaged in the pursuits of earthly life, on the other, those mysterious Vidyādharas, whom Guṇāḍhya did not invent, but who owe to him their passing from the popular tales into classical literature.

Indian critics have made no mistake on that point. Authors, in no uncertain voice, vouch for the fact that the real hero of the Bṛhatkathā* is Naravāhanadatta, and the fantastic character of his adventures has impressed popular imaginations very vividly. The terms *citrārthā*, *vismayarasapūrṇā* are those used, in preference, to qualify the Bṛhatkathā.† Later on, when the *kathā*, as a literary *genre*, has assumed divers forms, the Bṛhatkathā has always been distinguished from subsequent *kathās* in that it was *par excellence* the type of the Cakravartin's history. Hemacandra, in his Kāvyānuçāsana, makes the Bṛhatkathā a special section in the general category, *kathā*, and anxious, no doubt, to group under its name the several versions which had been made of it, like the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara—and the early imitations, he takes the term in a general sense. "*A kathā*, when it is divided into lambhakas, and when it has a fanciful subject matter like the history of Naravāhanadatta, etc., takes the name of Bṛhatkathā." ‡

We must admit that Guṇāḍhya has not drawn only on his own imagination for the whole of Naravāhanadatta's story. To conceive the type of the future Cakravartin, he has had only to make use of what popular belief supplied him. The notion of Cakravartin is intermingled with that of the Buddha. The same being, born with the thirty-two favourable marks, is destined, if he lives in the world, to become a Universal Emperor, if he gives up the world, a Buddha. As there are officially seven Buddhas, there are similarly seven Cakravartins. The legend of Guṇāḍhya demanded that he became the historian of the seven, and that the story of Naravāhanadatta should be the last section—the only one now extant of his Bṛhat-kathā.§ Naravāhanadatta is born with the thirty-two marks,|| his birth has been a joy for earth and heaven like the birth of a Buddha. His destiny develops itself under the influence of a power which cannot be avoided, which, in each episode of his life, in an invisible manner, but according to a hidden plan, makes him ascend, one by one, the steps which must lead him to the final triumph. He has difficulties to surmount, but, in the end, he conquers the seven jewels and supernatural powers,

---

* Ex. Pañcastavī, *l. c.*, v. *supra* p. 17, Hemacandra, Kāvyānuçāsana cité *infra*.

† Ex. Kuvalayānanda, *l. c.*, v. *supra* p. 15, Kāvyādarça (com. de Jīvānanda ad I, 38), etc.

‡ Lambāṅkitādbhutārthā naravāhanadattādicaritavad Bṛhatkathā (Kāvyānuçāsana, VIII, *éd, de la Kāv.—M.*, P. 340).

§ We may note that, for that very reason, other stories of "cakravartins", like that of *Sūryaprabha*, had necessarily to be called Bṛhatkathā. Hemacandra would have classified them under the category of "Bṛhatkathā".

|| B.K.Ç.S., XXI, 30-55.

and becomes the Universal Emperor for the duration of a mahākalpa. If we imagine, by a radical *euhemerism*, the story of the Buddha to take place in a world of *bourgeois* adventures, if we replace the conquest of enlightenment by that of the magic arts, we have the scheme of the history of a Cakravartin It is the legend of the Buddha, fallen to the level of a romance of adventures. Many a narrative, in accordance with that formula, must have been written for the amusement of merchants and women Guṇādhya would have had little merit in composing his romance, if the Bṛhatkathā had not been distinguished, first of all, by the style of which, unfortunately, we cannot judge now, and also by the wealth of an inventive imagination, which knows how to vary the adventures by the art of knitting them in a narrative which never allows interest to lag, more especially, by the gifts of conceiving types and of depicting characters and passions

We have already seen with what skill the complicated adventures of Naravāhanadatta are made to fit in a framework borrowed from the Rāmāyana. I would emphasise here traits of greater value, and also more original. The mixture of lyrism and realism, of epic and *bourgeois* romance, seems to me to characterise Guṇādhya's work. He has purposely chosen as heroes the Vidyādharas, those "masters of magic arts" (men gods), who are more interesting than the gods, as says Çiva at the beginning of the Author's legend, because they have passions, suffer like men, and yet are of a higher order than men The Vidyādhara is a creation of popular imagination, in whom are amalgamated the traits of the antique gandharva, of the yogin and of the arhat. The Brahmanical Pantheon has welcomed it. The Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, without speaking of the Purāṇas, mention the Vidyādharas. They are associated with the Gandharvas, the Yaksas, the Siddhas, the Cāranas, the Kimnaras, in Çiva's cortège, where they figure as musicians and singers We also find them by the side of the Daityas, the Dānavas, the Bhūtas, the Piçācas, the Rāksasas * The reason is that the Vidyādhara, like the Gandharva, has a double face. On one side, he is amiable, artist, given up to love, a being of light and of justice, altogether a Prince Charming and a kind of knight-errant, the refuge of the oppressed innocents, such as Jīmūtavāhana sacrificing himself to save the young nāga, or Amrtagati appearing just in time to draw Naravāhanadatta out of the well, or the cakravartin restoring Suratamañjarī to her husband. On the other hand, licentious, jealous and cruel, he is the ravisher of women, the dangerous magician, who roams everywhere in quest of adventures, the demon with whom one frightens little girls Kalingasenā, seated one night on her terrace, in the moonlight plays with Madanamañjukā who is only a child. She is singing to her a popular song "Come over, Vidyādhara, come and carry away this beautiful little one" † She is taken at her word, the wicked Mānasavega comes down, seated on a ray of the moon, and attempts to carry off the child. This is the origin of

---

* Ex. Bhāgavata—P., X, LXXXV, 41

† Ehi vidyādharā ehi grhānemām surūpikām. (B K.Ç S , XII, 13)

all Madanamañjukā's misfortunes. These traits permitted Gunādhya to vary his gallery of vidyādharas, to make some wicked and traitors like Ipphaka (or Ityaka), Mānasavega or Vikacika, the others, generous and faithful, like Amrtagati or Caṇḍasimha.

Another element of diversity the means, by which the magic sciences are acquired or one becomes a vidyādhara, is simply to be a magician One becomes a vidyādhara by the grace of predestination like Naravāhanadatta, by the virtue of asceticism like Sūryaprabha or simply and solely by generosity of mind like Tārāvaloka. But in any case, one must be in possession of "formulas." It is not Guṇādhya alone who says so. Citraketu, according to the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, obtained the sovereignty over the Vidyādharas, because he had in his possession a magic prayer which had been given to him by Nārada * It is easy enough to see how that idea has originated The yogin, in popular belief, is a being who has become superhuman, because "*he knows*" This is the case also with the arhat of Buddhism. No longer subject to the limitations of matter, great or small at will, visible or invisible, luminous or obscure, pastmasters of illusion, they are in reality "Vidyādharas". Guṇāḍhya, in imagining—for I find that idea only in the Brhatkathā—a nation of Vidyādharas, who inhabit the northern plateaux of the Himālaya, who have kings, laws, cities, lawcourts, passions, and wars, who recruit themselves from their children, on condition that their parents consent to reveal to them the magic sciences, and also from other human beings, is only conforming himself to the popular belief He who is in possession of "knowledge" escapes from the human world. He is at liberty to go and live in the enchanted city, morally little different from our own world, but where everything is made of gold, where one lives a whole mahākalpa, where one is free from physical pain and where one is master of natural forces. It is a conception of "deliverance", childish and much realistic, in souls strongly attached to sensible realities, and who dream of an earthly paradise I do not pretend that they have taken seriously the constructions of their fancy, but there is no doubt that they have taken keen pleasure in them.

Another symptom of that state of mind is the adoration of Kuvera, god of treasures, and also god of the Lokapālas, who guard the region of the North He is intimately associated by Guṇādhya with the Vidyādharas. perhaps on account of his "habitat" and also, probably, because he is the god from whom one asks material favours. The place of Kuvera, in Hinduism, does not appear as very brilliant, but that is no reason why this patron of merchants should have had few followers. We find traces of his worship, everywhere, in the Magadha, the Gandhāra, Nĕpāl, and Tibet. Hemacandra attributes twenty-two names† to him The scoliast, some more, and the Bṛhatkathā many more still. In many ways he seems to be identical with Çiva. In his city Alakā, he is the chief of the Vidyādharas, like Çiva, he has his court of Gaṇas and of Genii of every description His

* Bh—P., VI, xvi, 28.

† Abhidh—C, 189—190

mountain, the Hemakūta, is the holiest of abodes, says Kālidāsa, and it is there that the poet makes Çākuntalā live with the holy man Mārīca. Here again, Guṇāḍhya does not innovate. He conforms himself to the popular worship. In Nēpāl, Kuvera is identified with Mahākāla and he is worshipped there, as a domestic deity Buddhism also knows Kuvera In the Gandhāra we meet an extensive worship of Kuvera, among the northern Buddhists. In the Bṛhatkatha, he is *par excellence*, the Rājarāja, the Devadeva.

Gunādhya tickled the taste of his readers by means of those wonderful tales where the marvellous may have been of a lower order, but which were for that very reason, all the more appreciated It is, more especially, by depicting a fantastic world that he has attained a lasting fame, though this has done him some harm also The word Bṛhatkathā came to mean the story of the Vidyādharas That made it easy to include, under that same title, other tales of a similar character.

It is remarkable that his fame is not based more on his dramatic genius and on the types, very human, which he has created. The reason may be, that those two traits having become classics, have been looked upon as common property. The type of Udayana, the Hindu *Don-Juan*, owes its use as a model for dramatic authors to Guṇādhya. When Hemacandra gives Udayana as an example of the second type of heroes—the tender-hearted and frivolous *—it is a question whether he had in his mind the hero of the Buddhistic legends or the King of the Bṛhatkathā, the friend of the fine arts and of the dance, given to love and passionate without any barbarian character, such as copied by Harsa in Ratnāvali and in Priyadarçikā. Udayana, in that respect, has done some harm to Naravāhanadatta. Gunādhya had modelled the second on the first; artist like his father, loving and loved like him, he differs from him only in his good fortune. Unfortunately, he is too passive, that good fortune is not of his own making, but was due to destiny and to his friend Whereas Udayana had to struggle in order to satisfy his passions, Udayana has hardly anything else to do but let himself live. That character, more colourless, has enjoyed less popularity, inasmuch also as he had not at his back the prestige of an antique legend. Yet he is painted under accurate colours. I do not know under what colours Naravāhanadatta was painted in the heroic part of his life. The Cashmerian version has reduced that part to what is merely indispensable—but, in his youth, he is of a charming ingeniousness, a child innocent, modest, of a weak will, he becomes transformed, little by little, under the influence of his too favourable destiny. He waxes passionate, violent, selfwilled, not altogether bad, but, spoiled by good fortune, he no longer controls his selfishness. He is subject to outbursts of groundless anger (with Gomukha). He lets cruel words of ingratitude escape his lips (towards Madanamaṇjukā, Vegavatī), which does not prevent him from showing himself on several occasions tender-hearted and full of tact (with Gandharvadattā, Ajināvatī) The shades of that character are described with great delicacy, thanks to the dialogue and the mono-

* Kāvyānuçāsana, *éd. de la Kāvya-M.*, p 299 —Rāma is presented as an example of the first type, the noble type.

logue, according to the custom of the Hindu romances. The very human description of that artless egotism which develops itself by degree seems to me all the more remarkable that Indian literature is singularly lacking in valuable works of that description. In it, the drama is not based on the direct observation of moral life. In it, very seldom do we meet a character which develops itself, under the influence of the passions. That of Naravāhanadatta was to become transformed again in the remaining portion of the Bṛhatkathā, Guṇāḍhya had to show him becoming wiser, through his success and the exercise of power. It is under the traits of a chief justice, calm and undisturbed, that he appears in the preamble. A cakravartin, we understand, must display the calm of the wise man, he enjoys his good fortune, but is not able to entertain a new desire.

However artistic the conception of the principal hero may be, the Bṛhatkathā would lack life, were it not for Gomukha. That personage seems to me to have come out entirely from Gunādhya's imagination. That imagination may have been assisted by the part legend assigned to Yaugandharāyaṇa, the cunning minister who assists Udayana in indulging his passions, but we cannot say that Guṇāḍhya has used that part as a model. The creation is altogether original. It is strange that posterior writers should not have attempted to turn it to account. No doubt, we find some touches, recalling Gomukha, in the *vidūṣaka* and, more especially, in the *viṭa* of theatrical pieces, but those conventional parts can, in no way, be compared with it. Gomukha's life is intimately associated with that of Naravāhanadatta's. Success results from that association. To be successful, says Gomukha, one must have a good anterior karman—but that does not depend upon us—and in addition to it, an active will. In their association, Naravāhanadatta supplies the first element, Gomukha the second. He is the artful adviser, who knows everything, foresees everything, and leads his master to the goal without that master having any idea of it. He is devoted, but conscious of his own intellectual superiority, he serves his Prince whilst teaching him as if he were a little boy. He is endowed with all sorts of talents, of those, at least, which ensure success in the world, and he uses them for his master's and his own benefit, often, also, merely for the pleasure of doing something and of showing off his abilities. Scruples of caste or religion do not stand in his way, and his plan of action always begins with a lie. The end justifies the means! Reckless, adventurous, but clever in turning to good account circumstances as they come, he is never so lively and in such good humour, as when he is in a difficult situation, always trusting to his wits to get out of it. Gomukha, in fact, is intrigue incarnate, having, at its service, a profound knowledge of men. He allows himself everything, except going counter to public prejudice; that is the only mistake which is irreparable.* That type might easily be odious, Gomukha is not so, because he is full of wit, well-bred and more especially, because all his adventures end in benefiting sympathetic personages—the wicked alone being his dupes.

Female personages are less interesting. India has never known how to vary

* B.K.Ç.S., xxvi, 22—40.

the type of the loving woman, only, Madanamañjukā deserves our attention She is not a common place lover, that courtesan's daughter, who is not satisfied to belong to Naravāhanadatta, but who will kill herself, if she does not become his lawful spouse It is praiseworthy pride and not ambition that moves her. Her love is too great for her not to feel the degradation of being only a concubine. She wants to change her caste, and to become worthy of her husband. India, indeed, has never been cruel to the courtesan. Sometimes, even the Buddhistic legends, make her play an honourable part. The portrait given of her by the theorists of the theatre is rather flattering among women she is the one who has a taste for the fine arts. The customs of the people sanction her existence. We see the ' Ganikās ", taking an official part in festivals, Kalingasenā, according to the Brhatkathā, enjoys free admission into the royal palace, and becomes the intimate friend of the queen, Padmāvatī Yet, a kind of disgrace is always attached to her moral character, she is never supposed to be capable of anything else, but of a sensual love; she is considered to be inaccessible to feelings of honour and of praiseworthy pride. That severity of public opinion is very marked in the single comedy in which a courtesan is the principal actress, the Mrcchakatikā She was not, it is true, a courtesan, but being the daughter of one, she was, by social custom, condemned to follow the example of her mother It is a proof of originality for Gunāḍhya to have endowed her with noble sentiments, with praiseworthy pride and a will to change her caste. To make her the heroine of the Brhatkathā, to place her on a peerless throne, is, indeed, a bold attempt! In that glorification of a courtesan, Gunāḍhya has found only one imitator, the author of the Mrcchakatikā.

If Gunāḍhya has not been the first to compose a romantic narrative—and we have already admitted that he has made use of an anterior Udayanacarita—there seems to be no doubt that he has been the first to build up a vast literary edifice of that kind, for it is the Brhatkathā which has served to fix the type of the *genre kathā* We have seen it already, in connection with the use of the term *lambhaka*, and in the permission given to poets to employ, in the kathā, any language they like. If now, we ask the Kāvyādarça what must be the subject matter of a kathā, this is the answer: "Abduction of young girls, fights, separation between lovers, dawns whether of the sun or of the moon or of a hero's birth, etc., are proper to the kathā as well as to the sargabandha, the difference* between them does not lie in all that."

Now, the sargabandha admits as ornaments, descriptions of cities, sites, seasons, games, festivals, licentious pleasures, separation of lovers, birth of princes, councils and embassies, battles. The hero, in the end,† must be victorious.

The difference then between the kathā and the sargabandha would be, if I understand Dandin well, in the fact that the subject matter of the sargabandha is generally borrowed from the itihāsa and that, in it, there is question only of the

* I, 29.

† I, 14—19.

four ends of human life. But the Brhatkathā has borrowed nothing from the itihāsa and it admits of all the other ingredients recommended by Daṇḍin. The definition then seems to have been made purposely for it. A peculiarity of the kathā,. more especially even of the ākhyāyikā--though Daṇḍin devotes four verses to prove that there is no reason to distinguish between the two kinds—is that, as a rule, it is the hero who himself relates his own story Daṇḍin adds, "To make known, oneself, one's own merit is not wrong, provided one relates only what is true!"* What is the meaning of that, if it is not an allusion to the Introduction of the Brhatkathā ?

More difficult to explain is the fact that the kathā belongs to the second of the great divisions of poetry, the *gadya*, that is, *poetical prose* But, first of all, it is generally prose mixed up with verses, and there is absolutely no proof that the Brhatkathā was written in verses The legend of Gunādhya, it is true, attributes to him a stupendous number of verses. When the legend was put together, it is quite possible that versions in verse, more or less similar to the Çlokasamgraha, may have been more common than the original On the other hand, the Cambodian inscription which we have quoted above, has "the *gada* is sufficient for an agreeable ornament," allusion which seems to refer to a Brhatkathā in prose. Again, was the Cashmerian Brhatkathāsaritsāgara itself in verses? I have come across only two passages where a verse of Somadeva is nearly identical with a verse of Ksemendra K.S S, XXVIII, 112 B.K.M, 183; K. S. S.,—XL., 21 cd—22 ab, B.K.M 14, 342. Yet, one might have borrowed from the other. Besides, when two writers abridge the same text, it is not very strange, that from so many thousands of verses, they may reproduce two of these unintentionally. As for me, I presume that some sections of the Cashmerian compilation were really in verses, though not all. The fragments, quoted by Hemacandra, are in prose. If some tales, written originally in verses, have been incorporated in the compilation, the tales in prose have remained in prose. My opinion is, that it is probable that such was the case for the first nucleus of the compilation and even for the original work itself. Daṇḍin tells us that the kathā is in prose and adduces the Brhatkathā, by name, as the type of kathā † I do not see why we should refuse to admit his evidence. The treatises of poetry or those of rhetoric, more modern than the Kāvyādarça, do not furnish us with any further information. They are only a repetition of each other.

It is mostly the authors of "kathās", in the technical sense of the term, who mention by name the Brhatkathā as the type of the kathā—Subandhu, Bāṇa, Trivikrama—The campū is a sub-variety of the kathā—Dhanapāla, Somadeva-Sūri.‡ Trivikrama associates the name of Gunāḍhya with that of Bāṇa By making a pun on *guna* (cord) and *bāna* (arrow) he gives Bāṇa as an imitator of

* I, 24—25.

† I, 38.

‡ *Cf.* p 10—15.

Guṇāḍhya.[1] Dhanapāla tells us that the Bṛhatkathā is the source of the other "kathās".[2] Somadeva-Sūri mentions Guṇāḍhya in a list—which is far from chronological— between Kantha and Vyāsa, after Bhavabhūti and Bhartrhari, before Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Bāṇa.[3] Govardhana associates his name with those of Bhavabhūti and Bāṇa. This shows clearly that those authors were aware of the affinities between Guṇāḍhya and the romancers,[4] as well as between Guṇāḍhya and the dramatic authors. The idea they had of the Bṛhatkathā was, in reality, that of a literary work composed according to rules. I will content myself with setting Indian opinion right on only one point the Bṛhatkathā has not followed the rules, it has inspired them.

To form an exact idea of Guṇāḍhya's originality, we should also try to find out whether, for want of Indian models, he has followed foreign ones. No doubt, the Rāmāyaṇa on one side, the Buddhistic stories on the other, with all the realism these latter exhibited, the relation of travels, which were certainly not lacking in India, are sufficient to explain the genesis of the Bṛhatkathā. Still, Greek influence which made itself felt, with great force, at the same period—the fact requires no longer any proof—might have counted for something in it The type of Greek romance is the love story framed in fantastic travels. The "Marvellous things from beyond Thulé" of Antonius Diogènes (1st.—2nd. century?), show the Arcadian Dinias, who himself narrates his own adventures, going towards the North, nearly as far as the moon.[5] Lucian, who is understood to have parodied Antonius Diogènes in his "True History" goes much further than Guṇāḍhya with reference to fantastic inventions It is interesting to find, in his work, the description of an army of aerial beings, an army which a reader, familiar with the Bṛhatkathā, would recognize, without hesitation, as "the army of the Vidyādharas".[6] But in the romance of Antonius Diogènes the love story plays only a secondary part. Dinias is separated—voluntarily—from his lady friend, Dercyllis, and when he has reached the extreme confines of the world, it is enough for him to fall asleep, in a temple, after having expressed a wish. He wakes up at Tyre near his beloved one.[7] In the Babylonics of Jamblichus (middle of the II century) the narration is more coherent, and resembles more the fundamental fable of the Bṛhatkathā. The hero, Rhodanēs, persecuted with his wife Sinonis by Garmos, king of Babylon, escapes the tyrant and after a thousand adventures, at last triumphs and becomes king in his place. With the Ēphésiacs of Xenophon of

---

1 *Cf.* p 15—"çaçvad bāṇadvitīyena namadākāradhāriṇā | dhanuṣeva Gunādhyena nihçeSo rañjito janaḥ ‖" (I, st 14)

2 The allusion of Dhanapāla to the "Ocean of the Bṛhatkathā" seems to me, to indicate that he is thinking not of the Bṛhatkathā, but of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara.

3 *Cf.* p. 15

4 Saptaç. (*éd. de la Kāvya-M.*), 697.

5 According to Photius, *Bibl* , 166.

6 Histoire vraie, I, 13.

7 We may compare Sānudāsa who falls asleep "in the Land of Gold" and wakes up on the road to Campā.

Ephesus (III century?) the Greek romance assumes its final form. The hero, Habrocomés and the heroine Antheia, are separated immediately after their marriage, and up to the end of the story, when they meet again, we have only fantastic adventures, the scenes of which are all around the Mediterranean. Taken as a whole, the plan resembles that of the Brhatkathā. Leaving alone works which very likely belong to a period posterior to that of Gunāḍhya, it is certain that between Greek romance and the Bṛhatkathā there is an external family likeness. But as far as the subject matter goes, the Brhatkathā is purely Indian, though I would not be surprised if Guṇāḍhya had borrowed from Greek stories—from which ones, I cannot say, as what remains to us of Greek romances is very little, compared to what has been lost—the very idea of that kind of literature "romance" and the scheme of the story which makes up the plot. On the other hand, we may note that all the Greek romancers were Orientals. We do not know what nationality is hidden under the Greco-roman name of Antonius Diogénes but Jamblichus is a Syrian, Xènophon, an Ephèsian, Apollonius is from Tyre, Hèliodoreus calls himself a Phaènician, later on, if Achilles Tatios is from Alexandria, Chariton is from Aphrodisias in Caria. Those are localities from which intercourse with India was easy.

The Hellenisation of Southern Asia survived Greek domination. Through the Parthian Empire, Greek influence reached India. The rapid development of Christian communities towards the East, in Bactria and Turkestan, from the first century of our era, shows clearly that western ideas were in circulation between the Mediterranean and the frontiers of India If we cannot admit the hypothesis that the old Greek literature had an influence on India, is it not natural to admit that the productions of Eastern Greece have been easily known beyond the Indus, and have contributed towards the creation of new literary *genres*? This, of course, cannot be proved and it must remain only an impression, but one must confess that, outside the special province which occupies us here, it is corroborated by an *ensemble* of general indications. Besides, the eminent part reserved for the Greeks in the Brhatkathā, as well as in some tales of the Kandjur, which we have met already, deserves attention. The esteem in which the Greek artists are held is a date in itself. It is that period when Greek art was renovating sculpture and architecture in the Gandhāra In the decorative arts also, hellenic taste had already prevailed. For some time the Greek bedsteads and ornaments of the table were fashionable, says Budhasvāmin, if not Guṇāḍhya. Is it not interesting that to the Greeks alone was attributed the art of building up aerial machines, which would enable simple mortals to vie with the Vidyādharas? It is under the traits of a "foreigner"—and the context allows us to add without hesitation of a "Greek"—that Bhadrā builds one for Udayana. No one seems surprised to see that stranger at Kauçāmbī. Viçvabhadra, whose services as an architect are lent by Pradyota to Brahmadatta of Benares, is an Indian no doubt, but it is in the school of the Greeks, we are told, that he has learned his profession. Technical

treatises like the "Mechanics" of Heron of Alexandria,[1] which have enjoyed a well deserved fame, are witnesses to the skill, theoretical and practical, possessed by Greek engineers. It is natural that it should have made an impression and that the magic powers of the Vidyādharas—conception strictly Indian—should have been associated with Greek science These indications, which give us a date for the ideas put into execution in the Bṛhatkathā, make more plausible the possibility of a connection between it and Hellenic works That problem is too extensive for our present study. The Bṛhatkathā is only one of the data and it is enough for us to have drawn attention to it

The fame of Guṇāḍhya's heroes has not remained confined to the limited world of scholars. It seems to have taken deep root in the imagination of the masses. The hero's name, Naravāhana (-datta), which is found nowhere as far as I know, before Guṇāḍhya, has been introduced in the list of the kings of the lunar race[2] An inscription of Mallideva, at Piṭhāpuram, in the Godavery District (Çaka 1117), gives the following genealogy, similar, excepting the name of Ksemaka and the rank of Naravāhana, to the one found in the Bṛhatkathā · Arjuna, Abhimanyu, Parīksit, Janamejaya, Ksemaka, Naravāhana, Çatānīka, Udayana.[3] The name of Naravāhana has been borne even as far as Cashmere, as we are informed by the Rājataramginī. It is also the name, but later, (Çāka 1331 sq) of a king of Udaypur[4] in Rājputāna. It is more strange still to find it borne at a much more ancient date, and at Kauçāmbī, by a personage, who was discharging the duty of dūtaka (charter of Laksmana, of 158 Gupta (?)=477 A.D. Inscription at Pālī, near Kauçāmbī).[5]

Naravāhanadatta's story has been adopted by folklore, and it has supplied a long narrative to the jaïna compilation of edifying tales, called the Kathākoça. That narrative,[6] as the reader will be able to judge, is not a popular story which, both Guṇādhya and Kathākoça, might have made use of, but it has been borrowed directly from the Bṛhatkathā. It contains the *Gandharvadattālambhaka*, and three others. Though the alterations are very great, I do not see how we could doubt the fact of borrowing. Only the hero, instead of being called Naravāhanadatta, bears the name of Dīpaçikha (quite fitting for a Vidyādhara), son of Vijayavarman, king of Çvetāmbikā, and of Jayā, he is an incarnation of a holy woman, Gandhabhadrā. At the time of his conception, the queen saw a flame entering her mouth, and when he was born, he bore on his forehead a luminous mark, an omen of a high destiny[7] He hears that the king of Kāntipura, Vikramasena, is

1 Preserved in an Arabic version translated and published by Carra de Vaux. (*J As.*, IX^e s, I, 386 sq , II, 152 sq., 420 sq)

2 Naturally the names of Çatānīka and of Udayana figure there also, but their being there is not due to Guṇādhya (*cf* Visnu-Purāna, V, 21).

3 *Ep. Ind* , IV, p 94 —Idem, gives one inscription of Mallapadeva (çāka 1124), *ibid* p 236.

4 *Cf. Ep. Ind* V *App.* No 34, etc

5 *Ep. Ind* , II, pp 364-365

6 Kathākoça (Tawney) p. 64 sq

7 This is because Gandhabhadrā had offered a candle to the Jina. The object of the tale is to illustrate the merit one acquires by the kind of offering.

going to have a svayamvara in order to marry his daughter Gandharvadattā. He goes there Gandharvadattā, who plays the lute to perfection, would accept as her husband only the man able to surpass her in that accomplishment. The scene of the svayamvara is described at length. Gandharvadattā plays herself as in the Brhatkathā, Dīpaçikha follows The magic of his music is such that it sends the whole audience to sleep. Having won the tournament and wedded Gandharvadattā, he sets out with her to return to his country. The rest of the narrative tells us how he wins three other wives. The first is Līlāvatī, daughter of Karka, king of Paratisthāna. She has been stung by a serpent and she is going to be cremated. Dīpaçikha brings her to life again by means of the charms he has in his possession. All will agree that this achievement is particularly fitting for Udayana's son. From there he goes to Ujjayinī, rescues Avantinī, daughter of king Avantivardhana, from the hands of a wizard, who was just on the point of immolating her in the exercise of his witchcraft. We have not got the corresponding episode of the Brhatkathā, but we know that, somewhere in his work, Guṇāḍhya related the marriage of Naravāhanadatta with the sister of Avantivardhana.* At Padmāvatī, Dīpaçikha weds the daughter of king Mañca, Kāmalatā, who has served him as a medium to overcome Hanumat, for Dīpaçikha is a wizard of a very high order. There the story ends. We see that it has been curtailed as if it were with scissors, from a longer and more important narrative. As far as I can see, it is an abridged imitation of the *lambhaka* of Gandharvadattā and of three others which followed it, precisely that portion of the Brhatkathā which is lost.

I do not intend to seek for imitations of the Brhatkathā in the literary works. Those that have taken Udayana for their hero are famous I am not aware of any which have taken Naravāhanadatta, Gomukha, Madanamañjukā or the other original creations of Guṇāḍhya. As for the accessory tales, that search would be useless, as long as we cannot decide for which tales Guṇāḍhya is really responsible.

It would be more interesting to find out what has become of the fanciful kathā in works like the Yaçastilaka of Somadeva-Sūri, who, following the example of the Brhatkathā, has made its hero reach the dignity of cakravartin. The filiation, though remote, is beyond doubt, as also that of the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla, but aesthetic taste was no longer what it had been in Guṇāḍhya's time That study would find place only in a *travail d'ensemble* on classic romance In this Essay, my object has been merely to trace its origin. I will content myself with pointing out that the spirit of the Brhatkathā has survived in two works older than the preceding ones: the Daçakumāracarita and the Mrcchakaṭikā Daṇḍin has been careful, so that there might be no mistake, to situate his Rājavāhana in the very period when Naravāhanadatta had just ascended the throne of the Vidyādharas and we have already drawn attention to an episode, which seems to have been copied from the Brhatkathā † Daṇḍin has borrowed from Guṇāḍhya neither the

* B.K.Ç.S., I, 61.

† *Supra*, p. 216

subject matter * of the tales nor the form For, between Guṇāḍhya and him, as far as we can judge by the versions of the Bṛhatkathā, taste in rhetoric had developed itself, and it would be difficult to admit that the style in Paiçāci, was as refined as it has become later on in Sanskrit But Daṇḍin owes to Guṇāḍhya the idea of making his heroes roam over the world, king's sons fallen, for the time being to the level of vagabonds, among a tissue of adventures, where the marvellous is for ever associated with details of ordinary life, in a mixed society where princes jostle against bandits. No doubt it is not real society that is depicted in that work, still the life so depicted is nearer real life than the one depicted in the Vāsavadattā or in the Kādambarī. It reveals to us much better an India, more real, less contemplative, more up and doing, more varied and more joyful to be alive

The Mṛcchakaṭikā calls for the same remarks The place and the period take us back to the times of the heroes of the Bṛhatkathā It is Ujjayinī under the reign of Pālaka, the uncle of Naravāhanadatta The adventures—for the Mṛcchakaṭikā is only a tale arranged for the stage—belong to the same family as those we find in the Bṛhatkathā. The type of the courtesan in love who, against her own interest, attaches herself to a poor lover is found in the Daçakumāracarita, several times in the Kathāsaritsāgara and no doubt somewhere else also. What is extraordinary is that the Mṛcchakaṭikā should have given Vasantasēnā refined feelings and should have shown her to us raised from her state in life, to become, without our delicate feelings being shocked, the lawful wife of Cārudatta. This and other details reveal to me an imitation of the Bṛhatkathā. The description of the eight courtyards and of the garden of Vasantasenā's palace, which are of a disproportionate length in the play are nothing else but, detail for detail, the description of the eight courtyards of Kalingasenā's house, description developed at great length by Gomukha in the account he gives his master of his first visit to the courtesan's house.†

The praises bestowed on the Mṛcchakaṭikā, the most life-like work of the Indian Theatre should be bestowed in a great part on the Bṛhatkathā. Had comedy remained in its own sphere the stage would have gained by it, but it has preferred to become altogether a nāṭakā, with Udayana and his companions as heroes. Always the influence of the Bṛhatkathā one might say.—Yes, with regard to the hero, but not with regard to the manner of treatment With Udayana as protagonist, we should have been condemned to reproduce for ever the conventional type of the comedy of the harem. It is only what was more artificial in the Bṛhatkathā, which has continued to bear in Indian literature scholastic fruits. What was really life-like has gone back, bit by bit, to the popular tales, but has not been retained in scholarly literature.

---

* The plan of the Daçakumāracarita seems to have been suggested by the lambhaka of the Bṛhatkathā, the one in which Naravāhanadatta and his friends, being reunited, relate severally their adventures during their separation (*tar.* CVIII gives in the XIV book of the K.S.S) which is beyond doubt more authentic

† B.K.Ç.S., X, 60-163. Compare the whole of the second half of act IV of the Mṛcchakaṭikā.

NOTES BY THE AUTHOR

THIS book was already in the press when I came across the "Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara" of Mr. Speyer (Amsterdam, J. Müller, January 1908) The second section of that work, which will prove very valuable, is concerned more especially with the verbal criticism of the Kathāsaritsāgara and consequently is outside the scope of the present Essay. The first section (pages 1–60) is the development of a communication made by Mr. Speyer to the Royal Academy of Amsterdam and was published in 1907 in the *Verslagen en Mededeelingen* of that Academy. I have, in the present work, discussed its conclusions as far as I have deemed it necessary. The *Studies* complete on several points the former work of Mr. Speyer, without altering his theory. One will not be surprised if, in comparing the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, the study of the same texts has led both of us to make the same observations. Yet, if Mr. Speyer has noticed the incoherence of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, he seems to have ignored that the incoherence of the Kathāsaritsāgara is as great. I need not insist again on that point which I have already fully discussed. My conclusions are diametrically opposed to those of Mr. Speyer. It is for the reader to make a choice between him and me. But there is one point on which I am very glad to see we are in complete agreement. It is the impossibility for the Bṛhatkathā *in its Cashmerian form* to be very ancient. All the indications of modernity pointed out by Mr. Speyer in the Kathāsaritsāgara (pages 48–56) give a new force to those I have pointed out myself. No need to add that, once we admit the existence of a Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, those observations are in favour of my thesis.

About the Çlokasaṃgraha of Budhasvāmin, Mr. Speyer basing his deductions on a note of Mr. Hertel already referred to and on an article published by him in the Journal Asiatique (*Une Version nouvelle de la Bṛhatkathā* 1906, I. p. 19 and sq.) formulates some observations (pp. 57–59) which the very text of Budhasvāmin refutes at once. I trust that the mere reading of this text will convince Mr. Speyer. 1st, that we possess the preamble of the Çlokasaṃgraha and that Budhasvāmin has not flung the reader *in medias res*, without any preamble. 2nd, that the work imitated by Budhasvāmin was no more the Bṛhatkathā told *samāsena* than Somadeva's original was the Bṛhatkathā told *vistarena* 3rd, that the division into sargas does not prevent us from admitting in the Çlokasaṃgraha a large division into lambhas no more than the division into taraṃgas in the Kathāsaritsāgara is irreconcilable with that into lambhakas.

Lastly I wish to vindicate myself from the reproach of having called (*Journal Asiatique* 1906, I. p. 32) the Udayanacarita a "Hors d'oeuvre". What I meant was that it was outside the main story—that of Naravāhanadatta—and not that it was

not found in the Bṛhatkathā Those who have read the present book will have seen that I consider it as an essential element.

In connection with the date of the Bṛhatkathā, I have taken little notice of Mr. Vincent Smith's theory according to which Hāla's and *consequently Guṇāḍhya's* date would be about 60 or 70 A.D Mr Speyer refutes it (*Studies*, pp. 45–48) and is very particular in showing how fragile must be, in the state of our present knowledge, any chronological calculation based on the Purānic lists of the Andhrabhṛtyas. I have thought it was quite sufficient to express my opinion that is altogether illusory to attempt to identify the historical Hāla and the symbolical personage whom tradition has made the protagonist of prākrit poetry and also to show that if the names of Sātavāhana and Guṇāḍhya are found together, it is purely to serve a literary convenience

A discussion of Mr. Speyer's argument in connection with the date of the Bṛhatkathā can be found in Jarl Charpentier's *Paccekabuddhageschichten* (Uppsala, 1908, pp 167–171). In the same work there are also (p 41) several stories on Pradyota (Caṇḍapajjoya) and his quarrels with Domuha of Kampilla and Udayana the Sauvīra. There are interesting resemblances between the tales of the Bṛhatkathā and the jainas stories. In the jainas tales a confusion has been made between the two Udayanas (Jarl Charpentier, p. 49). The same pedigree is given to both—Jarl Charpentier (l c) gives also some information about the statue of the Buddha at Kosāmbī and he admits (*vide* more particularly p. 150) to direct filiation of the Daçakumāracarita from the Bṛhatkathā

KOSĀMBĪ OR KAUṢĀMBĪ, KING UDAYANA'S CAPITAL

THE City of Kausāmbī was one of the most celebrated places in ancient India, and its name was famous amongst Brahmins as well as Buddhists It is mentioned in the Ramayana, and in this celebrated city the Buddha is said to have spent several years of his Buddhahood Hiouen-Tsang relates that the famous statue of the Buddha in red sandal-wood, which was made by King Udayana during the life time of the Teacher, still existed under a stone dome in the ancient Palace of King Udayana.

The ruins of Kosāmbī lie, on the Jumna, about 30 miles above Allahabad They consist of an immense fortress formed of earthen ramparts and bastions with a circuit of 4 miles and 3 furlongs In name, size and position, they correspond most exactly with the ancient Kosāmbī , as it is described by the Chinese pilgrim of the VII Century. The position of the 6 gates can be recognized by the deep depressions in the lines of ramparts. There are two of the openings on each of the three landfaces of the fortress.

The present village Kosam consists of two distinct portions, named Kosam Inām and Kosam Khirāj, the former being on the west and the latter on the east side of the old fortress. Inside the ramparts, and on the bank of the Jumna, there are two small villages called Garhawā Barā and Garhawā Chota. Beyond Kosam Inām is the large village of Pali and beyond Kosam Khirāj, on the bank of the Jumna, stands the hamlet of Gop-Sahasā. To the north there is another hamlet called Ambā-Kua, because it possesses a large old well.

At Barā Garhawī have been found two sculptured pillars of a Buddhist railing and the pedestal of a statue inscribed with the well-known Buddhist profession of Faith, in characters of the VIII or IX Century Those pillars and the inscribed statue Cunningham assigns to the great Vihar in the Palace which contained the famous sandal-wood statue of the Buddha.

At Chota Garhawā has been found a small square pillar sculptured on three faces with a representation of stupas. Cunningham assigns it to the stupa which contained the hair and nails of the Buddha as that stupa was situated on the very site of Chota Garhawā. About midway between the two villages there is a large lingam which shows that the worship of Çiva must have been firmly established at Kosāmbī. As Hiouen-Tsang mentions the existence of no less than 50 heretical (Brahmanical) temples, Cunningham is of opinion that this large lingam may have belonged to one of those temples. Deora, a great central mass of ruins covered now by a modern Jain temple, seems to be the place where stood the ancient temple which once held the famous statue of the Buddha which was the

great object of veneration at Koṣāmbī. It was devoutly believed to have been made during the life time of the Buddha by a sculptor whom King Udayana was permitted to send up to the *Trayastrinsa* heaven while the Master was explaining the Law to his mother, Maya.

The only other existing relic of Buddhism, inside the Fort, is a large stone monolith similar to those of Allahabad and Delhi, excepting that it bears no ancient inscription, the earliest recorded dating from the age of the Guptas. There is some evidence that it was standing in that very place when Hiouen-Tsang visited Kosāmbī.

The garden Ghosika was where is now a small village called Gopshasa. There is at present no trace of a garden but in the neighbouring village of Kosam Khirāj or Hisamabad there are many vestiges of ancient occupation and Cunningham believes it to have been the site of the monasteries built by Asoka and mentioned by Hiouen-Tsang —(*Vol. I of the Archæological Survey of India by Alexander Cunningham, C S I*)

APPENDIX

NEPĀLA-MĀHĀTMYA

XXVII–XXX

(*Guṇāḍhya's Legend*)

The Nepāla-Māhātmya is analysed in S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, 201—205.

On the occasion of king Janamejaya's sacrifice many venerable personages are assembled. Mārkaṇḍeya, at Jaimini's request, gives the audience a description of the Holy Places of Nepal. The story of the Bhṛṅgīçvara commences from v 7 of the adhyāya XXVII. *

XXVII

sūta uvāca

1. mārkaṇḍeyam usodbhūtaḥ someçvarasamudbhavam
çrutvā tustatamo bhūtvā jaiminiḥ paryapicchata
jaiminir uvāca
2. mārkaṇḍeya mahābhāga sādhu sādhu munīçvara
3. tvadvaktrāmbujanirjātām kathām amrtarūpinīm
pivato nāsti me trptiḥ samtosaç ca paro 'bhavat
4. somalingasamutpattim daçagrīvakathāçritām
çrutvā me paramas toso jātaç ca munisattama
5. anyāny api ca lingāni somalingasamāni ca
brahman kathaya me bhūyah çlesmāntakavane mune
6. iti jaiminivākyena prerito munisattamaḥ
mārkaṇḍeyo mahābhāgaḥ punar ākhyāt kathām çubhām †
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
7. jaimine'ham pravaksyāmi bhringīçvarasamudbhavam
yasya çravaṇamātrena sarvapāpaiḥ pramucyate
8. purā kailāsaçikhare nānādhātuvicitrite
nānānirjharanopete nānādrumasamanvite
9. apsarogaṇasamkīrṇe siddhavidyādharānvite
mandākinīsvarnapadmāsamūhaiç ‡ ca virājite

* Text edited from the copy brought from Nepal by Mr S. Lévi (V Le Népal, I, 201) As the text has only a documentary value I have not thought it worth while to draw attention to all the faulty readings of the manuscript There are not a few, but the text can be rectified so easily that we can hardly mention the word "guesswork" in that connection

† punarakathāçubhām *ms.*

‡ svarnapadmā = the celestial Gaṅgā

10 kāmadhenusamākīrne kalpadrumasamanvite
nānāpaksininādena sadā çrutimanohare
11. nānāvidhaih çivaganaih samantāt parivestite
vyāghrānanair biḍālāsyaiḥ çārdūlavadanais tathā
12. apādair bahupādaiç ca hrasvapādais tathaiva ca
akarnair bahukarnaiç ca gokarnaiḥ kharakarnakaih
13. açvakarnair ustrakarnair gajakarnair mahodaraiḥ
kubjair vāmanakair dīrghair vikatair danturais tathā
14. udarāsyair mahāsyaiç ca bajuhastais * tathaiva ca
vāna....staiç ca † hastaçūnyais tathaiva ca
15. evamvidhair gaṇais tatra samantāt parivārite
vyāghracarmasamāsīnam çaçāṅkadhavalam çivam
16. vibhūtibhusitam tryaksam paramānandarūpinam
suprasannamukham drstvā hasantam mitabhāsinam
17. ekānte girijā devī pranamya ca krtāñjaliḥ
vinayāt paripapraccha kautūhalasamanvitā

pārvatyuvāca

18. devadeva mahādeva çaçāṅkakrtaçekhara
kathām vicitrām kathaya kasyāpy aviditām prabho
19. tvattaḥ çrutvā kathām citrām sakhīnām agrataḥ prabho
vaksye'ham jagatām nātha tāsām toso bhavisyati

mārkaṇḍeya uvāca

20 pārvatyā vacanam çrutvā vihasya jagatām patiḥ
nandikeçam samāhūya vacanam cedam abravīt
21. yāvad devyā kathām kurve vicitre mandirottame
dvāre sthitvā nandikeça gaṇān sarvān nivāraya
22. mahādevavacaḥ çrutvā nandikeçaḥ çivājñayā
dvāḥstho bhūtvā gaṇān sarvān vārayāmāsa tatksāṇāt
23. tato vicitre bhavane saha devyā maheçvaraḥ
gatvā dattvā kapātam ca kathām prāha manoharām
24. etasminn antare bhrngī svakīyam bhavanam yayau
gatvā svabhavanam bhrngī cintayitvā ksaṇārdhataḥ
25. bhrngarūpam samāsthāya yayau yatra maheçvarah
kapātacchidramārgeṇa bhrngī tatra viveça hi
26. pārvatīpurataḥ proktāḥ kathāç cāmrtasamnibhāḥ
pratyaham bhrngarūpeṇa bhrngī çuçrāva tāḥ kathāḥ
27 svastriyai vijayānāmnyai pratyaham tāḥ kathāvarāḥ
kathayāmāsa bhrngī vai mahādevamukhāc chrutāḥ
28. ekadā girijā devī vicitrāsanasamsthitā
vijayādyāh sakhīḥ saivāḥ provāca smitapūrvakam

* Correct bahuhastais ?
† vānasyaiçca *ms.*

29. kathayāmı kathām dıvyām kayāpı hı na vā çrutām
kıtāñjalıputāḥ procur jayādyā giıjām tadā
30. ājñāpaya mahādevı daityadarpanısūdani
itı tāsām vacaḥ çrutvā gırıjā haravaktrataḥ
31. nirgatām kathayāmāsa paramānandatas tadā
sakhīmadhyāt samutthāya vıjayā prāha caṇḍıkām
32. mayāpı jñāyate devı katheyam tvatpıasādataḥ
kathayāmı kathām uktā vıprāvadat kathām
33. vijayāvaktrataḥ çrutvā kathām sā haravallabhī
duḥkhitābhūt samutthāya yayau ca harasamnıdhau
34. atīvaduḥkhitām dıstvā çamkaıaḥ prāṇavallabhām
provāca snehapūrvam hı visaṇṇāsı katham prıye
35. ıti çambhuvacaḥ çrutvā provāca gırıjā rusā
sphuradosthapuṭadvandvā vepamānā muhur muhuḥ
36. mahādeva na jānāmı hrdayam kutılam tava
uktā kathā yā bhavatā samgopanapareṇa ca
37. madagre jagatām nātha tām veda vijayāpi ca
sakhīnām agrato lajjā mama jātā maheçvara
38. ıtı tasyā vacaḥ çrutvā provāca giıjām haraḥ
mā visādam varārohe yāvad dhyānam karomy aham
mārkaṇḍeya uvaca
39. ıti uktvā gırıjānātho dadhyau tasmin ksaṇe mune
dhyātvā tu kāranam jñātvā cāhūya bhrngınam çıvaḥ
40. krodhasamraktanayanaḥ çaçāpāçu sa bhrnginam
tvayā kapatapūrvam hı bhrngarūpena cādhama
41. ıaho vārttā çrutā yasmād devyāgreca * mayoditā
ato dhvamsetı kaılāsān mānuso bhawa sarvathā
42. çāpam sudārunam labdhvā bhrngī devān maheçvarāt
dandavat pranıpatyāgre vacanam cedam abravīt
bhrngy uvāca
43. ajānatā mayā deva caıitam viprıyam tava
ksantavyo me 'parādhas tu devadeva maheçvara
44. mandasya mama dustasya cāparādhāḥ pade pade
antarena mahādevam kaḥ sahetāparaḥ prabhuḥ
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
45. ıti bhrngıvacaḥ çrutvā mahādevaḥ krpānıdhiḥ
uvāca bhrngın me vākyam na kadāpi mrsā bhavet
46. prthıvyām daksıno bhūtvā vidyāvān dhārmikaḥ kıtī
navalakṣamitā gāthāh kıtvā rasasamanvıtāḥ
47. çıvalingam hı samsthāpya ksetre paramadurlabhe
mānuṣyam hi parityajya kailāsam punar esyası

* An aksara ıs mıssıng as noted ın the *ms*.

48 iti çaṃkaravākyānte bhṛṅgī paramaduḥkhitaḥ
patitaḥ pṛthivīmadhye svāparādhena jaimine
49. putro 'bhūd viṣṇudattasya mathurāyāṃ sutejasaḥ
jātakarmādikaṃ cāsya pitā cakre samāhitaḥ
50. guṇāḍhya iti tannāma pṛthivyāṃ prathitaṃ tadā
51. papāṭha sakalā vidyā mune vyākaraṇādikāḥ
sa sarvaçāstravettābhūd guṇāḍhyo dvijasattamaḥ
52 pitary uparate so 'tha guṇāḍhyo guṇasaṃyutaḥ
yayāv ujjayanīṃ dhīro madano yatra bhūpatiḥ
53. ācāryaḥ çarvavarmābhūn madanadvāripaṇḍitaḥ
sa parīkṣya mahābuddhiṃ guṇāḍhyaṃ kṛtipaṇḍitam
54. kathayāmāsa bhūpāya çarvavarmā budhottamaḥ
yathārthanāmā nṛpate guṇāḍhyo 'yaṃ dvijottamaḥ
55. yogyo 'yaṃ bhavato dvārivṛttir asmai pradīyatām
çarvavarmavacaḥ çrutvā rājñāçu sthāpito dvijaḥ
56. dvāre madanabhūpasya paṇḍitau sarvadā sthitau
mune madanabhūpasya bhāryābhūd atisundarī
57. bhāryā līlāvatī veda vidyā vyākaraṇādikāḥ
rājā vyākaraṇaṃ naiva jānāti munipuṃgava
58 ekadā grīṣmasamaye gharmārto madano nṛpaḥ
līlāvatīsamāyukto jalakrīḍāṃ cakāra hi
59. jalāñjalipradānena parasparam abhīkṣṇaçaḥ
cikrīḍatur dampatī tau sakhībhiḥ parivāritau
60. jalāñjaliprapātena khinnā līlāvatī patim
prāha nātha pariçrāntā modakaṃ dehi sarvathā
61. prastāvasadṛçaṃ vākyam abuddhvā nṛpatis tadā
laḍūkan * dāpayāmāsa nānārasasamanvitān
62. etādṛçaṃ patiṃ buddhvā jñānaçūnyaṃ mune tadā
līlāvatī jahāsoccair viṣaṇṇā cābhavat kṣaṇāt
63. uccair hāsasamāyuktāṃ viṣaṇṇāṃ tadanantaram
vrīḍito 'bhūn narapatir madano munipuṃgava
64. ekānte çarvavarmāṇam ācāryaṃ paṇḍitottamam
guṇāḍhyaṃ ca tathāhūya rājā vacanam abravīt

rājovāca

65. matpaṇḍitāv ubhāv eva bhavantau guṇasaṃyutau
mayā jalavihāre 'dya lajjā labdhā kalatrataḥ
66. prāha līlāvatī māṃ tu modakaṃ dehi bhūpate
iti tasyā vacaḥ çrutvā tato 'haṃ dvijasattamau
67. modakānāṃ sahasraṃ hi dade tasyai kṣaṇārdhataḥ
sā jahāsa tadā rājñī viṣaṇṇā cābhavat kṣaṇāt

* laḍūkān *sic ms.*

68. tato viṣādo me jāto lajjā ca mahatī punaḥ
ko 'ɪtho modakaçabdasya bhaved brāhmaṇasattamau
iti skandapurāṇe himavatkhaṇḍe nepālamāhātmye saptavimçatitamo 'dhyāyaḥ

XXVIII

mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
1. iti tasya vacaḥ çrutvā bhūpater dvijasattamau
ūcatur yuktimad vākyam bhūpatim vākyakovidau
2. çarvavarmaguṇāḍhyāvūcatuḥ
rājan * līlāvatī rājñī gauḍabhūpasya kanyakā
sā vidyā vividhā veda kāvyavyākaraṇādikāḥ
3. udakam mā prayaccheti tayoktam nṛpasattama
apām vihāre bhavatā prastāvo nāvadhāritaḥ
4. atas tayāvahasitam nānyad astīha kāraṇam
evam vacas tayoḥ çrutvā madanaḥ prāha tau punaḥ
5. kālena kiyatā viprau jñānam vyākaraṇe mama
bhaveta vipraçārdūlāv eṣa me saṃçayo mahān
6. iti tasya vacaḥ çrutvā guṇāḍhyaḥ prāha bhūpatim
guṇāḍhya uvāca
7. abdair dvādaçabhir bhūpa jñānam vyākaraṇe tava
aham hi kārayiṣyāmi nātra kāryā vicāraṇā
8. guṇāḍhyavacanam çrutvā çarvavarmā budhāgraṇīḥ
rājānam prāha rājendra jñānam vyākaraṇe tava
9. varṣadvayena sampūrṇam kārayiṣyāmy aham kila
iti tasya vacaḥ çrutvā bhūpatiḥ prāha tam punaḥ
rājovāca
10. yadi varṣadvayenaiva jñānam vyākaraṇe mama
kārayiṣyasi viprendra rājyasyārdham dadāmi te
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
11. evam tayor vacaḥ çrutvā guṇāḍhyaḥ prāha bhūpatim
guṇāḍhya uvāca
12 yadi varṣadvayenaiva jñānam vyākaraṇe tava
çarvavarmā kārayati tadā çāstram tyajāmy aham
13. tubhyam dattvā hi sarvasvam yāsyāmi gahanam khalu
saṃskṛtasya parityāgam yāvajjīvam karomy aham
14. iti tasya vacaḥ çrutvā çarvavarmā dvijottamaḥ
pratijñāpūrvakam prāha guṇāḍhyam guṇabhūṣitham
15. yadi varṣadvayād arvāg jñānam vyākaraṇe dṛḍham
na çakyate mayā kartum narendrasya dvijottama

---

* rājan *sic ms.*

16. yāvajjīvam parityāgam saṃskṛtasya karomy aham
sarvasvam bhavate dattvā yāsyāmi gahanam dhruvam
17. iti pratijñām kṛtvā hi samutthāya gṛham yayau
rātrāv ārādhayāmāsa kumāram haranandanam
18. dhūpair dīpaiç ca naivedyaiḥ parām bhaktim samāçritaḥ
prasannaç ca kumāro 'bhūn niçīthe çarvavarmaṇe
19. tam vilokya namaç cakre çarvavarmā dvijottamaḥ
vinatam tam samālokya provāca haranandanaḥ
kumāra uvāca
20. varam varaya viprendra prasanno 'smi na saṃçayaḥ
kumāravākyam ākarṇya çarvavarmāvadat punaḥ
çarvavarmovāca
21. yadi prasanno 'si deva svalpam vyākaraṇam tadā
dehi me madano yena paṇḍito bhavati dhruvam
22. iti tasya vacaḥ çrutvā kumāro 'mitavikramaḥ
kalāpākhyam vyākaraṇam dadau kṛtvā dvijanmane
23. ācāryo 'pi tad ādāya pustakam madanam nṛpam
pāṭhayām āsa yatnena paṇḍito madano 'bhavat
24. madanasya dṛḍham jñānam dṛṣṭvā vyākaraṇe tadā
guṇāḍhyo rañjito bhūtvā sarvasvam çarvavarmaṇe
25. dattvā tyaktvā saṃskṛtam ca jagāma gahanam khalu
tatrāçramam vidhāyāçu guṇāḍhyo 'py atisundaram
26 vibhūtibhūṣito nityam jaṭājūṭasamanvitaḥ
rudrākṣamālayā nityam çivanāma jajāpa hi
27. ekadā hy āçrame tasya pulastyo munisattamaḥ
samāgato daivayogān munibhiḥ parivāritaḥ
28. tam āgatam abhiprekṣya pulastyam ṛṣisattamam
pratyudyayāv ādareṇa guṇāḍhyo guṇasaṃyutaḥ
29. āsane tam samāveçya pādyādibhir atho mune
guṇāḍhyaḥ pūjayām āsa munīn api yatavratān
30. tato viçrāntam āsīnam pulastyam munisaṃyutam
guṇāḍhyaḥ paripapraccha bhāṣayānatakaṃdharaḥ
guṇāḍhya uvāca
31. sarvā * kathā me viditā bhavato munisattama
nistāras tu katham me syāt tad ācakṣva dayānidhe
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
32. iti tasya vacaḥ çrutva pulastyo dhātṛnandanaḥ
guṇāḍhyam punar evāha sarvajño munisattamaḥ
pulastya uvāca
33. piçācabhāṣayā gāthā navalakṣamitāḥ kuru
tato hi parame pīṭhe nepālākhye manohare

* Sarvā *sic. ms.*

34. çıvalingam sthāpayitvā vıpra moksam avāpsyası
ıty uktvā svāçramam yāto munıbhıḥ parıvāritah
35. pulastyo brahmaṇaḥ putro jaımine munisattama
tato guṇāḍhyo gunavān pattıāṇy ādāya çākhinām
36. dhātubhır vılılekhāçu krtvā gāthā manoharāḥ
papātha ca svayam gāthā gunāḍhyo guṇisattamaḥ
37 gāthāḥ çrutvā hı paçavo gunādhyaracıtās tadā
āhāram hi parıtyajya tasthus tasyāçrame sadā
38. yadā jajāpa hı mune guṇāḍhyo guṇınām varaḥ
tadā hı paçavaḥ sarve grāsānvesaṇatatparāḥ
39. vyādho hatvā mrgāms tāms tu madanasya mahīpateh
dadau hi sūpakārebhyaḥ pecus te 'pı tadā mune
40. nīrasam hı palam bhuktvā nrpah prāha ca pācakān

rājovāca

41. katham çuskānı māmsāni mahyam dattānı pācakāḥ
ıti tasya vacah çrutvā procus te pācakā nıpam
42. vyādhair āhrtānı māmsāny asmābhıḥ samskıtānı ca
pācakasya vacaḥ çrutvā vyādhān āhūya pārthıvah
43 jagāda hetunā kena çuskamāmsam upāhrtam
ıtı bhūpavacah çrutvā vyādhāḥ procur bhayāturāh
44 durbalā harınāh saıve vane jātā nareçvara
kāıaṇam tu na jānīmo yena te durbalā mrgāḥ
45 vyādhānam vacanam çrutvā vyādhān prāha nareçvarah
jñāyatām kāraṇam vyādhā yena te durbalā mrgāḥ
46 ıti bhūpavacaḥ çıutvā yayur vyādhā vanam tadā
gatvā tadāçramam ramyam guṇāḍhyam dadrçus tadā
47. krtvā gāthāḥ pathantam ca jatılam çmaçrusamyutam
gāthāç ca çrnvatas tathā paçūmç ca dadrçus tadā
48. gāthāḥ çıutvātha te tasthus tatraıva vipıne mune
cakāra bhojanam rājā tadā māmsavivarjıtam
49 sūpakārāmç ca papraccha kopasamraktalocanaḥ

rājovāca

50. katham adya samānītam bhojanam māmsavarjitam
ıty ākarṇya narendrasya vacaḥ kopasamanvitam
51. sūpakārās tadā procur mune prāñjalayo nrpam

sūpakārā ūcuḥ

52. māmsārtham vipınam ye ye vyādhā yāntı nareçvara
na te hi vinıvartante yamalokam gatā ıva
53. iti tesām vacaḥ çrutvā rājā buddhimatām varaḥ
çarvavarmācāryayuto jagāma vipinam tadā
54. sa dadarça nrpo dhīram guṇādhyam guṇinām varam
kathayantam kathāç cıtıā nānāçcaryasamanvitāḥ

55. tatkathāçravaṇāmodatyaktagrāsān paçūms tadā
dadarça durbalān bhūpo medomāmsavivarjitān
56. ātmanaç ca rasotpattim jñātvā bhūpatisattamaḥ
vavande guṇinām çrestham guṇāḍhyam dharmitatparah
57. guṇāḍhyo'pi tato drstvā çarvavaimāṇam āgatam
nanāma gurave dhīro dadau bhūpāya cāçisam
58. cakāra vidhivat pūjām tayor dvijanarendrayoh
tato narapatih prāha çaivavarmamate sthitaḥ
59. guṇāḍhya yāmo nagaram yathāpūrvam sthitim kuru
iti bhūpativākyānte guṇādhyaḥ prāha bhūpatim
guṇāḍhya uvāca
60. jānāmi sarvam nipate tavāsmīti nigadyate
piçācabhāsayā rājan krtā gāthā manoharāh
61. navalaksamitās tās tvam samskrtena likhāpaya
aham yāsyāmi nepālam ksetrāṇām ksetram uttamam
62. ity uktvā prayayau yāni çākhipattrāni jaimine
ādāya tāni nrpatiḥ svakīyām nagarīm yayau
63. tadā yayau guṇāḍhyo 'pi çlesmāntakavanam mune
iti skandapurāne himavatkhaṇḍe nepālamāhātmye aṣṭāvimçatitamo
'dhyāyaḥ

XXIX

jaiminir uvāca
1. nepālaksetram āsādya guṇādhyena mahātmanā
kim akāri mahābhāga tad ācaksva puro mama
sūta uvāca
2. iti jaiminivākyānte mārkaṇḍeyas tapodhanaḥ
guṇāḍhyacaritam saivam jaiminim prāha çaunaka
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
3. nepālaksetram āsādya guṇāḍhyo dvijasattamaḥ
vāgmatyāḥ salile snātvā drstvā paçupatīçvaram
4. ksetrapradaksinam krtvā lingam samsthāpya yatnataḥ
āruroha tato bhrngī kailāsam parvatottamam
jaiminir uvāca
5. bhrnginā municārdūla katham ksetrapradaksinam
krtam tadvidhim ācaksva lingasamsthāpakam vidhim
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
6. ksetrapradaksinavidhiḥ çrūyatām munisattama
ksetrapradaksinam krtvā naraḥ pāpaiḥ pramucyate
7-69. Descriptions of the pilgrim's itinerary (*Vide* detailed analysis in S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, p. 387-391).
iti skandapurāne himavatkhaṇḍe nepālamāhātmye ūnatriṃço 'dhyāyaḥ

XXX

jaiminir uvāca

1 bhavaduktaprakāreṇa kṛtvā kṣetrapradakṣiṇam
katham saṃsthāpitam liṅgam bhṛṅgiṇā tad bravīhi me

mārkaṇḍeya uvāca

2. kṣetrapradakṣiṇam kṛtvā guṇāḍhyo guṇinām varaḥ
āhūya ca munīn sarvān nepālakṣetravāsinaḥ
3. guhyeçvarīsaṃnidhisthān vacchalāpārçvasaṃsthitān
çaṃkhamūlasthitaṃç cāpi kumbheçasaṃnidhisthitān
4. sthitān paçupateḥ pārçve tadā dolāgiristhitān
hanumattīrthasaṃsthāṃç ca tathā vāgīçvarasthitān
5. caṇḍeçvarīsaṃnidhisthān vajrāsaṃnidhivāsinaḥ
mṛgendraçikharasthāṃç ca viṣṇumatyudbhavasthitān
6. āçāpūreçvarasthāṃç ca ḍoleçvaranivāsināḥ
bhārabhūteçvarasthāṃç ca gopāleçvarasaṃsthitān
7. ityādinānātīrthasthāṃs tāpasān vijitendriyān
teṣām sammatim ādāya vedoktavidhinā tathā
8. liṅgasaṃsthāpakam karma prārebhe homapūrvakam
tataḥ pravavṛdhe yajño guṇāḍhyasya mahātmanaḥ
9. dīyatām guhyatām* caiva jāto hi ninado mahān
maruttasya yathā yajño yathā dāçarather api
10. tathaiva yajño vavṛdhe guṇāḍhyasya mahātmanaḥ
homānte sthāpayām āsa çivaliṅgam dvijottama
11. kṛtāñjaliputo bhūtvā guṇāḍhyo guṇinām varaḥ
provāca tāpasān sarvān vinayānatakaṃdharaḥ

guṇāḍhya uvāca

12. çṛṇvantu brāhmaṇāḥ sarve çivaliṅgasya tāpasāḥ
kim nāmadheyam vartavyam tat samākhyātum arhatha
13. guṇāḍhyavacanam çrutvā munīnām agratas tatha
hārīto nāma viprarṣir guṇāḍhyam prāha dhārmikam

hārīta uvāca

14. guṇādhya çrūyatām vākyam na tvam prākṛtamānuṣaḥ
hetunā kena cic chaptaḥ çambhunā † pūrvajanmani
15. bhṛṅgī te nāma çambhos tvam sarvadā dvārapālakaḥ
ato bhṛṅgīçvaram nāma kuru liṅgasya sarvathā

mārkaṇḍeya uvāca

16. hārītasya vacaḥ çrutvā prāha vedaçirā muniḥ

vedaçirā uvāca

17. idam bhṛṅgīçvaram liṅgam vadantu dvāpare yuge
sparçapāṣāṇajam ‡ liṅgam yato bhṛṅgīçvarābhidham

---

* gṛhyatām ?

† For the declension of çambhu, *cf* 53 · çambhunā, et 54 . çambhum

‡ sparçapāṣāṇa = sparçamaṇi,-ja = -prabhava, " or "

18. ataḥ kalıyuge lokā suvarneçvarasamjñitam
vadısyantı muniçresthāḥ sarvakāmapradam sadā
mārkandeya uvāca
19 tato gunāḍhyo gunavān *..govastrakāñcanaiḥ
brāhmanānıs tosayām āsa gunaçresthapuraḥsaram
20. tataḥ papāta gaganāt puspavıstır manoharā
devadundubhayo nedui nanrtuç cāpsaroganāḥ
21. vavau vāyuḥ sukhasparço gandharvā lalıtam jaguḥ
munīnāṃ paçyatām tatra vrṣayānam † manoharam
22. vımānam āgatam tatra nānāçcaryasamanvıtam
rudrarūpadharaih çresthaiı ganeçvaraır adhısthıtam
23. tad āçcaryam mahad dıstvā sarve sambhrāntamānasāh
uttasthur munayaḥ saıve yugapad dharsasamyutāḥ
24 avatīrya vımānāt tu tato rudraganā mune
procur munıganān harsād bhasmarudrāksadhārınah
25. triçūlaṃ dhārıno gauram jatāmukutadhārınaḥ
locanatrayasamyuktā dıvyādamarupānayaḥ
rudraganā ūcuḥ
26 bhavanto munayaḥ sarve vedavedāngapāragāḥ
āsanesu samāsīnāḥ çrnudhvam vacanam mama
27. evam ganavacaḥ çrutvā hārītaḥ prāha tān ganān
hārīta uvāca
28. rudrarūpadharāḥ sarve tejasā bhāskaropamāḥ
upavıçya bhavanto 'pı kathām kurvantu sarvathā
mārkanḍeya uvāca
29 upaviçya ganāḥ sarve kathāḥ procur manoharāh
rudraganā ūcuḥ
30. yo devaḥ sarvadevānām devesu parigīyate
yena srstam jagat sarvam yah pātı sakalam jagat
31. samhatya pratıbhūtānı sa devah parameçvarah
vedā apı na jānanti yam rudram upamārthataḥ
32. īhante ke gunān vaktum tasya sarvātmano vıbhoḥ
paramātmasvarūpena vartate sarvajantusu
33. nityānandamayaḥ sāksāt sa devaḥ kevalo vibhuḥ
nırguno dehavān yo 'pı sarvago na hi gocaraḥ
34 yasyāntam naiva jānantı brahmā harir apı svayam
sa devaç cınmayaḥ ‡ sāksāt sarvavyāpī maheçvaraḥ
35. krpayā yasya devasya vāsavādyāh surā apı
samprāptā lokapālatvam sa devo gırıjāpatıḥ
36. çmaçāne vasatır yasya lalāte yasya candramāḥ
vāmanke gırıjā yasya sa yad āha çrnusva tat

* A gap as noted in the *ms* † *sic ms.* ‡ *sic ms*

37. api duṣkṛtakarmāpi yo liṅgaṃ sthāpayen naraḥ
mucyate sarvapāpebhyo nātra kāryā vicāraṇā
38 helayā kapaṭenāpi çobhayā manujottamāḥ
dhārayanti ca rudrākṣaṃ teṣām pāpaṃ na vidyate
39. vibhūtibhūṣitā ye vai ye ca rudrākṣadhāriṇaḥ
liṅgasaṃsthāpakā ye ca te syuḥ kāilāsavāsinaḥ
40. malliṅgapūjanaratā mannāmagrahaṇe ratāḥ
matpuṣpavātikartāras * te syuḥ kailāsavāsinaḥ
41 arkadhustūrapuṣpaiç ca ......† thā jalaiḥ
mām pūjayanti manujās te syuḥ kailāsagāminaḥ
42. api duṣkṛtakarmāpi yukto vā sarvapātakaiḥ
liṅgasaṃsthāpanād eva mucyate nātra saṃçayaḥ
43. helayā paritrāsena ‡ saṃketenāpi mānavāḥ
mannāmagrahaṇe yuktā mucyante ghorakilbiṣāt
44. ayaṃ tu guṇavānl loke guṇāḍhyo lokapūjitaḥ
ācāravān yogayukto vedavedāṅgapāragaḥ
45 vidyāvān vijayādhāraḥ svādhyāyī devapūjakaḥ
viçeṣato hi madbhakto mannāmagrahaṇe rataḥ
46. asya prākkulakaṃ janma çṛṇvantu munayo dhruvam
ayaṃ kila purā bhṛṅgī nanditulyo mahābalaḥ
47. maddvārapālako nityaṃ mama rūpadharaḥ sadā
ekasmin divase devyā mayā ca rahasi sthitam
48. kurvatā hi kathās tatra nānārasasamanvitāḥ
tatrānena samāsthāya bhṛṅgarūpaṃ hi durdhiyā
49. āgatya hi çrutāḥ sarvāḥ kathā manmukhanirgatāḥ
kathās tāḥ kathayām āsa svapatnyai rasasaṃyutāḥ
50 etaj jnātvā mayā çaptaḥ kailāsāt patito hy ayaṃ
etasya sarvaṃ caritaṃ jñātvāntaryāminā tadā
51. çapto 'sau devadevena tato mānuṣatām agāt
labdhvā viprakule janma guṇāḍhyo guṇinām varaḥ
52. navalakṣamitā gāthāḥ kṛtvā rasasamanvitāḥ
nepāle parame kṣetre devānām api durlabhe
53. liṅgaṃ saṃsthāpayām āsa çivasyānugraho bhavet
vimānaṃ preṣitaṃ divyaṃ devadevena çambhunā
54. ehi vipra guṇāḍhya tvaṃ vimānādhiṣṭhito bhava
sahaiva yāma kailāsaṃ çambhum adya prapaçyasi
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
55. evaṃ gaṇavacaḥ çrutvā guṇāḍhyo guṇisattamaḥ
munīnām tatra çṛṇvatām........§
caṇḍamupā uvāca
56. ādāv eva hi samproktaṃ hārītena tapasvinā
sevako devadevasya na tvaṃ prākṛtamānuṣaḥ

---

* vāti *sic ms.*
† Parisena *ms.*
† A gap as noted in the *ms.*
§ çiṇvatām caṇḍamupā uvāca *ms*

57. nepāle paramaksetre lingam samsthāpitam tvayā
çāpāntas tena te jātas tusto 'bhūt pārvatīpatiḥ
58. vimānavaram āruhya yāhi paçya maheçvaram
āçīrvāde dvijātīnām çīghram paçya maheçvaram
mārkandeya uvāca
59 iti çrutvā muner vākyam guṇāḍhyo dvijasattamān
āmantryādhirurohāçu vimānam atisundaram
60. jayadhvanis tato jāto munīnām vadanodgataḥ
papāta khāt puspavrstir vidyādharakaracyutā
61. devadundubhayo nedur nanrtuç cāpsaroganāḥ
vavau vāyuh sukhasparço gandharvā lalitam jaguḥ
62. vimānasparçamātrena guṇāḍhyo guninām varaḥ
tryaksarūpadhāro bhūtvā kailāsam prayayau tadā
63. evam te kathito vipra bhrngīçvarasamudbhavaḥ
bhrngīçvarasamam lingam na bhūtam na bhavisyati
64. bhrngīçvaram ye paçyanti nepāle kṣetrasattame
tesām manorathāvāptir bhavisyati na samçayaḥ
65 bhrngīçvaram ye paçyanti bhaktiyuktena cetasā
tesām dāsyati kailāsam bhagavām pārvatīpatiḥ
66. astamyām vā caturdaçyām samkrāntidivase tathā
bhrngīçvaram ye draksyanti te yāsyanti parām gatim
67 saṇmāsam pratyaham drstvā devam bhrngīcvaram mudā
vidyāvāñ jāyate viprah kavīnām agranīr bhavet
68. vandhyāpi niyame drṣtvā çīghram garbham avāpnuyāt
bhrngīçvarasya sevāto daridro dhanam āpnuyāt
69. adyāpi bhrngarūpeṇa bhrngī parvaṇi parvani
samāyāti mune drastum lingam bhrngīçvarābhidham
70. çrutvādhyāyam imam puṇyam bhrngīçvarasamudbhavam
dvijo vidyām avāpnoti varsād arvān na samçayaḥ
71. asya çravanamātrena ksatriyo vijayī bhavet
mahatīm çriyam āpnoti narendrānām sudurlabhām
72. çrutvādhyāyam imam punyam mahāpātakanāçanam
vaiçyo dhanasamrddhaḥ syān mahādharmam avāpnuyāt
73. çrutvādhyāyam imam punyam çūdraḥ sadgatim āpnuyāt
sūta uvāca
74. iti nepālamāhātmyam mārkandeyas tapodhanaḥ
kathayitvā dvijātibhyaḥ sāyamsamdhyām upāsitum
75. yayau çisyaganaiḥ sārdham vibhāvasur ivāparaḥ
anye 'pi munayaḥ sarve yayuḥ samdhyām upāsitum
76. imam nepālamāhātmyam guhyam atyantadurlabham
gopanīyam prayatnena dhārmikāya prakāçayet
iti skandapurāṇe himavatkhande-nepālamāhātmye trimço 'dhyāyaḥ

——o——

The Mythic Society

COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1923-24

PATRON.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.S.I., G.B.E.

Vice-Patrons.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA GAIKWAR OF BARODA, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

HIS HIGHNESS THE YUVARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.I.E.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF COCHIN, G.C.S.I.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Honorary Presidents.

THE HON'BLE COL. SIR HUGH DALY, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

THE HON'BLE MR. H. V. COBB, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.B.E.

THE HON'BLE MR. W. P. BARTON, C.S.I., C.I.E.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

V. P. MADHAVA RAO, ESQ., C.I.E.

SIR DORABJI TATA, Kt.

PRESIDENT.

RAJASABHABHUSHANA THE REV. A. M. TABARD, M.A., M.B.E., M.R.A.S.

Vice-Presidents.

RAJAMANTRADHURINA A. R. BANERJI, ESQ., M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E.
RAJADHARMAPRAVINA DEWAN BAHADUR
K. S. CHANDRASEKHARA IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.L.
RAJAMANTRAPRAVINA DEWAN BAHADUR
P. RAGHAVENDRA RAO, ESQ., B.A., B.L.
DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL, M.A., Ph.D.
RAJAKARYAPRASAKTA RAO BAHADUR M. SHAMA RAO, ESQ., M.A.
F. J. RICHARDS, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S., I.C.S.
MUSHIR-UL-MULK MIR HUMZA HUSSEIN, ESQ, B A , B.L.

General Secretary and Treasurer.

S SRIKANTAIYA, ESQ . B.A., B.L , M R.A.S.

Joint Secretary.

A. V RAMANATHAN, ESQ., B.A.

Editor.

F. R SELL, ESQ., M.A.

Branch Secretaries.

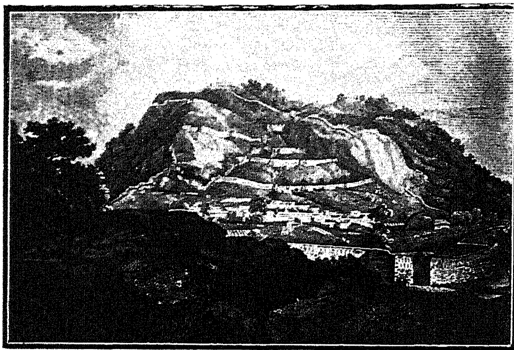
FOR ETHNOLOGY—C. HAYAVADANA RAO, ESQ., B.A., B.L.
FOR RELIGIONS—THE REV. F. GOODWILL.
FOR HISTORY—K. DEVANATHACHARIAR, ESQ., M.A.
FOR FOLKLORE—V. R. THYAGARAJA IYER, ESQ., M.A.

Committee.

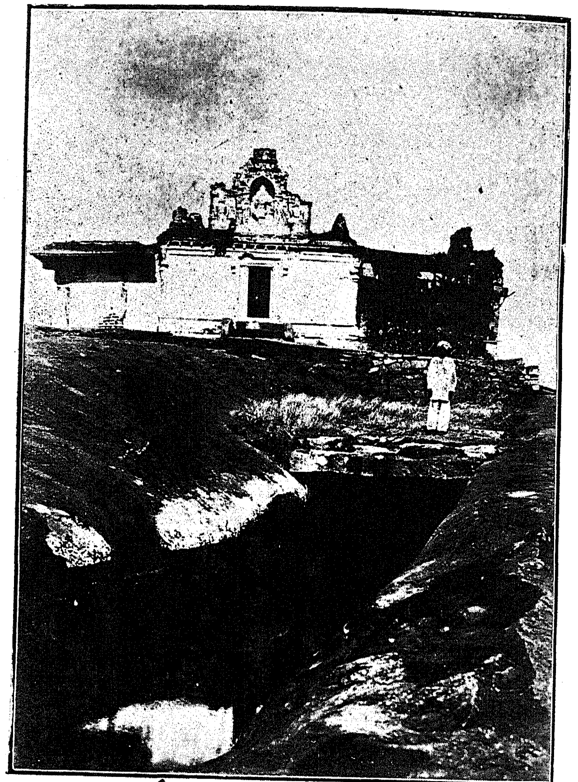
The above *ex-officio* and C. S. BALASUNDARAM IYER, ESQ., B.A., P. SAMPAT IYENGAR, ESQ., M.A., PRAKTANA VIMARSA VICHAKSHANA RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S., K. CHANDY, ESQ., B.A., K. SRINIVASA RAO, ESQ., B. PUTTAIYA, ESQ., B.A., and Dr. R. SHAMA SHASTRY, B A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S

Curator on the Premises.

T. SWAMINATHAIYA, ESQ.



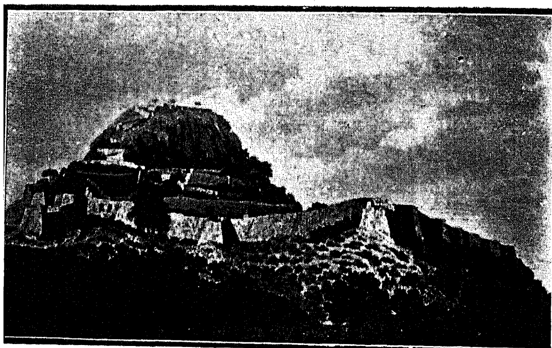
Hutridroog and Pettah from S.-E., as drawn by Home in 1794.



Hutridroog—The Temple and Reservoir near the Summit.



Hutridroog—The Southern Hill and Rampart seen from above.



Huliyurdroog from N.-E., as drawn by Home in 1794.



The magazine and ruins on crest of Huliyurdroog.

The

Quarterly Journal

of the

Mythic Society

Vol. XIV] JANUARY 1924 [No. 2

HUTRIDROOG AND HULIYURDROOG.

BY REV. F. GOODWILL.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

HUTRIDROOG.

A recent paper published in this Journal shed fresh light on the "Goudas," who for about two centuries ruled the neighbouring country from their central town of Magadi. Kempe Gouda I is said to have built the fort of Bangalore in 1537, and tradition assigns to him much enterprise and activity in his kingdom besides this. It credits him with the building of the walls of Huliyurdroog, and there is good reason to believe that he is responsible for the first fortifying of Hutridroog also. A survey of the landscape to the west of Bangalore greatly helps the reconstruction of local history. From some high points of the neighbourhood one may look westward for thirty to forty miles over a country which gradually falls away in elevation, out of which the mass of Savandroog looms up distinctly in the morning light, and the lines of the hills which are our chief subject also stand out distinctively. A little kingdom which had Bangalore as a maidan fortress to the east, its home stronghold in Savandroog, an impregnable little fort to the west ten miles away, Huliyurdroog, and the seven-lined castle of Hutridroog about as far away on the north, was secure from its enemies to a very considerable extent. Given the wild forest lands which etymology indirectly asserts in the one case,

and which history of but little more than a hundred years old affirms of the country about these strong points, and it will be clear that the little Magadi kingdom was not without hopes and means of defence of its interests and life.

Hutridroog lies almost due west of Bangalore about thirty miles away; its summit rises 3713 feet above mean sea level. It is a double hill, but the hill on the south is of very much lower elevation than the main hill on the north. Yet the southern hill has also been included in the scheme of defence, and indeed the gateways and bastions here are stronger and more impressive than those of the main hill. Between the hills lay the Pettah, once a considerable town, now inhabited only by a few families. Suggestions of its former extent and importance bestrew the fields right up to the rocky base of the main hill.

Historians have not been generous to this elaborately constructed old fort, almost all that is known of the details of its history comes from those who tell the story of its assault and capture by the British. James Bristow, who was a prisoner of war here in 1790 along with a few other Europeans, has also given us some vivid pictures of life in the fort at the end of that year. There is but one inscription known to the writer, which throws any light on the history of the droog, and it says that "in the year 1538 Chennama Nāyaka Aya had the Yelayur gate built with proper pillars, by the hand of Muta Nāyaka's disciple, Jangamaya." Probably the date is that of the designing and building of the fort upon the hill. An unfinished bastion near the top of the hill on the western side was probably in course of construction when the fort was in the hands of Tippu, some time toward the end of his reign.

In 1790, when the British were still far away from Mysore territory, there were here in garrison but sixty to seventy men. Its armament consisted of a few old "Malabar" guns in bad condition, together with two British nine-pounders that had come into Tippu's hands at some time or other. It is significant that the fort was important enough in Tippu's eyes to make it seem worth while to send captured guns to defend its walls. Bristow further tells us incidentally that pice were coined here in his day.

We may as well tell the story of Bristow's connection with Hutridroog forthwith. Toward the end of September, 1790, Tippu was evidently disturbed in his mind by the course of the war then proceeding with the British. Medows and Floyd, in the great stretch of country around Coimbatore, Karūr, Satyamangalam, had met his forces frequently, and generally with success. The regiment of British cavalry under Floyd had introduced a new method of fighting, its fame and terror had flown far through the land. Tippu was not happy at the remembrance of the fact that there were still a few British

prisoners in his territory, men who had been kept back at the settlement of 1784. Living men might tell tales, would tell tales if their countrymen came near enough to hear them. So on September 22, 1790, a batch of twelve prisoners was made up and sent away from Seringapatam to Hutridroog. One was a Frenchman who had offended Tippu in some way while in his service, the rest were British. Of them James Bristow, who has written a most thrilling account of his privations and adventures, was one and he presently became leader of the little party in its attempt at escape. Their new gaoler's instructions were clear and stringent. They were to be guarded until further instructions, they were to be kept in fetters, and no provisions were to be given them. It seems that the last direction was intended to put a period to their existence, although they were not to be done directly to death.

Arrived at Hutridroog, they were hurried up the hill with a haste for which there seemed to be no need. Where they were confined is not now to be known. It was not quite at the summit, judging by the account of the eventual escape; but it was evidently well toward the top, and the escape was made on the side away from that on which they ascended. There were several Indian prisoners also confined here in other quarters, some of them men who had served in British armies, a subadhar and a jemadhar being among them. These men also were evidently making plans to escape, for Bristow tells how his party had once seen the Indians walking about with the irons released from their legs. But history is silent regarding their fate and their names.

The arrival of the English prisoners was not unmarked by the residents of the village at the foot of the hill, nor did their miserable state of starvation fail to awake the sympathy of the simple folk. For five weeks the people of the place maintained this little group of prisoners alive for charity and the love of God. And the guards themselves were not slow to follow the noble example set by the villagers. It is one of those acts of communal kindness that deserves to be recorded in imperishable stone, or better still to be kept fresh in mind by much grateful repetition On their part, the prisoners did what lay in their power for their benefactors—one of them doctored the villagers. Men who were but barely maintained in life through a number of years must themselves have been often liable to sudden and violent illnesses; their reminiscences tell of frequent recourse to the "doctor's box" with its simple but drastic drugs. But other remedies also came to hand sometimes. One of the prisoners obtained a whole sheep as a present from a Palegar who was passing the fort on his way with reinforcements for Tippu by administering to him under the guise of medicine a dose of common country spirits "which put him in the finest humour in the world".

The Killedar of the fort, being of a practical turn of mind, decided that it would be a good stroke of business to have his rusty old guns furbished and otherwise repaired by some of the prisoners before they should depart thence. Bristow was the one chosen to survey the guns and report on their needs. For this purpose he had to be taken all over the fort, and while going to and fro he unobtrusively used his eyes to observe any possible line of escape from the works, if haply he and his band should be able to free themselves from their quarters. He reported that the north side seemed the most probable line; but it was extremely steep, and the descent, especially by night, would be perilous.

The prisoners managed to free their limbs of their irons by the use of a small knife which one of them had secreted, and which they had made saw-like by hacking its edge with a larger knife. But they were under the necessity of hiding their semi-freedom in the daytime from their gaolers by again drawing their fetters over their ankles, though an examination would at once have revealed their efforts. Twenty days were spent digging in secret at the mud walls of their prison with the larger knife of their possessions, and at times they were obliged to sing such scraps of songs as they still remembered, or make sounds of quarrelling, to drown the noise of the picking at the wall. Their plight was well-nigh desperate, and they took the resolution of desperate men to fight for life with such weapons as billets of wood, anything they could lay hands on, rather than be retaken for prison and death.

On a moonlight night in November they made their way out from their prison, favoured for a moment by a sudden shower of rain which sent their guards into closer shelter than usual about their guard fire. For their long and uncertain journey they had provided themselves with a small quantity of ragi cakes, which they had forced themselves to spare from their starvation diet. Bristow first of all made essay of the descent at the point which he had noted as the least precipitous. In the uncertain night light he had slightly moved away from the quarter he had decided to attempt, and it was only the help of a sapling growing on the rocky slope that stopped his dangerous slide to death. The point of descent cannot now be decided with any approach to certainty, but no one can look at the northern cliffs without marvelling that twelve men could pass down them by night and reach the bottom with but one broken arm and sundry bruises among them.

Arrived at the bottom of the steepest part of their climb, they proceeded to reconnoitre their course. Various guards and defences had still to be passed; they were challenged from time to time, but managed to avoid observation. Alas for them that somehow or other Bristow became separated from his companions; he himself thought they had deliberately forsaken him

because he was weak from fever, but that does not seem a fair conclusion. At any rate he was alone, and his share of the ragi cakes was lost to him His story is too long to follow in detail. Enough to say that after six weeks of wandering in the hills and jungles to the north of Hutridroog, he managed at last to reach a British detachment at Harihār He was hard put to it for food; once he went for five days without any sort of food, and he says that but for the practice the prisoners had had in past years in starving he could not have endured his privations. But time and again the women of the villages which he ventured rarely to approach, especially the old women, became his guardian angels, and charitably gave him out of their scanty little store of food. His only clothing was the blanket which he had taken with him from the droog; it was so tattered and his whole appearance so miserable that two "tygers" that met him put their tails between their legs and ran from him in terror. It is not uninteresting to learn that after he had made his way to his fellow-countrymen, full of desire to lead the "Grand Army" of Cornwallis into Mysore, he recovered the whole of his pay for the "nine years, nine months, and twenty-two days" of his captivity.

Fate was not propitious to the rest of the adventurous band. They were seen by a herd boy next day, and he at once set on the pursuit. Seven of them were retaken, three were not heard of again, only one of them managed, like Bristow, to effect his escape to friendly forces. Of those retaken six soon died of privation and ill-treatment; but one, Cadman, survived and was found by the part of Cornwallis' army that forced its way into the island of Seringapatam early in 1792, living in captivity in Ganyām, the residential part of the island outside the fort proper. There is good reason to believe that a larger proportion of this band won through to liberty than from any other body of the captives who were kept in Mysore territory after the Peace of Mangalore, March, 1784.

A little more than a year after the escape of the prisoners, the British armies were around Savandroog, and the assault took place on December 21, 1791, an assault so remarkably successful that the droog was gained without the loss of a single man. And this was widely known to be one of the strongest of the hill forts of the whole of Tippu's dominions. Two days thereafter Colonel Stuart directed his forces toward Hutridroog. As the Allied armies marched away from Seringapatam in the previous June, after the unsuccessful attempt upon it, Hutridroog had been summoned to surrender. The Killedar replied with considerable spirit: "Twenty years I have eaten Tippu's salt, and I will not surrender until you have captured Seringapatam." The event proved that he was unable to make the latter part of the sentence good. The officer commanding now sent a party forward with a flag of truce,

commissioned to offer liberal terms if the droog should be surrendered. The party was treacherously beckoned forward till it was within sixty yards of the walls, when it was fired on, but fortunately without effect

It happened that Colonel Ross, later the engineer officer in command at Seringapatam, on whose report the inner rampart was thrown into the inner ditch by Colonel Wellesley, was with the advance party, so that he had a good opportunity of seeing the lie of the ground and the nature of the defences. The walls of the Pettah were quickly carried by escalade, whereupon the Killedar asked for a parley. But, as guns were observed being moved toward commanding points during the interval, the attack was ordered immediately. Some of the gates of the seven ramparts were forced by the pioneers, others were escaladed. The advance was greatly facilitated by the then novel method of the artillery attack, the field guns being elevated and trained on the next objective as each gate and line of wall was carried by the advancing troops. There was a heavy fire from each rampart, but the confusion and astonishment at the speedy attack were so great that it was spent chiefly on the air. None of the attackers were killed, and very few were even wounded. The attack pushed through to the summit, and the Killedar was among those captured. He informed his captors that four hundred of his men had deserted the previous night. If this statement be accepted, and there is no reason to doubt it, it indicates that considerable preparations had been made for the defence by reinforcement of the garrison since the preceding year, and that the capture of Savandroog, believed impregnable, had had a remarkable effect on the imagination of the garrisons of other hill forts.

After its capture, the droog was made an advanced base for the operations of the army against Seringapatam the following year. Colonel Floyd arrived here with troops and further stores on January 21, 1792. There were then eight heavy guns in store, part of the preparations that were being made for the siege of the island fortress, which resulted in Tippu's discomfiture and the reduction of his territories by one-third, bringing them to the limits approximately of the Mysore State at the present time.

During the campaign of Lord Harris which ended with the death of Tippu in 1799, when Seringapatam was captured by assault, Hutridroog was far off the line of the march of the contending armies. It has stood in peace from the time of its capture in December 1791, and though its walls stand remarkably intact, they remain but as a monument of times and conditions of warfare that have passed away. The visitor to the summit of the droog walks warily lest he should surprise a sleeping panther, or tread upon a Russell's viper, both which are said to be numerous.

HULIYURDROOG.

Huliyūrdroog by its curiously bare, conical form stands out conspicuous from the surrounding landscape. It is very small, and is only 3096 feet high, but its shape and precipitous nature, together with its fortifications, gave it the reputation of being impregnable. And modern observation would readily agree with the old-time estimate of its defensive capacities. It also is said to owe its first fame as a fort to the energies of Kempe Gouda, and this we have indicated as very probably a correct statement, though of inscriptional evidence there is none known to the writer. It was conquered by Dodda Dēvarāja of Mysore in the early eighteenth century at the time that he captured also Kunigal, some fourteen miles further north. No one who wanders over the old fort of Kunigal can fail to be impressed with its ancient strength and importance, though it is but a maidan fortress. It stands at one end of the bund of the great tank which gives life to a large area of land toward the west, and both by its situation and by its artificial defences must have been of considerable defensive strength.

The walls of Huliyūrdroog enclosed a considerable space to the west and north of the conical hill, and thus provided a fort convenient for residence, with the mass of rock behind it as a last resort in case of extremities. The streets of the Pettah, which is still a flourishing little town, have been uncommonly well paved at some period remote from the present; though worn smooth by the feet of passing generations, the granite slabs are still fairly level and they give the town a look of unusual cleanness.

This Droog was also summoned to surrender by the army retreating from Seringapatam in June, 1791. The Killedar consented to give up his post on condition of the security of the persons and property of the defenders. He asked especially for protection against the Mahrattas, who had tardily joined the British armies, after causing by their inordinate delay the abandonment of the campaign against Seringapatam for that year. The British commander accepted the fort on the conditions named, and made careful provision for the safety of the garrison by sending them away toward Maddur, sixteen miles away to the south, under an English escort. When about half the distance toward Maddur had been accomplished, since no single Mahratta was visible in the landscape, the Killedar begged the officer commanding the escort to return to Huliyūr, as he believed himself to be then perfectly safe. The officer yielded to his request, but by the time that sufficient distance had been passed so that the escort could give no assistance the Mahrattas swarmed down and thoroughly plundered the late garrison of their last garments.

The event may be considered a fair adjustment by fate of the penalty that the Killedar's conduct had merited by his treatment of prisoners who

had been entrusted to his care. The British army found many Indian prisoners immured within the fort, apparently individuals captured from the ranks of the British armies during the long fighting of the Second Mysore War, 1780-84. The Killedar seems to have had a genius for devising cunning tortures for the hapless prisoners entrusted to his care. Men were found whose legs had been ironed in such a way that they were kept at a permanent straddle, and after the removal of the irons were long unable to walk otherwise. Others had been manacled so that their arms or necks were permanently distorted. In view of all this, one has little regret for the distress that swept over the late garrison in the Mahratta attack, when they thought themselves already under the protection of the river and fort of Maddur.

Some thousands of cattle and a vast quantity of grain fell into the hands of the captors, provisions which would have made all the difference to the course of the campaign if they had been available to the British army a very few days before.

The Droog was then offered to the Mahrattas as an advanced post, in view of the probable campaign of another year, but it was refused. Thereon it was dismantled and abandoned by the Allies. After their retirement to Bangalore, the fort was again carefully repaired by Tippu, and manned in view of later renewal of the conflict.

After the capture of Hutridroog six months later, Huliyūr was again approached. Doubtless the sound of the artillery attack on the greater Droog, some twelve miles away across the jungles to the north-east, was plainly audible here, and the news of its capture must have greatly disheartened these defenders. When the British reconnoitring party approached the walls on January 27, 1792, they were greeted with many shots. But under threat of an immediate attack—they knew how quickly the actual attack had followed the threat at Hutridroog—the garrison quickly handed in their surrender. As this post was ten miles or so nearer Seringapatam than the Droog previously captured, it was made another post for stores and for hospital purposes.

It was from the immediate neighbourhood of Huliyūr that the Allied armies of the British, the Mahratta, and the Nizam's forces advanced on February 1, 1792, toward the siege of Seringapatam. As the Nizam's forces, under the young Nizam, had but lately joined the forces under Cornwallis, he was anxious both to impress and to gratify the young Prince by holding a review of all the troops in his honour. This was carried out on the plains adjoining the fort of Huliyūr. But, whether to impress the Governor-General by his importance, or because the hour appointed was not

propitious, the young Nizam failed to arrive till three hours after the appointed time. Cornwallis is said to have been terribly angry when he witnessed the overzeal and confidence which resulted in the cavalry being badly cut up while reconnoitring Bangalore on March 6, 1791—the affair is said to have been visible from the encampment itself. We can well imagine a good commander's annoyance again on this day, when his troops were kept out under the growing heat of a February sun hours longer than necessary to serve the whim of an ally whose services were largely of but nominal value.

The walls that formerly surrounded the town of Huliyūr have been largely removed, but the bulk of the fort stands intact. The top is exceedingly difficult of access now, as the steps which formerly gave a reasonably easy passage to the summit have been broken away by weather. The summit is of narrow limits, and the remains of buildings on its bare crown are but few. Some broken tanks, a tiny but well-constructed powder magazine, a larger and better-preserved granary, the lower portions of the walls of two or three houses—that is all that is left on the crest of the hill of a very bluff, bull-dog-like, little fort. Another relic of troubled, dangerous and unprogressive times, what a contrast it is in all that it represents to the changed conditions of modern life!

A NEW RASHTRAKUTA COPPER PLATE GRANT
OF
A.D. 810.

BY RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHARYA, M.A., M.R.A.S.

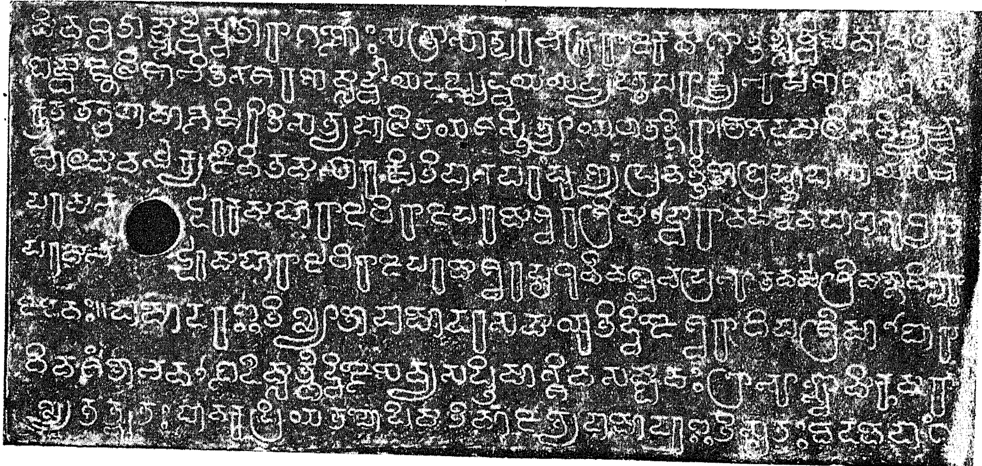
RECENTLY a set of copper plates was received for examination from Mr. B. Venkoba Rao, B.A., Deputy Commissioner, Bangalore. It appears that when he was on tour at Manne, a village in the Nelamangala Taluk of the Bangalore District, a resident of the village, named Pujarigaiya, showed the plates to him stating that they had been in the possession of his family for a long time and that they had never before been brought to the notice of the Archæological Department. Mr. Venkoba Rao naturally thought that the plates contained a new record, took them from the owner and sent them to me for decipherment.

The inscription is a new one, and I brought it to the notice of the Archæological Department. But as the Department can only publish it in its next Annual Report about a year hence, I think I might give a brief account of the record now for the information of scholars.

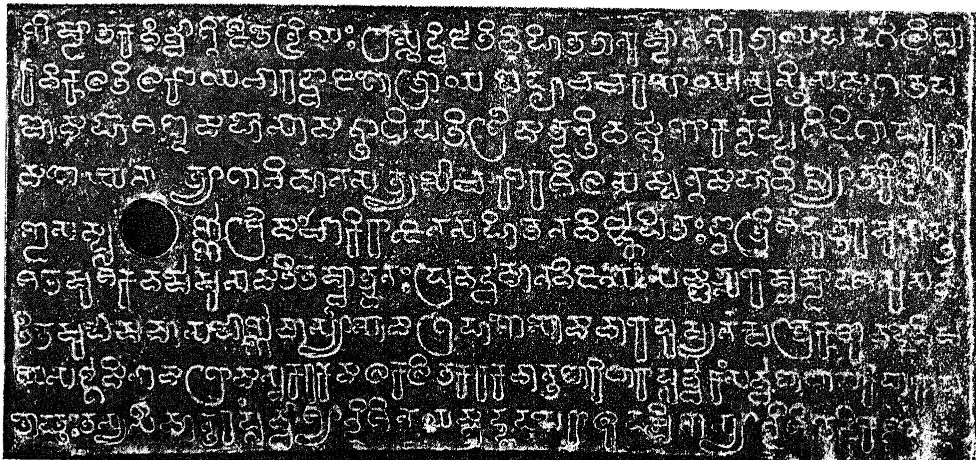
Maṇṇe, the village where the record was found, is the Mānyapura of old Sanskrit inscriptions. It was a city of considerable importance in the eighth and ninth centuries, having been the capital of the Gangas and the seat of the Rāshtrakuta Viceroys. Several ruined structures of architectural and artistic merit, such as the Kapilēśvara temple and the Sūḷeyara Dēvasthāna or Dancing Girls' temple, also attest to the importance of the place at one time. The first temple has in its *navaranga* or middle hall four good pillars and two fine pierced stone windows in the form of creepers with figures in every convolution. The other temple shows some peculiar features of architecture: the lintels of the Nandi hall in front have their ends shaped like capitals on the under surface and there being no separate capitals for them to rest on, it is not clear how the lintels on the four sides are supported unless we suppose that iron clamps are used inside. The ceilings of the middle and Nandi halls show a creeper device with a Nāga and a Nāgiṇi in the middle canopied by snake-hoods. Such ceilings are rarely met with in Mysore temples. The site of the old city, situated to the south-west of the village, is strewn over with old bricks and pieces of pottery. It is said that ash pits and foundations of brick structures have often been met with when ploughing the fields now covering the site. Some of the houses of the village are built of the old bricks which are neatly prepared in different sizes and shapes so as to suit the parts of the structures for which they were intended.

Manne Plates of the Rashtrakuta King Govinda III, A.D. 810.

FOURTH PLATE.



A—Nine lines.



B—Nine lines.



SEAL.

Four sets of copper plates belonging to the village have already been published, namely, (1) the Ganga plates of Mārasimha (Nelamangala 60), of 797; (2) the Rāshtrakūta plates of Gōvinda III (Nelamangala 61), of 802; (3) the Ganga plates of Rājamalla I, of 828 [1]; and the Ganga plates of Avinīta, of about the close of the sixth century.[2] The first two are respectively in the possession of Shanbog Narasappa and Rudraiya of the village and the other two, which I received for examination from Sir S. M. Fraser, K.C.S.I., a former Resident in Mysore, were also, I learn, in the possession of the same individuals.

I shall now proceed to consider the present grant. It originally consisted of five plates, though the first plate is now missing. Each plate measures 8″ by $3\frac{1}{2}$″. The last plate is inscribed on the inner side only; so also must be the missing first plate. The plates are strung on a circular ring which is $3\frac{3}{4}$″ in diameter and $\frac{1}{4}$″ thick, and has its ends secured in the base of an oval seal measuring $1\frac{3}{4}$″ by $1\frac{1}{2}$″. The seal bears in relief a two-armed seated figure, about one inch high, of what looks like a goddess adorned with a crown (see Plate). The plates are in a fair state of preservation, the writing being in old Kannaḍa characters. They record the grant of a village in 810 to a Brāhman named Dāmōdara by the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III on the application of two of his officers named Dantivarma and Chākirāja.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit except two lines, the last line of the fourth plate and the first line of the fifth, giving boundaries of the village granted, which are in Kannaḍa; and barring three prose passages occurring here and there, the whole is in verse. Portions of the record are rendered unintelligible by orthographical and grammatical errors and by omissions of letters. This defect is common to several of the published grants of Gōvinda III. Though the first plate is missing, its contents can be supplied from other published grants. Each side of the plates contains nine lines of matter except the fifth which has only eight lines. The missing plate must have also contained nine lines, so that the number of lines in the whole record is seventy-one.

The first part of the inscription giving an account of the kings of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty is identical wholly or in part with that of the Rādhanpur [3], Maṇṇe [4], Vaṇi [5] and Nandi [6] plates of Gōvinda III, which are dated respectively 807, 802, 807 and 806. But the formal part is of course different. I have therefore reproduced only the fourth plate which contains the formal part, facsimiles of the first part being available in connection with the Maṇṇe and Nandi plates.

1 *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1910, 24
2 *Ibid.*, for 1911, 36
3 *Epigraphia Indica*, VI, 242
4 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IX, Nelamangala 61
5 *Indian Antiquary*, XI, 157
6 *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1914, 40.

Before dealing with the formal part, it is desirable to give in brief the details about the kings mentioned in the first part, omitting mere laudations. After invocation of Vishṇu and Śiva, the record begins with the mention of Kṛishṇa-Rāja (I), who easily and swiftly drew to himself the goddess of sovereignty from the Chālukya family. His son Dhōra, also known as Nirupama and Kalivallabha, superseded his elder brother without incurring any blame; imprisoned the powerful Ganga, who had never been conquered by others; hemmed in the Pallava between his own force on the one side and the sea on the other, so that he had to surrender and deliver up his huge elephants; and drove Vatsarāja, who had seized the Gauḍa kingdom, into the impassable desert (Maru or Mārvār) and took away from him the pair of white state umbrellas which belonged to the Gauḍa. His son was Gōvinda-Rāja, on whose birth the Rāshtrakūta lineage became unsurpassable by others. When his father, in consideration of his handsome form and great ability, offered to him the sole sovereignty of the earth, he dutifully declined, saying "Father, let it be yours. I shall continue as heir-apparent." On his father's death, he, though unaided, successfully contended with twelve famous princes who jointly attempted to wrest the kingdom from him. He released the Ganga from the suffering of captivity and sent him to his own country, but when he nevertheless continued in hostility, before the brow was wrinkled in a frown, he was again subdued and thrown into prison. Through fear of him the Gurjara disappeared somewhere; and the Mālava king, versed in policy, bowed to him from afar with folded hands. The king Mārāśarma, when encamped on the ridges of the Vindhya mountain, hearing from the spies that he had moved towards his own country, hastened to appease him by casting himself at his feet and by the presentation of heir-looms never before obtained by others. Having passed the rainy season at Śrībhavana, Gōvinda went with his forces to the bank of the Tungabhadrā, where he received in full the tribute from the Pallava. When his letter-carrier had only half uttered the command, the lord of Vengi instantly hastened to do him service and built an enclosure of great height for the race course of his horses. By him, perceiving that this life is unstable like wind and lightning, and void of substance, has been made this gift to a Brāhman, which is most meritorious, because it consists of a grant of land.

We now come to the formal part. The inscription then goes on to say that the parama-bhattāraka mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara pṛithivīvallabha Prabhūtavarsha śrīmad-Gōvinda-Rāja-Dēva, who meditated on the feet of the parama-bhattāraka mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara śrīmad-Dhārāvarsha-Dēva, on Monday the full-moon day of the month Pausha of the Śaka year 732 which was the eighteenth increasing victorious year of his reign, on the occasion

of a lunar eclipse, under the asterism Pushya, made, at the request of the obtainer of the band of five great instruments, *Mahā-sāmantādhipati* Dantivarma, also known as Kandarpagidiga, and the possessor of liberality, self-respect, truth, purity, good conduct and character, the renowned Chākirāja, a grant, with pouring of water, exempt from all imposts, of the village named Sangāmi, situated in the Kuruvaḷke district, to the subduer of passions, proficient in the Vēdas and Vēdāngas, strict performer of the duties laid down for Brāhmans, an ornament of the Paḍangili Bāravi family, a student of the Ṛigvēda, poet and orator, Dāmōdara of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, son of Svāmikumāra and grandson of Dāmōdara. Then follow boundaries of the village granted. The witnesses to the grant were the subjects of the Ninety-Six Thousand country, *i.e.*, Gangavāḍi. He who confiscates this through greed, ignorance or carelessness, shall be guilty of the five great sins, and he who maintains it shall obtain merit. The record closes with four usual final verses.

A few concluding remarks will now be made on the contents of this inscription. With regard to the statement that Dhōra or Nirupama superseded his elder brother (Gōvinda II) without incurring any blame, we learn from the Karhāḍ plates of Kṛishṇa III* the reason for this supersession. It is there stated that sensual pleasures made Gōvinda II careless of the kingdom ; and, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose. He does not, however, appear to have quietly submitted to the supersession, for we learn from the Paithan plates† that he called to his assistance the Ganga and other princes against his brother Dhruva. The Ganga mentioned here was Śivamāra II, son of Śrīpurusha. His imprisonment by Dhruva was apparently due to the latter's resentment against him for having gone to the assistance of Gōvinda II. Following his father's example, Gōvinda III, too, superseded his elder brother Kamba. But in this case the father himself appears to have selected him, having even offered to abdicate in his favour. It is just possible that in imprisoning Śivamāra II Dhruva may have also been actuated by a desire to compensate his elder son Kamba for his supersession by giving him the Ganga kingdom. However this may be, we find Kamba governing the Ganga territory under his father.‡ But on his father's death, Kamba fought, though unsuccessfully, to establish his claim to the throne. At the head of a confederacy of twelve kings, he raised up a rebellion against his enthroned younger brother, but this was suppressed and in the end he had to submit to his younger brother, and was entrusted

* *Epi. Ind*., IV, 287.

† *Ibid.*, III, 107.

‡ *Epi. Car.*, IV, Heggaḍadēvankōṭe 93

with authority under him.[1] The latest available date for Kamba is 807 in which year we find him encamped at Talkāḍ and making a grant to a Jina temple there at the request of his son Śankaragaṇṇa.[2] We may therefore conclude that he continued under his brother as viceroy of the Ganga kingdom to which he had been appointed by his father. But in 812 Chākirāja was the ruler of the entire Ganga territory, at whose request Gōvinda III made a grant to a Jina temple.[3] So Chākirāja must have been appointed viceroy after Kamba's death. The year 812 is the latest date we have for the Rāshtrakūta occupation of the Ganga territory, though we do not know the exact period of its commencement.

All this time Śivamāra II must have been in prison. His imprisonment began during the reign of Dhruva. As 788 is the latest date we have for his father Śrīpurusha,[4] Śivamāra II must have succeeded him after this year; and he must have been taken prisoner some time before 793, the last year of Dhruva's reign. His release and imprisonment for the second time by Gōvinda III must have taken place before 802, the date of Nelamangala 61, the earliest of Gōvinda III's records in which the fact is mentioned. Eventually, however, Gōvinda not only reinstated him in his kingdom, but also took part along with the Pallava king Nandivarma in his coronation, both binding the diadem on his brow with their own hands.[5] Still Śivamāra does not appear to have regained his former status as an independent ruler seeing that the Kalbhāvi inscription[6] mentions him as a feudatory of Gōvinda's son Amōghavarsha I who came to the throne in 815. He continued his struggle for independence and fell fighting with the Rāshtrakūtas at Kāgimogeyūr in the Tumkūr Taluk.[7] This event probably took place in 816 as his successor Rājamalla I ascended the throne in 817.[8] Rājamalla is said[9] to have rescued from the Rāshtrakūtas his country, which they had held too long, as Vishṇu in the form of a Boar rescued the Earth from the infernal regions. The Keregōḍi-Rangāpura plates[10] also state that Rājamalla regained the Ganga kingdom which had been lost during his uncle Śivamāra's reign, but add that a bit of it was in the possession of Bankēśa. The latter statement is interesting as we learn from the Koṇṇūr inscription[11] that at the command of Amōghavarsha his general Bankēśa invaded Gangavāḍi, put to flight the ruler of Talkāḍ and conquered his country. This invasion, however, does not appear to have had any permanent effect as Bankēśa was recalled

1 *Epi., Car*, IX, Nelamangala 61.
2 *Mysore A.R* for 1920, 31
3 *Epi Car.*, XII, Gubbi 61, *Epi. Ind.*, IV, 333
4 *Mysore A R* for 1918. 42
5 *Epi. Car*, IV, Yeḍatore 60; IX, Nelamangala 60.
6 *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, 309
7 *Mysore A.R.* for 1910, 24.
8 *Mysore A R* for 1910, 25.
9 *Epi Car.*, IV, Yedatore 60.
10 *Mysore A.R* for 1919, 28.
11 *Epi Ind.*, VI, 25.

Manne Plates of the Rashtrakuta King Govinda III. A.D. 810.

Fourth Plate.

(A)

1. m iva dhritām mūddhisva (ıdhastha)-tārā-gaṇaiḥ santrāsāt para-chakra-rājakam agāt tat-pūrva-sēvā-vıdhi-vyā-
2. baddhāñjali-śōbhitēna śaraṇa(m) mūrdh(n)ā yad-anghrı-dvayam yad yā (yad) datta-parāıdhya-bhūshana-gaṇaı(r) nālam-
3. krita(m) tat tathā mā bhaishīr ıtı satya-pālıta-yaśas-sthıtyā yathā tat(d)- girā l tēnēdam alına(nila)-vıdyuch-chā(a)-
4. ñchalam avalōkya jīvitam asāıa(m) kshıtı-dāna-paıam(a)-punyam(ḥ) prava(r)ttitō Brahma-dāyō'yam sa cha
5. paramabhaıtāraka-mahāıājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Dhāıāvarshadēva-pādā-nudhyāta-
6. paramabhattāraka-mahāıājādhırāja-paramēśvara-prıthu(i)-vīvallabha-Prabhūta-varsha-śrīmat(d)-Gōvında-rā-
7. jadēvaḥ || Dāmōdara ıtı khyātō Dāmōdara-samayu(dyu)ti(ḥ) dvıjēśvaıādhıpa(h) śrīmān Bārā(a)-
8. vı-vamśatō'bhavat Bēdī(Vēda) mūıtthī(ttı) dvıjai(ḥ) sēvya(h) saptimān Śıva-samb(h)avaḥ abhūt Svāmikuma(ā)rā-
9. khya(s) tat-sutah pāvaka-prıya(ḥ) tathā(tō) pı matımā(n) janyē(jñē) Dāmōdara ıtı s(m)ritaḥ Vēda-Vēdānga-

(B)

1. nishtā (nishnā) ta (ḥ) kavir vāggī (gmī) jitēndriyaḥ asmai dvijātı-vıhı (ta)-tānusht(h)āna-nıratāya Padangilı-Bā-
2. ravi-kula-tilakāya Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Bah(v)rıcha-charaṇāya l svasti sama-(dhı) gata-pa-
3. ñchamahāśabda-mahāsāmantādhipati-śrīmat(d)-Dantıvarmmaṇā Kandarppagiḍi-gāpara-nā-
4. madhēyēnā (a) tyāgābhımāna-satya s (ś) auchāk (ch) āra-śīla-sampanna-mahā-vıkhyāta-kīrtti-ga-
5. n(d)a-sampūrnṇa-śrīmat-Chākirājēna sahitēna vıjñāpıtaḥ dvātrimśad-uttarēshu sapta-
6. śatēshu Śaka-varshēshu samatītēsh- ātmanaḥ pravarddhamāna-vijaya-samb-(v)atsarēshv ashtādaśasu sama-
7. tītēshu Paushamāsa-Paurṇnamāsyām Sōma-grahaṇē Sōmavārē Pushyanakshatrē Kuruvalke-visha-
8. yē Sangāmi-nāma-grāma(ḥ) sva-kara-kamala-kalita-karaka-vānta-b(v)āridhārā-pūrvakam sarva-bādhā-parihārōpē-
9. tō dattaḥ tasya sīmāntaram pūrvvā(a) ś(s)yān diṣi Nayambaḷḷada pērālu dakshiṇasyān diśi Tekkikere-e.

PSYCHOLOGY OF EMOTIONS AS REPRESENTED IN THE BHAGAVADGITA.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

BY P. K. GODE, ESQ., M.A.

Part I.

I. INTRODUCTORY—

Prof. Ribot's masterly treatise on the Psychology of Emotions based as it is mainly on experimental data laid at his disposal by generations of physiologists and psychologists, needs, in my opinion, to be supplemented by facts and observations strewn broad-cast in the field of Sanskrit literature in general and specially by the data to be found in some of the Sanskrit works on the science of dramaturgy (nātya-śāstra), rhetoric (alaṅkāra-śāstra), and philosophy (yoga-śāstra) etc. In some of these works we are likely to find a conscious analysis of feelings, while in others we may notice only passing and unconscious observations on the subject Of course our data will be mainly of a speculative nature and will naturally have some historical interest, as it will embody the speculation of Aryans in India. Empirical psychology may to a certain extent profit by such speculative data, for, in the light of such mass of speculative matter, some of its conclusions may be strengthened, while others may be rendered doubtful or even vitiated. In either case, the inquiry is to my mind well worth trying since it will retain its historical interest, supposing that it produced no results contributing to the study of the emotions on scientific lines.

As a preliminary effort in this direction I have attempted an analysis of the B. G.† and have tried to determine the place assigned by it to the psychology of emotions, while making a detailed study of all observations of the B. G. regarding the subject of our inquiry.

II. A PARALLEL BETWEEN THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND PLATO—

It will be apparent from the following essay that the B. G. lays hammering emphasis on the subordination of the emotional part of man to his rational part. We shall find as we proceed further in our study that even the feeling of raptured devotion to God (*bhakti*) is to a certain extent subordinated to the rational part (*buddhi*). Verse 10 of the tenth chapter of the B. G. tells us that it is '*buddhi*' that helps a devotee to realize God. This attitude of the B. G. finds its parallel in Plato ‡ who expressly subordinates

* "Psychology of Emotions" by Th Ribot, 1911

† B. G. is Bhagavadgita

‡ Plato's Republic (Vol. I) IV, 441 E (Jowett's Edition)

the two principles, *viz.*, the appetitive and impulsive principles to the rational principle.

III. SYSTEM OF CLASSIFICATION OF EMOTIONS USED IN THE PRESENT INQUIRY—

Instead of entering into the endless variety of the principles of classifying emotions, I have adopted the division of emotions into primary and secondary as given by Prof. Ribot,* which seems to be quite reasonable in-as-much as it involves the principle of the evolution of emotions, generally accepted by empirical psychologists.

IV. PRIMARY EMOTIONS—

The Primary Emotions as determined by physiologists and accepted by Ribot † are (1) FEAR; (2) ANGER; (3) AFFECTION; (4) EGOTISTIC EMOTION and (5) SEXUAL EMOTION. The grounds for adopting this division are mainly empirical and hence quite satisfactory.

V. THE CLASSIFICATION OF EMOTIONS ACCORDING TO THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ—

Before illustrating each of the primary emotions from the B. G., it is necessary for us to know the principle of classification adopted by the B.G. with regard to emotions. This principle is nothing else than the 'Sāṅkhya' division of 'guṇas' of 'prakṛti', *viz.*, 'sattva', 'rajas' and 'tamas'. As all students of the B.G. know, this three-fold classification has been employed by the B.G. not only with regard to the psychology of human beings but also with regard to their physiology, their ethics, philosophy and future life. These three 'guṇas of 'prakṛti' have also their parallel in the three principles of the soul given by Plato ‡ *viz.* (1) the appetitive, (2) the impulsive; and (3) the rational.

VI. We now proceed with each of the primary emotions.

(1) FEAR ('bhaya')—

This emotion has been very closely studied by Western psychologists in its physiological and psychological aspects (*vide* Ribot pp. 205-217).

There are a few observations in the B.G. which reveal to us the traditional notions about 'bhaya' or fear as also the attitude of the B.G. towards this emotion. In B.G. XVIII, 35, 'bhaya' is mentioned as a component of 'tāmasī dhṛti'. From the characteristics of the 'dhṛti' available in the B.G. 'dhṛti' appears to be a sort of mental energy which stabilizes any psychic state, intellectual or emotional. This seems to be the meaning of the B. G. in expatiating upon the three-fold 'dhṛti' in verses 33, 34 and 35 of Chapter

* Psy of Emo , p. 13.

† Ribot, pp. 13-15.

‡ Republic, (Jowett's edn.) Vol. I (IV, 435-442).

XVIII. As 'bhaya' originates in the quality of 'tamas' it is not a desirable emotion. 'Bhaya' in the sense of 'cowardice' or lack of courage is condemned in II, 35, where Arjuna's woeful plight is pathetically described and he is exhorted to take heart. 'Bhaya' in the sense of 'reverential awe' is apparent from XI, 45, where Arjuna says that his heart is agitated or disturbed through 'bhaya' consequent on his seeing the mighty form of God in all its pleasant and fearful aspects. The 'bhaya' described in the above passage is unconscious and instinctive, which generally arises owing to ignorance. Knowledge, as Bain * rightly remarks, is the great remedy against fear. In XI, 49, Arjuna is asked to cast away the 'bhaya' produced by the mysterious forms of God. Even Gods in numbers invoke the supreme God with joined hands through 'bhaya' (XI, 21).

The physiological effects of 'bhaya' such as trembling, agitation, stammering, etc., are described in XI, 35 and 36, where the plight of Arjuna and 'Rākṣasas' on beholding the magnitude and unfamiliar character of God's forms are very vividly painted. The Yogi of the B.G. is repeatedly asked to get himself rid of 'bhaya' along with other emotions of a lower sort (II, 56; IV, 10; V, 28).

As a corollary to the doctrine of pantheism and transcendence preached in X, 42, it is but natural that God should regard Himself as the final cause of 'bhaya', 'abhaya and other emotions and qualities mentioned in X, 4-5. Verses 3 to 6 of the same chapter tell us clearly that God is the source of all things, human and superhuman.

'Abhaya' or 'absence of fear', *i.e.*, courage, is spoken of as a part of the aggregate of divine properties (daivī sampad) mentioned in XVI, 1.

The greatest fear according to the B.G. is that of being involved in the endless chain of births and the remedy against such 'bhaya' is the knowledge of Yoga preached in the B. G. (II, 40). It is clear from the last passage of the B.G. quoted above that Bain's remark about the importance of knowledge as an effectual means for removing fear comes out true also in the spiritual world. The B.G. explicitly lays down that spiritual knowledge as preached therein can remove the fear of births.

If a distinction is to be drawn between 'abhaya' and 'dhṛti' we can say that the former is of a negative character, while the latter is positive in character. 'Dhṛti' as described in verses 33, 34 and 35 of Chap. XVIII of the B. G. is in my opinion the *Volitional Energy*, which lies at the root of all our feelings and actions, moral or otherwise, pleasurable or painful.

'Kaśmalam' or depression of spirits is an immediate consequence of 'bhaya'. In B. G. II, 2, Arjuna is rebuked on account of his being

* Emotions and the Will, p. 168.

overwhelmed by this 'Kaśmalam' at the prospect of the dreadful consequences of the sin of fratricide. 'Kaśmalam' is a mark of Arjuna's pessimism and it is said to be 'un-Aryan' (anāryajusta) and 'heaven-closing'.

Another consequential and allied emotional state is that of 'Viṣāda'.* It is a spirit of despondency and helplessness and seems to be a further development of 'Kaśmalam'. Arjuna suffers from this 'viṣāda' and is hence a subject of ridicule (II, 10). In B. G. XVIII, 35, we learn that 'viṣāda' is one of the components of 'tāmasī dhṛti' and verse 28 of the same chapter 'viṣādī kartā' or 'despairing doer' is also said to be 'tāmasa'.

(ii) ANGER ('krodha')—

This emotion is the second in chronological order. Ribot treats it at length in his work.† His treatment is, however, predominantly physiological rather than psychological.

It ought to be pointed out at the beginning of our inquiry that the B. G. takes only a philosophic interest in the treatment of emotions and consequently its attitude is mainly intellectual and not psychological. It has in fact nothing to do with the expression of emotions which claims the attention of the writers on dramaturgy (nātya-śāstra). The B. G. analyses only the inner springs of our action, good or bad, from the spiritual and ethical point of view and suggests remedies for the proper regulation of our habits based on a thorough understanding of the inner emotional life of the individual and its pitfalls.

According to the above-mentioned ethical point of view every emotion is treated in the B. G. in so far as it is a help or hindrance to the Yogi in doing the prescribed actions.

In III, 37, the genesis of 'krodha' is given. It is said to be 'rajoguṇa-samudbhava' *i.e.*, having its origin in the quality of 'rajas'; while its immediate antecedent in the series of causes and effects as given in II, 62, 63, is 'kāma' or desire or appetite, its consequent being 'sammoha' *i.e.*, mental flurry or confusion. It might now be questioned how 'krodha' arises from 'kāma' as the B. G. says. This can be explained psychologically. It is a matter of common experience that a desire ('kāma') when frustrated or thwarted gives rise to anger (krodha). Ribot ‡ remarks that the ancients defined anger as a short madness and what has the B. G. to say in this connection? 'Krodha', we are told, produces 'sammoha' *i.e.*, a state of confounded

* *Cf.* (1) the definition of 'visāda' in Apte's Dict.
(2) also in Sāhityadarpana, v. 197.
(3) *vide* Daśarūpaka IV, (Hall's edition) 29

† Psychology of the Emotions, Chapter III (Part II) pp. 218-229

‡ Psychology of the Emotions, page 223

mental faculties leading to an utter annihilation of the rational faculty (buddhi-nāśa) and what is 'buddhi-nāśa' but madness whether temporary or permanent according as 'krodha' is a passing affection or a morbid one? Physiological research as summed up by Ribot * tells us that anger produces very disastrous pathological results which ultimately may cause even the death of the organism. The psychological observation of the B. G. is not much less true. It says that 'sammoha' produces 'buddhi-nāśa' and the individual perishes (praṇaśyati).

The dynamic character of 'krodha' which breaks the barriers of the will at a stroke and makes the individual all its own is fitly described by the term 'vega' or intensity in V, 23, which says that the man who can bear this intensity or heat of 'krodha' (and also of 'kāma') is really a happy man and he alone is entitled to the title: 'yukta' *i.e.*, harmonised. Such is the normal dominance of the body over the spirit.

Before proceeding further with our treatment of 'krodha' it will be worth our while to examine the two general classes of moral qualities termed respectively the 'daivī sampad' (XVI, 2) *i.e.*, aggregate of divine qualities and the 'āsurī sampad' *i.e.* aggregate of demoniacal qualities (XVI, 4). We shall have to refer to this division very often during the course of this essay, as many of the emotions referred to in the B. G. are included in either of these two classes according as they are helpful to or destructive of spiritual life. According to the B. G. psychology and ethics, precept and practice are closely related. Hence it includes emotions and actions done under their influence into one class. We are here not concerned directly with the ethics of the B. G. but with its psychology of emotions in particular.

According to the division mentioned above 'krodha' is a component of "āsurī sampad" (XVI, 4). The Yogi of the B. G. must ever and anon try to keep this foe at bay as it is sure to cut at the root of all efforts at spiritual enlightenment (III, 37). It is a dangerous and degrading emotion as the worst elements of a man's nature are let loose under its potent influence and it is as the B. G. says a 'tamodvāra' *i e.*, a 'gate of hell' (XVI, 21).

'Akrodha' or absence of anger is a negative state like 'abhaya' and it forms part of the 'daivī sampad' (XVI, 2).

Ribot † gives three periods of the history of evolution of anger, *viz.*, (1) the animal form; (2) the emotional form: and (3) the intellectualized form comprising hatred, envy, etc.

The term 'krodha' as used in the B. G. evidently stands for the first two of these forms. The last form has its representatives in 'dveṣa', 'abhyasūya', etc., of the B. G. of which we shall speak later on.

* Psychology of the Emotions, page 219, para 1 † Psychology of the Emotions, pp. 220-222

The B. G. has no good word to say on behalf of this emotion whether in its animal form or its most intellectualized form or even in the forms of 'righteous indignation', 'noble rage', which last is a powerful instrument in preserving the order of the world according to Bain * The 'sthita-prajnya' of the B. G closely resembles the Wise Man of the Stoics, who is purely an intellectual existence. For him 'krodha' is the greatest obstacle. He will be liberated if he frees himself from the shackles of 'krodha' (V, 28). A sage with stable mind is he, who is free from 'krodha' and allied emotions (II, 56). Men resorting to 'krodha' and other passions are God's enemies and God degrades these mortal wretches in the cycle of existence (XVI, 18). The fate of passionate men and their narrow ideas and ideals is described with stern emphasis in Chap. XVI of the B. G. Such men find pleasure in sensual enjoyments (XVI, 12) and since they are lacking in any philosophic vision worth the name their end is hell (XVI. 16).

Ribot observes in his work on Emotions † that anger is a mixed emotion and points out that it passes through two stages of which the first is entirely painful while the second contains a pleasurable element. The observation is psychologically true enough but to the metaphysical eye of the B. G. it seems absurd, because the conceptions of pleasure of the western psychologists and the B. G entirely differ in essentials, as we shall see later on. There is no pleasure like the 'bramha-nirvāṇa' or the eternal peace and the Yogi of the B. G. can obtain it only by getting free from 'krodha' (V, 26). Absence of 'krodha' and allied emotions is capable of producing tranquility (śānti) which then leads to the identification of the Yogi with 'Bramhan' (XVIII, 53).

The extremely intense form of 'krodha' which is accompanied by motor manifestations is termed 'āmarṣa' in the B. G. (XII, 15). The passage says that God loves such men only who are free from 'āmarṣa' and other emotions of a like nature. The term 'āmarṣa' means 'wrath' or the impetuous form of Anger and has its exact opposite in 'harṣa' or exultation. It is a matter of common experience how man is a pendulum between 'harṣa' and 'amarṣa'.

It may be noted here that the 'āmarṣa' or 'amarṣa' of which we have spoken above seems to me distinct from that defined in some works on Rhetoric ‡ according to which it is included in the 33 minor feelings or

---

* Emotions and the Will, p. 190 † Psychology of the Emotions, p 220.

‡ S. D.—Paricceda III, v. 156—

निन्दाक्षेपापमानादेरमर्षोऽभिनिविष्टता ।
नेत्ररागशिर: कम्पभ्रूभङ्गोत्तर्जनादिकृत् ॥

R. G (Kavyamāla No 12) p 88—"परकृतावज्ञादिनानापराधजन्य: मौनवाक्पारुष्यादिकारणभूत: चित्तवृत्तिविशेष:(अमर्ष:) i e, brooding over censure, abuse, dishonour, etc, resulting in the reddening of the eyes, shaking of the head, knitting of the eyebrows, violent threatening, etc."

'vyabhicāri-bhāvas'. The points of distinction are :—(1) the 'āmarṣa' of the B. G. stands more or less in contrast with its opposite 'harṣa' and hence seems to my mind more active in its manifestations than the 'āmarsa' of the rhetoricians. (2) The 'āmarṣa' as defined by the Sāhityadarpaṇa and Rasagangādhara is said to be "a specific state of feeling which results from a variety of insults offered, such as disrespect and the like, and which manifests itself in taciturnity, harshness of speech, etc." Now this description of 'āmarṣa' shows that it is *passive* in character and must be included in the third form of anger to which we have referred above, *viz.,* the intellectualized form.

(iii) AFFECTION—

This emotion stands next in the order of evolution. Ribot remarks * that the word 'sympathy' used by some writers to denote this emotion is too vague. He has, however, retained this term throughout his treatment of this emotion

According to Ribot. Bain † and other psychologists, 'seeking for contact' is the chief characteristic of this tender emotion. Bain observes : "Touch is both the alpha and omega of affection." It is according to him the fundamental and generic sense and is a starting point for all associations. He is not prepared to believe in any occult magnetic influences as the fundamental causes in operation between two persons bearing affection towards each other.

New let us examine the observations of the B. G. regarding this emotion. Speaking broadly, two forms of this emotion present themselves, which are:—(1) the gross form, and (2) the refined form. These are represented by the terms 'saṅga' and 'bhakthi' respectively. The transitional forms of this emotion denoted by terms 'praṇaya', 'abhisneha', etc., are not wanting.

Speaking first of 'saṅga' we have to remark that the root meaning of the word is attachment to material objects. The 'saṅga', therefore, exactly corresponds to the 'seeking for contact' which according to Bain and Ribot is the chief characteristic of affection. Other derivatives from the root 'sañj' are used in different contexts. In some places they denote attachment in general to objects, abstract or concrete. The genesis of 'saṅga' is given in II, 62, where we learn that constant musing on the objects of sense ‡ produces a 'saṅga' or attachment towards them, and 'saṅga' in its turn produces 'kāma' or desire. It is clear from this passage that the B. G. ascribes an intellectual origin to desire and hence seems to me to embrace the second thesis § mentioned by Ribot regarding its origin. This thesis regards desire

* Psychology of the Emotions, p. 14, Sec. 3

† "Emotions and the Will," p 126-7, Sec. 4

‡ See Analysis of Desire in Sully's "Outlines of Psychology", p 575 where he emphasizes the "representative element" in desire

§ Psychology of Emotions, p. 442, line 9.

as a secondary phenomenon and asserts that knowledge of a thing always precedes a desire for that thing. We are not concerned here with any vindication of the thesis of the B. G. but have to emphasize the intellectual standpoint from which all emotions are viewed in the B. G. for establishing the supremacy of reason over emotion.

Ribot in summing up his remarks on the biological phase of sympathy observes that sympathy is originally a property of living matter and as such organic in character. The 'saṅga' of the B. G. appears to me identical with this form of sympathy. Verse 62 of Chap. II of the B. G. referred to above is most important for our present inquiry as it contains the view of the B. G. on the genesis of desire (kāma). 'Kāma' or desire in the widest sense of the term is the tap-root of all emotional life, not only according to the B.G. as we shall see later on in treating of 'kāma' itself but according to Ribot * who has summed up the views of western psychologists on this subject. The B. G. regards 'ḍhyāna' or contemplation of an object as the direct cause of 'saṅga', which gives rise to 'kāma' or desire for that object. 'Dhyāna' or contemplation is nothing but persistent cognition of an object, which the Gītā says is responsible for the awakening of a desire for it.

In the foregoing passage we have attempted to set forth the thesis of the B. G. regarding the origin of desire. As our treatment of the present subject is of a comparative and historical nature it would be out of our present scope to criticize it. We may, however, mention in passing the view of Prof. Green †, who gives us a very subtle analysis of the genesis of desire. He maintains that the result of any process of cognition is desired throughout it. " No man learns to know any thing without desiring to know it. " " In all exercise of the understanding desire is at work. "

There is one more passage in the B. G. which supplies us with the reasons as to the whole-sale condemnation of emotions so often pressed on our attention. It is verse 22 of Chap. XIII, which says that 'guṇa-saṅga' or attachment to the three qualities of 'prakṛti' is the cause of births of the 'puruṣa' in good and evil wombs. According to the tenets of the Sāṅkhya philosophy the 'puruṣa' is 'udāsīna' or indifferent but the three qualities or 'guṇas' of 'prakrti' bewitch the wary soul and a series of births, good or evil, is the consequence. Freedom from births is the ideal of happiness, the *summum bonum* held forth by the B. G. for the Yogi and this is the reason why 'saṅga' and all its resulting emotions are undesirable psychological, and hence ethical, entities. This 'saṅga' is organic in so far as it proceeds from the individual soul and is material as its objects are the three 'guṇas' or qualities

* Psychology of the Emotions, p. 91— 'the fundamental and irreducible fact at the root of all emotion attraction or repulsion, desire or aversion, in short, motion or arrest of motion."

† Prolegomena to Ethics, Section 134, page 156.

of 'prakṛti' or primordial matter. We may, therefore, conclude that all emotional life being of a material origin cannot tend to any spiritual advancement as preached in the B. G.

The author of the B. G. is, however, not unmindful of the fact that 'life' to deserve that name must be identical with action (karma) *i.e.*, movement whether advantageous or disadvantageous to the individual. Such action may be rational or otherwise; it is enough that it is action done according to one's lights. The Yogi of the B. G. is, therefore, strictly warned in III, 26 against disturbing the mental equilibrium of persons zealously performing action as prescribed by tradition. The doctrine of duty (karma) being one of the chief doctrines of the B. G., 'akarma' or 'do-nothingism' is condemned categorically by the B. G. (II, 47).

If our view that 'saṅga' is a gross form of affection be adopted, the question we have now to answer is: Is it psychologically possible to perform an action ('karma') without 'sanga' or attachment? We have already pointed out that the psychological stages that precede the origin of 'kāma' are: (1) 'ḍhyāna' or representation of an object, real or imaginary, to the mind: and (2) the 'saṅga' or attachment towards that object which results from such representation. According to Sully,* every feeling whether in the actual or ideal form tends to excite desire, which he says is an active phenomenon. Dr. Bain† regards 'spontaneity' as one of the foundations of voluntary power which produces action. He further maintains that a movement might commence spontaneously but it is followed by a pleasurable consciousness, which is accompanied by heightened vitality, or a greater stimulation than mere spontaneity could give birth to. We might admit Dr. Bain's spontaneity with regard to the 'ḍhyāna' mentioned in B. G. II, 62. Further the 'saṅga' which is developed by 'ḍhyāna' corresponds to the "pleasurable consciousness" which accelerates action (karma).

We thus find that it is psychologically impossible to perform an action (karma) without saṅga. In common parlance we use such expressions as "labour of love", "work for work's sake", etc., which appears to me indicative of the fact that the element of 'saṅga' originated by feeling cannot be dissociated from 'karma' of any sort. There is, however, one way to get out of this psychological difficulty. What the B. G. asks us to renounce is not the 'saṅga' for the 'karma' itself but for the 'karma-phala' or the fruit of action (IV, 20). This being the main idea of the B. G. all such passages where 'saṅga-rahita' 'karma' *i.e.*, action devoid of attachment, is eulogized and enjoined for the Yogi of the B.G., must be understood to refer to 'saṅga' for

* Outlines of Psychology, pp. 578, 579.
† Emotions and the Will, p. 231, line 1.

'karma-phala' and not for 'karma' itself. In B. G. XVIII, 23, it is said that 'saṅga-rahita karma,' *i.e.*, action devoid of attachment, is 'sāttvika karma' *i.e.*, of the pure sort. In B.G. XVIII, 9, 'saṅga' for 'karma' and 'saṅga' for 'karma-phala' are apparently distinguished but it is clear from verse 11 that follows that the B. G. is aware of the psychological impossibility of performing 'karma' without 'saṅga' for it and hence it says:—"It is not possible for embodied beings to relinquish action completely; he, however, who relinquishes the fruit of action is said to be 'tyāgi' (relinquisher)". The doer of an action which is free from attachment is called 'sāttvika' (XVIII, 26).

The next question that confronts us is: How far is it psychologically possible to discard 'saṅga' for 'karma-phala'? Speaking psychologically every 'karma' or action is preceded by a motive or 'kāma' of some sort, and is followed by 'phala' *i.e.*, end or result. Psychologists tell us that all voluntary action for which an individual is morally responsible involves "a germ of belief in the attainability of the object of desire or in the efficacy of action".* Thus we see that it is humanly impossible to perform an action without being conscious of the 'phala' or the end of such action. As we have remarked above, 'saṅga' is a sort of "pleasurable consciousness" which generally arises when we dwell over the 'phala' of an action and hence the psychological impossibility of abandoning 'karma-phala-saṅga'.

The only way, therefore, in which we can understand the 'karma-phala-tyāga' or the abandonment of the fruit of action is an ethical one. Psychologically all moral 'karma' is 'kāmya' *i.e.*, born of desire, and has a 'phala' but as this 'phala' is a product of multifarious causes, many of which are beyond the control of the individual, we cannot guarantee that it will be necessarily good. It may be evil. This 'phala' when advantageous to the individual may produce pleasure and when otherwise may give rise to pain. The Yogi of the Gītā, who is to attain the ideal of quietism should not be disturbed by either pleasure or pain which take their origin from 'phala'. Hence the ethical necessity of 'karma-phala-tyāga'. It is not our business here to say how far the ideal is practicable. The B. G. tries to steer clear of the Scylla and Charybdis of pleasure and pain by means of 'karma-phala-tyāga' and though the ideal is logically consistent its psychological efficacy is open to doubt and distrust for the intellectualist inasmuch as it is more a matter of individual belief than argumentation.

In order to understand the ethical standpoint of the B. G., we feel the necessity of examining the ideal of the Gītā. In this connection we must distinguish between "the moral good" and "the true good". Prof. Green defines "moral good" to be "that which satisfies the desire of a moral agent

* Outlines of Psychology, p 588.

or that in which a moral agent can find satisfaction of himself which he necessarily seeks". He further defines "true good" to be an "end in which the effort of a moral agent can really find rest".* The B. G. seems to us to insist not so much on the "moral good" defined by Green as on the "true good". The "moral good" being the "realization of a moral capability", its nature is hard to be determined since the moral capabilities of individuals vary. We must, therefore, have some more stable criterion by which to judge "the good". We, therefore, venture to think that the definition of "the true good" given by Green is more applicable to the ideal of the good given in the B. G. The "true good" according to the B. G. is 'naiṣṭhikī śānti' or eternal peace and the means to attain the same is the abandonment of 'karma-phala' (V, 12). As hedonism is opposed to the "true good" it is condemned in XVI, 16, where it is said that persons who are after the gratification of their desires fall into foul hell. Pleasure-hunting unsettles the mind and is therefore an obstruction in the path of spiritual contemplation (II, 44). Men who have got better of the vice of attachment (saṅga-doṣa) reach the eternal abode which is above all pleasure, pain and desires (kāmāḥ) XV, 5. In XII, 18, among qualifications for being the best devotee of God absence of 'saṅga' for pleasure and pain is mentioned. The B. G. realizes full well the purificatory value of certain actions but in doing so strongly maintains that the man performing them should bear no attachment either to the actions themselves or their fruits (XVIII, 5, 6). 'Asaṅga' or absence of attachment is said to be a means of spiritual enlightenment and purification (V, 10, 11).

According to the B. G. real 'jnāna' consists of 'asaṅga' or 'āsakti' for one's wife, son and all material belongings (XIII, 10). It is, therefore, fitly called an unfailing weapon to cut off the strongly rooted tree of existence (XV, 3), for, it is only by this means of 'asaṅga' that the ideal of 'naiṣkarmya-siddhi' *i.e.*, freedom from obligation can be attained (XVIII, 49). All action melts away in the case of one who is free from 'saṅga' (IV, 23).

To sum up our analysis of the observations of the B. G. regarding 'saṅga' from the view-point of psychology: We pointed out that 'saṅga' corresponds to the 'seeking for contact', a characteristic of the tender emotion of sympathy according to psychologists. It was further observed that according to the B. G. 'saṅga' is the origin of 'kāma' which is the tap-root of all emotional life. Incidentally we mentioned the different views regarding the origin of 'kāma' or desire and pointed out that the B.G. regards 'kāma' to have an intellectual origin inasmuch as it is produced from 'saṅga', which in its turn is the result of 'ḍhyāna' or musing over the objects of sense. We then tried to explain the possible reason why the emotions which result from 'kāma' are

* Prolegomena, p 202.

condemned in the B. G. This reason was explained to be 'guṇa-saṅga' which being the basis of 'kāma' and its brood being entirely *material* in its nature, hence could not tend to any spiritual advancement. The 'guṇas' are the offshoots of 'prakrti' and 'guṇa-saṅga' or contact with 'gunas' is responsible for 'samsāra' *i.e.*, the cycle of existence, while the B. G. wants the Yogi to be free from it. It was then discussed whether it is psychologically possible to abandon (1) 'karma' and (2) 'karma-phala-saṅga', the abandonment of both of which is enjoined in the B. G. We think it impossible to do so, however consistent this ideal of the B. G. may be from an ethical point of view and perhaps the value of such an ideal lies in its unattainableness by the common run of men, with whose minds psychology is mainly concerned,—abnormal psychology being a subject apart. The B. G. prescribes 'asaṅga' or absence of attachment as a means towards the 'naiṣthikī śānti' or 'naiṣkarmya-siddhi' which according to it is the "true good".

Before we proceed to the refined form of affection we have to consider the transitional forms, which shew a more evolved aspect of the emotion. One of such forms is 'praṇaya' referred to in B. G. XI, 41. This form differs from 'saṅga' in the fact that whereas the former (pranaya) requires for its very existence a being other than the feeling individual, the latter (saṅga) may originate in an individual without any subjective response from outside the feeling soul. For instance a man may feel a sort of 'saṅga' for a woman or *vice versa* without any response from the other person concerned. 'Praṇaya', however, stands on an entirely different footing. It is more stable psychologically as it presumes for its very existence the response of the other party in the feeling. It is a state of psychological unison existing between two or more individuals, not necessarily of the same sex, in whom analogous emotional states have been created. No emotional sympathy can arise unless there is some analogy in temperament or nature. Psychologically 'praṇaya' is a great advance on 'saṅga' for the reason that while 'saṅga' is largely of the nature of organic sympathy, in 'praṇaya' the element of consciousness preponderates.

In the B. G. 'praṅaya' stands midway between 'saṅga' on the one hand and 'bhakti' of which we shall speak presently, on the other. In Chap. XI, verse 41, we find that Arjuna begs to be forgiven for all the liberties, which through 'praṇaya' he might have taken with God, not knowing his infinite and sublime character. Again in verse 44 which follows, he implores God to bear all faults of his as a friend does a friend's. In both these passages 'praṇaya' stands for love between friends irrespective of the sex. The third passage that refers to such friendship is XII, 13, where it is remarked that the ideal 'bhakta' or devotee must be 'maitraḥ' *i.e.*, friendly towards all beings.

We do not find any deeper analysis of this form than what has been noted above.

There is one more passage in the B. G. *i.e* , II, 57, where the characteristics of the 'sthita-prajna' are given. He is said to be 'anabhisneha' *i.e.*, without attachment to anything. Here the word 'abhisneha' seems to be used for attachment or love towards things or individuals in general and hence seems to be akin to 'sanga'.

The next form of affection that we have to consider so far as it concerns the B. G. is parental affection. The ideas of the B. G. on this point are quite clear from the remarks made in the work with regard to the relation that ought to exist between Man and God. It will be of interest to learn what the Westerners have to say regarding this emotion. Bain and Spencer regard parental affection as an inheritance of social relation.* They regard this emotion as a great "socializer" and they think that were there no occasions for rivalry the social system under the influence of this emotion would be unmitigated communism. According to Martineau † parental affection is a primary spring of action, the conditions of its existence being the following :—(1) that the beings on whom it is directed be, independently of us, the *image of our essence* and (2) dependently upon us the *continuation of our existence.* He apparently criticizes the first view mentioned by us by saying "it is a perverse expenditure of ingenuity to explain its origin from factitious association in man". Ribot ‡ analyses this emotion into two separate forms: maternal love and paternal love. The former is included by him in the category of tender emotions but he maintains that it is not the source of social instinct because it implies neither solidarity nor reciprocity. As he believes that social life does not spring from domestic life he very much doubts the origin of the latter, *viz.*, paternal love which according to Bain (1) originates in the feeling of pride and ownership and according to Spencer (2) in the life in common of the father and mother which creates a current of affection in proportion to the services rendered.

To turn now to the B. G. In XI, 43, we are told that God is said to be the father of the living and the non-living creation. In IX, 17, He is said to be not only the father but also the mother, the supporter (dhātā), and grandsire (pitā-mahaḥ) of the world. All beings, therefore, being His children, are treated by Him impartially (IX, 29). In XI, 44, Arjuna requests God to put up with all his shortcomings as a father does with his son's. These passages illustrate the relation that ought to exist between God and Man from the point

* Emotions and the Will, p 64.

† Types of Ethical Theory, Vol II, pp 144-146

‡ Psychology of Emotions, pp. 280, 281

of view of the B. G. Perhaps the B. G. does not look askance at this relation as it is conducive to the fostering of 'bhakti' of which anon, and secondly it is the most disinterested form of affection and hence as Ribot says,[1] is the "genesis of altruism".

The most refined form of affection seems to be the 'bhakti' or single-minded devotion to God mentioned in the B. G. Ribot[2] includes this form under the category of religious sentiment which he says strikes its roots deeply into the individual only to rise beyond him. This love tends towards the dispossession of the individual. The religious sentiment, according to Ribot belongs to the class of "ego-altruistic" emotions, which mark the decay of the affective life of the individual.[3] He further thinks that the element of fear which is present in veneration and respect is a depressive factor. It is absent from love which originates in tender emotion and is composed of pleasurable and expansive states: admiration, confidence, ecstasy, etc.[4]

Martineau[5] regards the worshipper's love for the symbol of his faith not as a product of *psychological hedonism* but as "the natural crown of a course commencing in motive pleasure" and ending in "real disinterestedness". Further the inward deference of the individual to the higher claim may lift this love to the pedestal of duty and sink self-love into self-contempt.

If we compare the above mentioned views with the view of the B. G. regarding 'bhakti' we find that the 'bhakti' is the natural extension of the parental feeling which ought to exist between God and Man according to the B. G. It appears to us to be a complex psychological product as it combines parental affection with the moral sense of duty, tempered by religious stoicism which makes the 'bhakta' or devotee love his God unmindful of all reward. The image of God seems to be with the 'bhakta' his sole object of inspiration. Psychologically speaking it is a "fixed idea"[6] which by its omnipotent influence produces in the 'bhakta' a sort of analgesia or the disappearance of sensibility to physical pain. It is hard to say whether the Yogic culture prescribed in the B. G. which may deaden physical sensibility to an appreciable extent is a sign of barbarism or civilization. In treating of physical pain Ribot remarks: "susceptibility to pain increases with civilization; what is called stoicism should often be called a feeble degree of sensibility."[7]

1 Psychology of Emotions, p. 281.
2 *Ibid.*, p 431
3 *Ibid*, p. 430
4 *Ibid*, p. 315
5 Types of Ethical Theory, Vol. II, p 324
6 Emotions and the Will, p 392, foot note Dr Bain thinks that "under a strong emotion of any kind the object of the feeling will become a fixed idea".
7 Psychology of Emotions, p 36

We have already remarked that in the B. G. the emotional part of man is subordinated to his rational part and as a natural corollary to this statement we have cited verse 10 of B. G., Chapter X, where 'buddhi-yoga' is said to be a means of reaching God. It will thus be seen that the 'bhakti' as enjoined in the B. G. is not mere blind adoration of God but is a rational one. Let us now see what the nature of this 'bhakti' is. It must be 'avyabhicāriṇī' *i.e.* unflinching (XIII, 11). Men resorting to 'bhakti-yoga' are fit for being identified with 'bramhan' (XIV, 26). He, who knows God in his true character can alone love Him with his whole being (XV, 19). There are four classes of 'bhaktas' *viz.*, (1) 'ārta' or the suffering; (2) 'jijnāsu' or the seeker for knowledge; (3) 'arthārthī' or the self-interested; and (4) the 'jnāni' or the wise (VII, 130). Of these four types of devotees (bhaktas), the 'jnāni' or the wise who is 'eka-bhakti' *i.e.*, worshipper of one God is preferred (VII, 14). It is by 'bhakti' towards one God that man can perceive God, see Him in his essence and enter into Him (XI, 54). Further, the desired steadfastness of 'bhakti' can be attained by purity of deeds (VII, 28). Constancy in devotion and adoration is again prescribed in XII, 1 and IX, 14.

The supreme devotion (parā bhakti) is that of a person who is 'bramha-bhūta' (XVIII, 54). Just as knowledge strengthens 'bhakti' so 'bhakti' in its turn enables one to know God in his essence (XVIII, 55). In XVIII, 65, the devotee is asked completely to submerge his personality in that of God. He, who will put all the devotees in possession of the secret of 'bhakti-yoga' and will himself show the highest 'bhakti' towards God is sure to reach Him (XVIII, 68). Every one in this world gets mead for his devotion according to his light and so the devotees of God are united to Him (VII, 23). The humanization of God is apparent from IX, 26, where God says that he accepts everything offered to Him, if it is offered with devotion (IX, 26).

There is again to be seen reciprocity in love or devotion. Faithful devotees of God are loved by God with all heart (XII, 20). He who reveals the secret of 'bhakti-yoga' to God's devotees is most dear to Him (XVII, 69). The patronizing attitude of God towards His devotees is contained in His assurance that they will never perish (IX, 31).

An analysis of the above passages will give us the following characteristics of the 'bhakti' of the B. G. :—

(1) It must be directed to one object;
(2) It is a means of the identification of the individual with the 'bramhan' or the Absolute.
(3) The knowledge of the object of 'bhakti' is a factor which is essential for its deepening and perfection.

(4) Complete or full knowledge of the object of 'bhakti' is not, however, possible without 'bhakti' itself.
(5) The constancy or steadfastness of 'bhakti' is facilitated by purity of action.
(6) The acme of 'bhakti' lies in the identification of the individual with the 'bramhan'.
(7) Reciprocity in 'bhakti' between the individual and the object of 'bhakti' is also necessary for the development of 'bhakti'.
(8) Perfection in 'bhakti' leads to immortality.

It is clear from these characteristics that the 'bhakti' of the B. G. has no other motive than the union of the devotee with God. It is 'niṣkāma' or motive-less in the sense that it has no material motive to serve. Psychologically it has a motive, *viz.*, the union of the devotee with the object of his devotion and this motive disappears as soon as the self-surrender of the devotee and the consequent union with God is complete. Knowledge is a factor which contributes towards such union in an effective manner, though it cannot be regarded as a necessary antecedent. To begin with, the devotee and his God stand on extremely unequal planes. As the strength of devotion increases God comes down from His high pedestal and is thus humanized. At the same time the divine element in Man being at its height there is now complete communion between the two, on account of the reciprocity of feelings.

According to Spinoza * "Devotion is love towards him whom we admire or wonder at." He further explains that wonder arises out of novelty and if we often imagine that which we wonder at we shall cease to wonder and as a consequence devotion may easily degenerate into simple love. Apparently the 'bhakti' of the B. G. and the 'devotion' as defined by Spinoza are similar though not quite identical. Spinoza does not lay any emphasis on the element of 'reciprocity' as the B. G. does. The aim of the B. G. appears to be the mutual self-surrender of Man and God; while Spinoza may insist on the spiritual isolation of the object of devotion for maintaining the feeling of admiration which, he thinks, is essential for the very existence of devotion. The 'bhakti' of the B. G. seems to be meant for satisfying a spiritual need; it is in fact an ethical discipline at least to begin with, though the psychological element of 'pleasure or satisfaction' is not absent from it. This element arises as soon as the feeling of reciprocity springs up and the communion of Man with God is complete.

Mantegazza remarks in his work on "Physiognomy and Expression" that in devotion there is an instinctive tendency to lessen ourselves before a being, whom we feel, or whom we believe to be, greater or loftier than ourselves. †

---

* Ethics, (Boyle's Translation), p. 131.

† Physiognomy and Expression, 1904, p. 150.

He rightly remarks* that the basis of devotion and of veneration is always a feeling of affection. We are, therefore, not far from the truth if we include the 'bhakti' of the B. G. under the broader head of affection as we have done.

Darwin, who is the predecessor of Mantegazza in the field of expression of emotions, regards devotion as related to affection and remarks: "With some sects, both past and present, religion and love have been strangely combined." †

From the characteristics of 'bhakti' to be found in the B. G. and the comparison of the views of the psychologists pertaining to it, it will be seen that the B. G. does not look upon pleasure as a practical end for human conduct and consequently the 'bhakti' of the B. G. is more related to metaphysics than to ethics. It does begin in ethics and it is hard to dissociate the element of pleasure from it, but it ends in metaphysics when the 'bhakta' becomes identified with the 'brahman' and all his desires cease finally. We do not know if this psychic stage is to be regarded as indicating complete decay of effective life or complete control of the reason over the emotions.

(To be continued)

* Physiognomy and Expression, 1904, p 152
† Expression of Emotions, pp. 229, 230

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS.

No. III.—On Two Ætiological Myths about the Sky-Lark.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A.

Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University of Calcutta.

SOME ætiological myths not only account for the origin of natural phenomena, beasts, birds, trees, plants and the like, *but are also didactic in character.* That is to say, they also inculcate moral lessons. They show how the sins of avarice, deceitfulness, want of filial piety and undutifulness are punished by the Divinity who watches over the moral and spiritual welfare of mankind. These stories, therefore, indirectly teach the grand lesson that the aforementioned offences against morality should be strictly given a wide berth by men in the course of their earthly lives. This fact is evidenced by the two ætiological bird-myths about the evolution of the sky-lark, which we shall describe and discuss in this paper.

There are two species of sky-larks found in India, to which the Bengali and Hindi names *Bharata* and *Bharata Pakshī* are given. The first is the sky-lark of which the Zoological name is *Alauda arvensis* of Linnæus, and to which the Indian zoologist the late Rāi Bāhādur Rām Brāmha Sānyāl, C.M.Z.S., applied the aforesaid Bengali and Hindi names.* But the well-known ornithologist Mr. Eugene W. Oates does not mention the aforementioned vernacular synonyms as being applicable to this species.†

This species (*A. arvensis*) is found in India in the Himalayas where it breeds at elevations ranging from 8,000 to 10,000 feet. Its nests have also been met with in Kulu and Kashmir. It also inhabits Ceylon, North China, Siberia, Palestine, Egypt, Northern Africa, the British Islands and generally throughout Europe. Rāi Bāhādur R. B. Sānyāl says that the specimens of this species that were exhibited in his time in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, had all been obtained from the British Islands.

The second species is *Alauda gulgula*, Frankl. To this species, the Hindi name of *Bharata* has been given by Mr. Eugene W. Oates.‡ No specimens of this species have ever been exhibited in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens. It is for this reason that the Indian zoologist R. B. Sānyāl has

* *A Hand-Book of the Management of Animals in Captivity in Lower Bengal.* By Rām Brāmha Sānyāl, Calcutta. Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press. 1892, Page 220.

† *The Fauna of British India. Birds.*—Vol. II. By Eugene W. Oates. 1890. Pages 324 325.

‡ *Op. cit.*, (*Birds.*—*Vol. II*), page 326.

not noticed it in his *Hand-book of the Management of Animals in Captivity in Lower Bengal.* It is found in every part of the Indian Empire and Ceylon, except Tenasserim, south of Moulmein, and the middle ranges of the Himalayas where this lark is absent or comparatively rare. It has not been recorded either from the Andaman Islands or the Nicobar Islands.

This species, which is emphatically called the Indian sky-lark, breeds in all parts of India from April to June, and in Burma from December to April. It builds a nest which resembles that of *A. arvensis* and lays eggs which are closely similar to those of the latter, but are somewhat smaller in size. Its habits bear a striking similarity to those of its European congener (*A. arvensis*). It sings its song, which closely resembles that of the latter, in the same way while it wings its flight upwards. * During the cold weather, both the species *A. gulgula* and *A. arvensis* associate together in flocks. †

Curiously enough, both Rāi Bāhādur Rām Brāmha Sānyāl and Mr. Eugene W. Oates have not mentioned the Bengali synonym *Chātaka* of both the aforementioned species of sky-larks.

I shall now pass on to the narration and the discussion of the two ætiological myths about the origin of the sky-lark. The gentleman who has collected the first of these myths has not stated in which district of Bengal it is current. But the second one is current in a village named Brāhmaṇagāṅ in the district of Dacca in Eastern Bengal.

The first myth runs as follows :—A milkman used to adulterate milk with water, and to sell the same to his customers at an exorbitant price. In this way, he amassed great wealth. When he died, his ghost appeared before Yama, the god of death, who accused him of having acquired wealth by dishonest means, and threatened him with condign punishment. The milkman protested his own innocence. But, for the purpose of giving the lie to his protestations of innocence, Yama confronted him with the ghosts of those among his customers to whom he had sold the adulterated milk. The disembodied spirits of all these customers testified against the dishonest milkman whose guilt was proved to the very hilt in this way.

Thereupon the god of death pronounced the following sentence against the sinful and guilty milkman :—

"O dishonest and sinful milkman! You have mixed much water with

---

* The British poet P. B. Shelley is, therefore, zoologically correct when, addressing the sky-lark, he says

"Higher still and higher
From the earth thou springest
Like a cloud of fire,
The deep blue thou wingest,
And singing still dost soar, and soaring ever singest."

† *Op. cit.* (*Birds.—Vol. II*), Page 326

milk, and cheated your customers by selling the said watery milk to them at an exorbitant price. As punishment for your dishonesty, you will get very little water to drink, and even that little you will not get at all times of the year. You will get only rain-water to drink during the rainy season. You will not be able to quench your thirst with the water of tanks or rivers; nor will you get any water at all to drink during any other season of the year. You will have to fly about in the sky crying: 'O for a drop of pellucid rain-water: O for a drop of pellucid rain-water.'"

As soon as this sentence was pronounced, the ghost of the sinful milkman was metamorphosed into a sky-lark [(*Chātaka*) *Alanda arvensis* or *Alanda gulgula*] which flies about in the sky, crying: "*Fatikjal! Fatikjal!* (that is to say, O for a drop of pellucid water! O for a drop of pellucid water!)"

The second ætiological myth is as follows.—

Once upon a time, an old woman and her only son lived together. She used to maintain herself and her son by carrying on some insignificant trade. In course of time, she fell seriously ill and rapidly grew worse. While on her death-bed, she called for a drink of water from her son. But the latter, being deeply engaged in playing at that time, did not attend to his dying mother's request for a drink of water. Thus suffering from the pangs of thirst, his mother died.

Subsequently, in course of time, the son also died. When his disembodied ghost was tried by Yama, the god of death, the latter found him guilty of gross negligence of filial duty in not having supplied his dying mother with water, in consequence of which negligence she died.

The god of death, therefore, passed the following sentence against him:—

"O undutiful son! you will be re-born as a bird; and you will not be able to quench your thirst with any other water except rain-drops."

In this way, the old woman's son was metamorphosed into a sky-lark [(*Chātaka*) *Alanda arvensis* or *Alanda gulgula*] which flies about in the sky crying: "*Fatikjal! Fatikjal!* (that is to say, "O for a drop of pellucid water! O for a drop of pellucid water!")].†

From a study of the preceding two myths, we come to know that they have a two-fold purpose, namely,—

(1) That, in the first myth, the avaricious and deceitful milkman, and, in the second story, the undutiful and negligent son, are respectively punished

* *Vide* the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsī* (published from Calcutta) for Bhādra 1329 B. S. (August-September 1922 A.D.) PP. 707-708

† *Vide* the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsī* (published from Calcutta) for Āśvina 1329 B. S. (September October 1922 A.D.) PP 870.

for their sins by being metamorphosed into a sky-lark thirsting for drops of rain-water.

Shakespeare has very truly said: "He ten times pines that pines beholding food."

Modifying this dictum a little, we might as well as say:

"He ten times pines that pines beholding water."

We can, therefore, very well realize the severity of the punishment meted out to the sinful milkman and the undutiful son, when we recall to our minds the fact that, though in their sky-lark-forms, they come across water all round them, they are forbidden to quench their thirst by drinking even a single drop of the same.

These two ætiological myths, therefore, have a didactic purpose, namely, that of inculcating the moral lessons that men should not be avaricious and deceitful and that men ought to be dutiful and attentive to their parents, and that, if they commit these sins, they will meet with the same condign punishment as that with which the sinful milkman and the undutiful son had been punished.

(2) That these two myths also explain the origin of the sky-lark's plaintive cries of "*Fatikjal, Fatikjal*" or "O for a drop of pellucid water! O for a drop of pellucid water!"

In connection with the point (2) *supra*, we may state here that primitive men have fabricated similar myths or stories with a view to account for the origin of the cries of other birds and beasts, as will appear from the examples given below.

The Khasis of the Khasia Hills in Assam narrate an ætiological myth to explain why the doves coo. They say that, in ancient times, the doves used to sing. But, once upon a time, it came to pass that a lovely young female dove, that could sing, fell deeply in love with a young male wild bird of the species called Jylleit who, instead of marrying her, ultimately deserted her. Having been deserted by her lover whom she loved not wisely but too well, she ceased to sing and began to coo, in order to give vent to her feelings of sorrow. From that time forth, the doves have cooed.*

Then again, the Sāntāls, an aboriginal Dravidian tribe living in the Sāntāl Parganās of Bihār, narrate an ætiological myth to explain why the jackals utter their weird cry of "*Huqqā, Huqqā*". This story runs to the effect that, once upon a time, the jackal, by his craftiness, saved a wood-cutter from being killed by a tiger; that in order to express his gratitude to his benefactor—the jackal, the wood-cutter promised to reward the latter with the

* *Folk-Tales of the Khasis* By Mrs Rafy, London Macmillan & Co, Ltd., 1920 Pages 104-105

present of a *huqqā* or hubble-bubble for smoking, but that he went away without giving it, and that thereupon the disappointed jackal began to cry out: "*Koi hukā, hukā, hukā*" or "Where is the hubble-bubble? Where is the hubble-bubble? Where is the hubble-bubble?" Since that time, the jackals have uttered their weird cries of "*Huqqā, Huqqā*".*

In the course of our survey of the folklore of other parts of India, we have come across a South Indian bird-myth which closely resembles the Bengali one accounting for the transformation into a sky-lark, of the undutiful son who neglected to supply his dying mother with a drink of water. In the South Indian ætiological myth, it was a cowherd who refused to supply the sacred cow with a drink of water when she was thirsty. For this inhuman act, the god Vishnu punished him for evermore by metamorphosing him into a hornbill and provided his bird-form with a huge bill which would enable it to quench its thirst only by turning its head upwards whenever it would rain.†

The same method of punishing a bird by condemning it to quench its thirst by drinking rain-water only, was also meted out to the wood-pecker in a bird-myth which is current in France. It is stated therein that, at the time of the creation of the world, the task of excavating the seas, lakes and rivers, was assigned to the birds. But the wood-pecker alone refused to join in this work. For its indolence and disobedience, it was condemned to dig for ever the wood of trees with its bill. A further punishment was also meted out to it by condemning it to the effect that it would be able to quench its thirst only by drinking of the water of heaven. It is moreover believed that, for this reason only, the wood-pecker's head is so frequently turned upwards. ‡

---

* *Vide* the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsī* (published from Calcutta) for Jyaishtha 1329 B S. (May-June 1922 A.D.) Page 273

† *Vide* the article on *Bird-Mythology* in *The Calcutta Review* (No CCXXV) for July 1901 pages 72-73.

‡ *Op cit.*, pp 72-73

A GLARING PLAGIARISM IN KANNADA.

By Pandit K Varadachar.

The Karnâtaka Śabdânuśâsana, edited so far back as 1890 by Mr. B. L. Rice, late Director of Archæological Researches and Public Instruction in Mysore and Coorg, is a well known Sanskrit treatise on the grammar of the Kannada Language It consists of 592 Sûtras or Aphorisms divided in four Pâdas and treats of Sandhi, euphonic combinations of words, gender, words borrowed or derived from Sanskrit, declensions of nouns, formation of compounds, pronouns, conjugation of verbs and other grammatical matters. All this is done after the manner of Pânini's Sanskrit Grammar. A gloss called Bhâshâ-Manjarî and a commentary named Manjarî-Makaranda are added to elucidate obscurities in the aphorisms. There is nothing in the Sûtras indicating the name of their author. But in the second introductory verse of the elaborate commentary, however, the commentator states "I proceed to comment upon the Sûtras and the Gloss" and he calls them "Svopajna," his own device.

In the prose commentary on the introductory verse of the gloss, the commentator mentions his name and says (using his name as the subject of the verb "Nibhadhnâti","composes, in the third person) that having composed the aphorisms, Bhattâkaḷankadeva prays to Vardhamâna to enable him to tide over obstructions in his attempt to complete the gloss undertaken.

In the colophon of the work the commentator says that the commentary called Manjarî-Makaranda which he made on the Sûtras and the gloss of his own make came to completion on the morning of Thursday the fifth lunar day of the light half of Mâgha of the year, Shobhakrit, in Saka 1526, the moon being in the Revati constellation on that day. While the use of the word Bhattâkaḷankadeva as the subject of the verb "composes" in the third person in the commentary leads to the conclusion that the commentator on the Sûtras is quite different from Bhattâkaḷankadeva, the author of the gloss and the commentary; the statement made in the second introductory verse of the commentary and in the colophon, leaves no doubt that Bhaṭṭâkaḷankadeva himself is the author of the aphorisms, the gloss and the commentary. Accordingly setting aside the inference to be drawn from the use of the word Bhattâkalankadeva, in the third person to the contrary, scholars took him to be the author of the whole work and allowed it to pass on in his name. But Pandit Kânkânahalli Varadâchâr, teacher of Sanskrit and Kanarese in the Maharaja's College, Mysore, made extensive researches into the question

and published in 1922 a pamphlet in Kanarese showing how Bhattâkalanka-deva was a plagiarist and how, misunderstanding a number of aphorisms, he misapplied them and authorized the use of a few forms not recognized and approved of by other grammarians. As his learned pamphlet is in Kanarese, it seems to have failed to attract the notice of scholars. At his request, a brief summary of the reasons and arguments he has marshalled to prove the glaring plagiarism is given here in order to give publicity to his views on the question.

Aphorism 226 lays down the rule that the possessive case ending in "a", changed into "na" or "da" according to gender, should be added to a word used as subject or object of an abstract verbal noun ending with a verbal affix signifying action (krit). Examples :—Devadattana ghatada mâlke, Devadatta's manufacture of a pot; Devadattana iravu, Devadatta's being. Here "mâlke" and "iravu" are abstract verbal nouns. Ghata is the object of manufacture and Devadatta is the subject of "being". Hence the words are used in the possessive case. But here the commentator questions why the qualifying epithet "Kriti", 'ending with a verbal affix' is used when the word 'bhâva', an abstract verbal noun, implies the same idea without that epithet. Discussing the question from various standpoints he replies that the epithet is after all useless.

If the commentator himself had been the author of the aphorism he would not have inserted the unnecessary epithet in the aphorism and even if he had inserted it first, he would have removed it later, while writing the commentary, avoiding thereby the trouble of voluntarily soiling the leg first and then of washing it.

Again Sûtra 461 lays down the rule that verbs ending in "Ay" may or may not have "Ay" changed into "O" when negation (Pratishedha) is implied. Example :—'Dehamanidanetu nichchatam nambidapay' or 'nambidapo'. how dost thou believe this body to be permanent ? Do not believe so, is what is meant. Commenting upon this aphorism, the commentator says as follows :—"Here some commentators take the word "pratishedha" (negation) from the previous aphorism and explain it as it has been explained above. That the author of the gloss is of the same opinion is implied, inasmuch as he says that 'Pratishedha' is not taken along with the next Sûtra (*i.e.*, 462). Still there are others who are against this view. Hence the optional change of 'Ay' into 'O' may be effected with or without the implication of negation."

If the commentator himself had been the author of the Sûtras, he would have clearly stated whether the word Pratishedha (negation) should be taken along with the sûtra or not. His reference to the view of other commentators on the Sûtra clearly implies that among other commentators he himself was

one and that like other commentators he was also in the dark as to what the author of the Sûtras really meant. He also refers to the author of the gloss (Vrittikâra) as a person quite different from himself. The commentator says that the word 'pratishedha' may or may not be taken along with the Sûtra, thereby placing himself at the head of a third school of Kannaḍa Grammarians.

Again Sûtra 500 lays down the rule that the syllable "Gu" in Pôgu and Âgu should be dropped when an affix beginning with "d" or the affix 'ittu' is added to the roots. Examples:—Pogu+dam = Podam ; Pogu+ittu = Poyittu. Here the commentator first takes "dittau" as a compound word d+ittu ending in the locative singular. Then he says that the reading may be dittau when it can be split as di+ittau making thereby two words each ending in the locative singular.

When the commentator says that the reading of the aphorism may be dittau, it may be asked "whose reading is it, the author's reading, or the traditional reading handed down from teacher to teacher?" If it were his own reading why should he then take the trouble of explaining the Sûtra with a difficult reading? From this it will be clear that the commentator was doubtful about the original reading of the Sûtra and that there being nothing to fix the reading he was obliged to explain it with both the readings.

Again Sûtra 533 lays down the rule that from Sanskrit verbal nouns ending in the affix 'lyut' signifying the root-meaning, may be derived Kannaḍa verbs in the active voice by adding the affix isup (isu) and by dropping the final syllable of the nouns, with the exception of the nouns classed under Śayana and other similar words. Examples :—pachana = pachisu, rakshaṇa = rakshisu.

In the commentary on this Sûtra the commentator says in connection with some discussion, which is unnecessary to notice here, that the author of the Sûtras strictly followed the method of Pâṇini in framing the grammar; and raising the question "How is it ascertained that Pâṇini's method alone is followed here by the author of the Sûtras?" replies that it is ascertained by the use of the word 'lyut'—a verbal suffix which no other Sanskrit grammarian ever used in his system.

Here also it can be clearly seen that if the commentator had himself framed the Sûtras also, the above question would not have arisen up at all or he would have stated clearly that he had followed Pâṇini alone.

Again in giving the meaning of the last word "anu" of the closing of Sûtra 592 of Śabdânuśâsana the commentator says that the word "anu" is an indeclinable particle signifying prosperity and is used by the author of the Sûtras at the close for the success of his work. Accordingly there is a saying as follows :— "Words such as 'Om, atha, anu, alam, ut, su, upa, sam, pra

and other indeclinable particles signify not only gods, but also well-being, success and other auspicious things. Hence seeing the Śâstrakâra's prayer for success as indicated by his use of 'anu' at the end of the work, the author of the "Vritti" also following the author of the Sûtras shows in the same way his own prayer for success by using the word 'mechchidam', "admired', at the close of the gloss"

Here the mention of the author of the gloss as a person different from the Sûtrakâra is too clear to doubt.

Apart from these direct implications of difference between the author of the Sûtras and that of the gloss on the one hand, and of the difference between the Sûtrakâra and the commentator on the other, there are also other points which go to show that the commentator was not only not the author of the Sûtras, the framing of which requires a thorough mastery of the Kannaḍa literature known at the time, but an ordinary student of Kanarese not thoroughly acquainted with the best and most famous literary works of his times. This is clear from the commentary which he makes on Sûtra 278 contradicting the statement made by him in his commentary on Sûtra 19. In the commentary on the latter Sûtra defining indeclinable words he classes 'andu' and 'indu' among them. But in his commentary on Sûtra 278, he follows the gloss and subjects the very words to declension.

That the commentator is not the author of the Sûtras is still more clearly proved by the commentator's misreading of Sûtra 187. The commentator reads it as "Uksâmânye" and comments upon it saying that the word 'maga' in common gender will have the affix 'u' and gives 'magu' as its example. Here he does not explain how the vowel 'a' after 'g' and before 'u' in Maga is eliminated. There is no rule under which to eliminate it. If 'magu' is to be formed, 'u' should be taken as an 'adesa', *i.e.*, a substitute replacing the final vowel in 'maga'. Hence he should have read the Sûtra as 'Utsamanye' when 't' denotes not merely a short vowel, but also a substitute replacing a final vowel, in "maga'. The presence of 'k' in Uk is indicative of an affix, but not a substitute.

That the commentator did not grasp the intention of the author of the Sûtras is corroborated by the misinterpretation which he makes of the next Sûtra 188. In the Sûtra it is laid down that the last syllable of the word 'maga' in common gender, plural, should be replaced by the substitute "Kkal". Thus ma+ga=ma+kkal (plural=makkal). But the commentator takes 'kkal' as an affix and says that it is added to the final syllable of 'maga'. According to this interpretation the form would be ma-ga-kkal which is wrong.

That the commentator did not understand the application of the Sûtras is also clearly shown by the explanation of the examples given under Sûtra 84.

In this Sutra it is laid down that the roots ending in ṛu and du have their final syllables ṛu and ḍu replaced by ṛ and ḷ when they are followed by an affix beginning with a consonant. The examples given are Torke, Torkum, Mâlke and Mâlkum. In explaining the formation of the examples, the commentator says that Toru and mâḍu are the roots and that when the affix 'ge' in desiderative sense or the affix 'gum' in present, past or future indicative is added, 'g' is replaced by 'k' according to Sûtra 472 and in accordance with this Sûtra ru and ḍu are replaced by ṛ and ḷ.

Now the question is whether ṛu and ḍu are changed into ṛ and ḷ before or after 'g' is changed into 'k'.

Sûtra 472 lays down that 'g' is changed into 'k' only when the roots end in 'r' and 'l' implying thereby that ṛu and ḍu must be changed into 'r' and 'l' before 'g' is changed into 'k', here.

Now in these examples ṛu and ḍu can be changed into 'r' and 'l' in accordance with the special Sûtra 85 which lays down that the above change is effected before an affix beginning with 'g'. It follows therefore that the commentator is quite wrong in giving these examples under the Sûtra 84, since the formation of these examples can as well be explained by the next Sûtra 85.

The author of the gloss (vritti) who is perhaps the same as the commentator seems to think that in these examples ru and ḍu are changed into 'r' and 'ḷ' after 'g' is changed into 'k' Accordingly questioning why in the Sûtra 85 the affixes are restricted only to those which begin with 'g' the commentator says that if the restriction were removed the optional change of ṛu and ḍu into 'r' and 'l' before an affix beginning with any consonant would also happen in Mâlkum and Torke, where the author assumed the affixes to begin with 'k'. But this is quite wrong, for there is no possibility of affixes 'kum' and 'ke' being preceded by ṛu and ḍu, since by rule 472 'g' is changed into 'k' only after ṛu and du are changed into 'r' and 'l'. It follows therefore that the commentator has not clearly understood the application of this and the next Sûtra.

The correct examples of this rule (84) are however those which are formed with affixes beginning with 'k' and other consonants, but not with 'g'. For example, Nadu+kal etc., (233) malpudarke etc., (266) and torke etc., (abstract noun 559).

With regard to the last example it should be noted that it is formed from Toru by adding 'ke' and changing 'ru' into 'r' in accordance with the Sûtra (84). Not understanding this, Bhattâkalankadeva has gone so far as to take it as a verb with a desiderative affix 'ge'. The impossibility of changing 'g' into 'k' without first changing 'ru' into 'r' in this case, has already been pointed

out above. Also it should be noted that the form of the example given below Sûtra 84 is toru+ke, but not toru+ge It is likely that toru+ke was given as the example of the Sûtra either by the author of the Sûtras or by some one else. Surely Bhattâkaḷankadeva could not rightly explain it.

Again in Sûtra 233 it is laid down that to 'Nâḍu' and other classified words is added the affix 'kal' in the plural. Here in the example Nâḍu+kal, the commentator says that according to rule 82 'ḍu' is changed into 'l' forming 'nalkal'. But this is wrong. For the change made by rule 82 is optional in the opinion of the commentator himself and therefore 'nâḍukal' would also be another form, which is ungrammatical To avoid this the commentator should have applied Sûtra 84 which is not at all optional. It follows therefore, that the commentator has not at all understood the real application of the Sûtras and is thereby led to commit blunders which would not occur if the Sûtras were correctly understood and rightly applied. Hence it may be concluded that he is not the author of the Sûtras. It may be presumed for reasons cited above that having chanced to come across a Kannaḍa grammar in the form of Sûtras with a brief gloss on the same with no mention of the name of the author or authors, Bhattâkaḷankadeva has passed the work in his own name with a commentary of his own. In commenting upon the Sûtras he seems to have enlarged also the gloss, misinterpreting the original examples and adding wrong forms to those given in the original brief gloss.

DICE-PLAY ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE WHITE HALF OF THE MONTH, KARTIKA.

BY DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY, B.A., PH.D.

THE religious observances to be performed on this day are thus enumerated in the Dharmabdhisara:—

(1) Worship of Bali, a legendary Asura, emperor of India.
(2) Illumination.
(3) Sports of bulls and cows (go-kridana).
(4) The worship of the mountain, Govardhana.
(5) Construction of ornamental arches on roads (Margapali-bandhana).
(6) Drawing up of poles (Yashtikakarshana)
(7) Wearing new garments.
(8) Dice-play.
(9) Perambulation of light by women.
(10) Putting on flower garlands and the like.

On the morning of this day all should play at dice and whoever wins the stakes will be successful throughout the year.

The special feature of this day consists in dining in company with the best Brahmans.

The Nirnayasindhu says.—

In the morning of this day all should play at dice and whoever wins the stakes will gain throughout the year and whoever fails will lose throughout the year. All should delightfully spend the night with their wives.

In the eighty-eighth chapter of the Kasikhanda Agastya says:—

"Tell me, O god of six faces, what Narada did after arriving at the abode of Siva: the story is delightful."

Then Skanda said:—

"Listen, O pot-born: I tell you of what Narada did after going to Kailasa. Having reached the abode of Siva through his aerial flight, Narada saluted Siva and his consort, and after being greeted by them, he sat on a seat shown by Siva. Becoming very eager to explain the nature of the dice-play, at which the divine couple were engaged with no tiresome feeling, Narada said:—

"O God of gods, the whole Universe is the field of thy play. What the

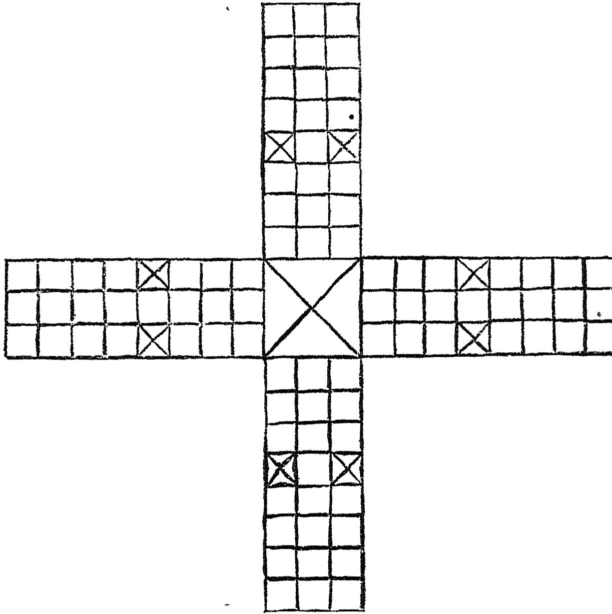
twelve months are in the year the twelve dice-men are on the board. The black and white lunar days numbering twice fifteen in a month are the divisions marked on the board; the two dice are the two solstices (Ayana) of the year: the two stakes, success and failure, are creation and destruction. The success of the goddess is creation, and that of Siva is absence of creation. The time of your play is what is called progressive stage (sthiti). Thus the whole world is a play, pure and simple, of the divine couple, neither does the goddess conquer her husband, nor the husband his consort. Understand, O Mother, what I am going to submit to thee—Though he is an omniscient lord, God Siva can understand nothing, inasmuch as he is placed beyond respect and disrespect: his very nature is play and is devoid of all qualities, if considered well. Though he is always active, he is not tainted with what he does. Though he is the centre of all, he is the support of all." '

In the eighty-fifth chapter of the Sabhaparva of the Mahabharata Sakuni says addressing Duryodhana:—

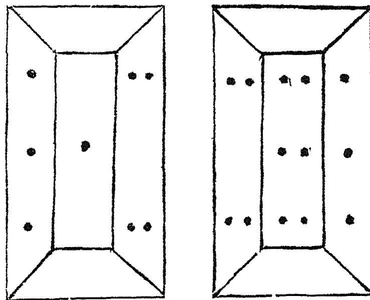
"You have just seen the best woman as beautiful as the goddess of wealth. Listen to what I say about the means of securing her. I am an expert in dice-play. I know its secrets and the way of winning the stakes. Kunti's son does not know it, though he is fond of the play. If he is invited for the play, he will never hesitate to come." This is what is told in the Maharajavijaya:—

What is required for the dice-play is:— (1) the dice, (2) a board or a piece of cloth with places marked for dice-men, and (3) dice-men. The two dice that are to be rolled on the ground are in reality to be marked with sixteen (dots) on four sides of each. These colour marks are those of the so-called elements, except the sky Their colours are:—the sky is white, the atmosphere is black; the fire is red, water is white, and the earth is yellow. Here the wind and the fire are friendly, and the earth and water are also friendly. The dice-board or piece of cloth (vadhra) is like a lotus flower of four petals and contains four petals, each petal being divided into three strips containing eight square divisions, and is to be considered as nature (Prakriti). The latter (the petal) is also divided into eight parts, as the earth, water, fire, wind, sky, mind, intelligence, and the ego. All these eight parts are of three different forms owing to the three qualities, Satva, Rajas and Tamas. Thus each petal contains twenty-four divisions. The two dice are each marked on each of their four sides with six, three, one (like-half moon), and four resembling the elements.

The sky is represented by a circle, the atmosphere by six dots, a triangle with a Svastika inside represents the fire; a lotus with a figure like the half moon indicates water, and a square with the symbol of Vajra, a weapon, symbolises the earth.



DICE-BOARD.



DICE, two, only one with its obverse and reverse is shown here.

SOME PROBLEMS OF INDIAN HISTORY.

By K. G. Śankara, Esq., B.A., B.L.

I.—The Name Venad.

Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar tries (*J.R.A.S.* 1922, p. 165) to derive Vēṇāḍ from Vēṇ.

His reasons are :—(1) The Vēḷs ruled in other places, besides South Travancore, (2) the Tamizh grammars call the land Vēṇ.

But the name Vēṇāḍ came into use only after the Sangham age, when their rule had ceased outside Travancore, and the Tamizh grammars give in mistaken *sandhi* வேண்பூழி, which should be split up into only வேள்+பூழி, as வேண் has no meaning.

Thus Vēṇāḍ derives its name from the Āy-vēḷ of the Vēḷvikuḍi plates (*Mythic Journal*, xiii : 455-6).

II.—The Date of Mandalapurusha.

Mr. M. Rāghava Ayyangār tries (*M. J.*, xiii : 487-93) to disprove the accepted date—*c.* 900 A.C.—of the *Chūḍāmaṇi Nighaṇṭu*.

The accepted date is based on the author's own statement that he was a pupil of Guṇabhadra of the *Mahāpurāna*, and a protègé of Krshnarāya, who is identified with the Rāshtrakūta Kishṇa II, another pupil of Guṇabhadra

Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār says that திருப்புகழ் புராணஞ் செய்தோன் should be applied, not to Gunabhadra but to the author himself, as, otherwise, no epithet would be left for him. But we do not know of any other work of Manḍala, and it seems that is why he takes such pains to make out his guru's greatness, that thereby some of his guru's fame might be reflected on himself.

Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār also argues that the author's guru was versed only in Tamizh, and so could not be the Guṇabhadra of the *Mahāpurāna*. But there is no evidence for such an assertion.

Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār then argues that the author omits to mention the Chālukyas and Rāshtrakūtas, and so could not have lived in the 9th century A.C. But he omits the Vijayanagar kings also, to whose period Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār assigns him. The omission may be due to the facts that they were not then rulers of Tamizh lands, and that the Chāḷukyas had then lost power. Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār suggests that Manḍala's line கேழல் வேழப் பதாகையும் புலவருக்கே might have been due to a misreading of கேழல் வேள் புலவரசர் கொடியே in *Divākaram* as கேழல் வேழம் புலவா கொடியே. This is ingenious, but how did he get வேழம் for வேள், and why did he omit சர் in வேள் புலவரசர் ?

Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār sees a reference to the யாப்பருங் கலக்காரிகை in the author's mention of காரிகை as a work. This may be admitted, though that was not the only Tamizh or Samskrt work in that kind of composition. But its date is uncertain.

Another argument is that the work mentions Bhāskara's astronomy of 1150 A.C. But there was an earlier astronomer Bhāskara of c. 900 A.C., whom Alberūni mentions (Weber: *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 261-2), and the system mentioned might have been his.

It is also argued that the patron Sōma, mentioned in the work, should be the one who lived in the 12th century A.C. But the name is so common, that no safe inference can be drawn therefrom.

Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār also relies upon the use of modern words, and unchanged Samskrt words. But these can give no definite date.

Lastly, Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār tries to prove the existence of a Guṇabhadra in the 16th century A.C. But his only authority is an admittedly modern work, which, besides, places Guṇabhadra in the reign of a Vishṇudēvarāya, not Krishṇadēvarāya, and not later than the 14th century A.C., instead of in the 16th century A.C. Thus the accepted date need not be given up.

III.—The Use of Solar Signs in India.

It has been argued (*M. J.*, xiii: 511-6) that the solar signs in India are not of Greek origin, but were either borrowed from the Chaldæans, or invented in India. The arguments deserve consideration.

The first argument is that Ptolemy assigns a Chaldæan origin to the Balance. But the Chaldæans, though they might have invented it, did not use it before the first century B.C., and the argument only proves that the Hindus might have borrowed the solar signs direct from the Chaldæans, not that they in fact did so. Besides the proof of commercial intercourse between Chaldæa and India in ancient times, is no proof of a Chaldæan origin of the Indian signs, as exchange of scientific knowledge need not go with an exchange of commodities, and as the Chaldæans themselves used the Balance, if at all, only much later in the first century B.C.

The next argument is that Sunday was the first day of the Jewish week from the time of their exodus. But the Jewish week-days had no planetary names It is significant that the Chaldæans also did not use them. Thus a Greek origin is inevitable, as independent origins are impossible for such a conventional scheme. It is suggested that the Hindus might have chosen Sunday as the first day of the week, because of the sun's prominence among the planets. But our earliest extant authorities Āryabhata (499 A.C. कालक्रियापाद 15-16) and Varāhamihira (505 A.C. पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका

xiii : 39 and 42), in their rule for determining the order of planetary week-day names, arrange the planets in the descending order of their distances from the sun, and not of their prominence, and they make no exception even in favour of the sun. So the Hindus must have adopted Sunday as the first day, only because it was so among the Greeks, from whom they borrowed their planetary astronomy. Constantine might have only given his support to the existing Christian usage, but this has no bearing on the question as to when the Hindus borrowed their planetary astronomy, and from whom. We are then referred to the use of the planetary names of the week-days in the *Hitōpadēśa*, *Vaikhānasa Sūtra*, *Bōdhāyana Srauta Sūtra* and the *Matsya Purāna*. But the former is a very late work and the dates of the others are still undetermined. There is, besides, the question of interpolation, which is referred to light-heartedly, as if it were a strange or unknown phenomenon in Indian literature. I have discussed these data in a paper criticising the *Date of Śilappadhikāram* in this Journal.

The paper frequently cites the bare opinions of other scholars in support of its views. But mere opinions, though certainly they deserve consideration, can never be a substitute for reasoning, and, if historical problems were allowed, like questions of law, to be decided by merely balancing the conflicting views of judges, it will forfeit all claim to be regarded as a branch of scientific study. It is also added that 'patriotic' need not mean 'unscientific'. True, but it is no essential part of patriotism to make unreal or even extravagant claims for one's own nation. We must pursue truth alone, wherever it should lead us.

An Indian origin is suggested for the planetary names of week-days, by substituting the 60 ghatikas division of a day for the 24 hours division as the basis of the scheme. But Āryabhata and Varāhamihira distinctly mention the 24 hours division as the true basis. Kālidāsa is cited as proof of the early use of the 24 hours division in India, but he lived only in *c*. 500 A.C., after the planetary astronomy had been borrowed.

We are finally referred to a common feature peculiar to the Chaldæan and the Indian day, the reckoning from sunrise to sunrise. But Āryabhata, who, in one place, reckons thus, in another reckons from midnight to midnight and there was a third school in India, who reckoned from sunset to sunset (पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका xv : 20).

I may now state briefly the facts which establish the Greek origin of the Hindu planetary astronomy beyond all reasonable doubt. The Hindu signs always included the Balance as a distinct sign, and this was first known to Geminus and Varro in *c*. 100 B.C. (पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका vii : 4). They were always Aśvinyādi and so could not date before *c*. 400 A.C. A pre-Aśvinyādi ecliptic

in India is impossible, as the Hindus knew the phenomenon of precession only from the time of Manjala (662 A.C.). The Hindu planetary astronomy and horary astrology follow the system of Paulus Alexandrinus (380A.C.). The Hindu week begins with Sunday, like the Christian week. In the pre-Greek days, the Hindus used weeks of only 5 or 6 days. Varāha not only mentions many astronomical terms by their Greek names, but says that the system of Pulisa, who lived not very long before Varāha's time (नातिचिर पञ्च i : 10) was one of the earliest systems of planetary astronomy known in India. The Paulisa system was expounded by Pulisa to Garga (*ibid.*, ix : 6-19). Yavanapura, the meridian of the Paulisa system, must, from its longitude, be Alexandria of the Greeks (*ibid.*, iii · 13). The names Pulisa and Yavanapura, and the meridian Alexandria confirm the view that the Hindus borrowed their planetary astronomy and horary astrology from Paulus Alexandrinus. His date 380 A.C. is नातिचिर from Varāha's time. The *Mahābhārata* (Gadā P., Sarasvatī Upākhyāna) says that Vrddha Garga was the first in India to determine the planetary motions and anomalies. and thereby enlarge the scope of Hindu astronomy Perhaps he himself confesses his indebtedness to the Greeks in astronomy (*Brhat Samhitā* ii : 15). All these confirm the inference that planetary astronomy was introduced in India by Pulisa through Garga. The evidence is thus conclusive that Gaiga was the first to introduce planetary astronomy in India, that the system thus introduced was that of Paulus, an Alexandrian Greek, and that any Indian work, indicating the use of planetary astronomy, cannot date before 400 A.C. Incidentally, the date of Garga has also been fixed as *c.* 400 A.C. The Yavanāchārya also, who is frequently mentioned in Hindu astronomical works, must be Paulus Alexandrinus.*

IV.—The Date of the Paripadal.

The *Paripādal* is admittedly a sangham work. The fixing of its date, therefore, involves the fixing of the Sangham age, which has been variously dated between the 2nd and 8th centuries A.C. Mr. L. D. Svāmikannu Pillai has now succeeded in doing so. The eleventh *Paripādal* gives a planetary conjunction at the beginning of a certain rainy season. On a day of lunar eclipse at dawn, Mars was in Mēsha, Venus in Rshabha, Mercury in Mithuna. Jupiter in Mīna, and Saturn near வில்லில் கடைமகரம் Krittikā was also high up. Till now, வில்லில் கடைமகரமேவ has been taken to indicate Makara, and அங்கியுயர் நிற்ப to mean that Krittikā was in the zenith. It was inferred also that the sun must have been in Simha. A critic pointed out that, in that case, Venus and Mercury would be in the fourth and third houses from the sun,

* *Note* —I have since found reasons to change the date to *c.* 170 A.C. as will be shown in my pape on *The Gupta Era*

which is impossible, as their maximum distances from the sun are 48° and 26°. Thus interpreted, the combination, as Dr. Jacobi kindly informed me, and as I myself have verified, becomes impossible. Mr Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai has solved the difficulty by suggesting that உபா need not mean the zenith, but only high up, and that இறையமன் வில்லிர கடையமகரமேவ may mean that Saturn was actually in Dhanus and only nearing Makara. If this is accepted, the sun need not be in Simha, and the positions of Venus and Mercury become possible. We need not also charge the author with ignorance of astronomy, or inventing an impossible combination. We have only to give up Parimēlazhahar's commentary, but that his astronomy is not infallible is clear, as he places Śravishthā in Makara, instead of Kumbha: though he too evidently accepts the Mēshadi ecliptic. There is only one date between 1 and 650 A.C. that satisfies all the data given, and it is the 17th June 634 A.C. On that day of lunar eclipse, Āshāḍha śukla 15, the moon was, at dawn in 266°, Mars in 17°, Venus in 42°, Mercury in 70°, Sun in 86°, Saturn in 257°, and Jupiter in 341°. Thus the *Paripāḍal* was composed in *c.* 634 A.C., and the Sangham age must date 500 to 650 A.C. All other conflicting data must be either given up, or suitably interpreted, as only astronomy can give definite dates. I have already proved that any Indian work using planetary astronomy must date after *c.* 400 A.C., and this date is quite consistent with that result. I may also note that it proves that, in the 7th century A.C., the Tamizh people calculated the planetary motions, either by direct observation, or by the actual, and not mean, motions of the planets.*

---

* We may, indeed infer that the poet wrote from actual observation, as he mentions the position of Agastya, and this fact precludes the possibility of his having followed authorities, older than Varāha, who mention such impossible combinations, as the one made out by the commentator

THE KOTRANKUDI PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN II.

BY T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, ESQ

KOTRANKUDI is a small village, some five miles from Tirutthiraipūṇḍi Junction in Tanjore District Some thirty-five years ago a farmer while digging his field happened to unearth this set of copper plates. It is said that his master procured it and after passing through many hands it came to the house of Mr. T. V. Sadāśiva Paṇḍārathār, Tamil Pandit. Bānādurai High School, Kumbakōṇam. The existence of these plates was brought to my notice early in 1919 and they reached my hands actually in 1920 Till then they were quite unknown to the historical world. When they reached me the ring was uncut, which I cut afterwards with the permission of the Paṇḍārathār. and the depressions of the letters were full of compressed sand and mud. At first I was unable to make out anything as I was then only studying paleography and as the plates were not cleaned properly for reading. Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry was kind enough to get ink-impressions of them and Mr. K. G. Śankara Ayyar Avl, B.A., B.L. corroborated my reading with the plates. To these two gentlemen I owe my sincere thanks.

The set consists of five plates with eight pages of written matter, the outer faces of the first and last being completely blank. The first and last plates are a little larger than the rest and this gives to the set the appearance of a book. The plates measure about 9¾ to 9 9/10 and 3½ to 3⅝ inches. Their edges are raised into rims for the protection of the writing which is in very good preservation. The ring which holds them together is oval-shaped. Its ends are soldered into the mouths of fabulous animals, *makharas*. whose heads emerge from a circular seal which has no bas-relief or inscription on it.

These plates have 60 lines, lines 1-22 being in Samskrita verses, and lines 22-60 in Tamiḷ prose, written in the Pallava-Grantha characters as in the Taṇḍanthōttam plates.

They begin with an invocation to Vishṇu (ll. 1-5) and then give the usual genealogy from Bṛahmā, the descendant of Vishnu to Pallava as follows :- Bṛahmā, Angiras, Bṛihaspathi, Śamyu. Baradvājā, Drōṇa (the champion of archery), Drouṇi (Aśvathāma the *Vîra*), and Pallava who is the dynasty founder (ll. 5-8). " After Vìra-kūrcha and others passed away enjoying the Kingdom, came *King* Hiraṇyavarman.' This shows that Vírakūrcha is an important king of the Pallava dynasty which is corroborated by the Vēlūrpālayam plates that he is the founder of the Pallava Empire at Kāñchí.

We are to infer that Hiraṇyavarman was a king of the Pallava empire

for some time. But we do not know, as far as the published records are concerned, of such a personage. Is it possible as the Departmental people think to identify this Hiraṇyavarman with Danti or is he the father of Nandi II, spoken of in the inscription of Vaikunthaperumāl Kōil of Kāñchí (G.O. No. 492, 2nd July 1906, Page 61), as the late Mr. T. A. Gōpinātha Rao and Prof. Dubreuil think?

Hiraṇyavarman was succeeded by his son, the emperor Nandivarman. He became king while yet young, defeating all foes. It is noteworthy that the present plates contain, as the other plates of his reign, no account of the political aspect of his reign. The Udayēndram grant only mentions the military exploits of a king named Nandi who certainly preceded Danti. He is wrongly identified with Nandi II who followed immediately after Paramēś-vara of the Simhavishṇu dynasty But all materials are against this identification.

The grant was made at the request of the chieftain of Mangaḷa-Nāḍu. Its capital is probably the same Maṅgaḷapurā in which Mahāratha was defeated by the Pāṇḍya king Śadaiyan (The Vēlvikuḍi plates ll. 62-70). Mr. K. G. Śaṅkara Ayyar thinks it to be Mangalore on the west coast, as the term *Mānagar* (the great city) is applied to it. Mahāratha has been identified with the Chalukyan and we do not know that an invasion over South India has taken place along the West coast. On the other hand, we have all the other places in which battles have taken place between the Chalukyas and the Southern Chiefs, in the Chōla country. Is this the same city in which the Vaishṇavite Saint, Tirumaṅgai Alwar, lived a few years later?

The Tamiḻ portion is dated in the 61st year of Kōvijaya-Nandi-vikrama-varman. It is a grant for 16 velies of land 12 already granted in the 59th year, and the remaining 4 velies at the time of the grant, in the Kotraṅkuḍi village of Ārvalakūrṟam in Sōlanāttu-thenkarai. We know that Sōlanādu was then divided into two 'Thenkarai' and 'Vaḍakarai' by the river Kāvēri. Dr. S. Krishṇaswāmy Ayyangar argues that the term Kāvēri in those days denotes the present Coleroon (Early History of Vaishnavism in South India, page 83), while some others say it does not This is a point which requires some consideration.

The engraver was the son of Viḍēlviḍugu Pallava-peruṇthachan. The name was evidently adopted after the reigning king. Till now it was believ-ed that only the son of Danti and the Victor of Teḷḷāru used the title, and to suit this the history of Mutharaiyars was twisted by the late Mr. T. A. Gōpinātha Rao (The Journal of the South Indian Association, Vol. II, pages 1-30). But now we know that this title was borne even by Hiraṇya's son and this may to some extent modify their history

TEXT.

I Plate, Page 2.

(1) स्वस्ति श्री: ॥—श्रीयो भर्त्तुर्म्मूर्त्तिम्मरकतसमानैर्भुजशतैश्शयानस्यांभोधावुरसि [विल]

(2) सत्कौस्तुभरुचि: पय: पातुंसिन्धोर्ज्जलधरघटेवाप्सुपतिता तटित्युक्ता

(3) सान्नादिशतुभवता मंगलमसौ ॥– यन्मुक्तै: पदमुत्तमं यदचल यद्यापि यद्यो

(4) गिनान्ध्येयन्धारधियास्तुवन्ति यदलं त्रय्यासकृद्भूसुरा: आश्रात्यत्रिगुणात्रिवास्थि

(5) तिलयोत्पत्तिविधातुं गतभेद यत्स्वभिन्नमप्यवतु वस्तद्वस्तु विष्वम्मुख ॥— त्र

(6) ह्माभून्नरकारि नाभिकमलात्तस्मादभूदगिरास्तस्मा द्देवगुरुस्ततो मुनिवरश्शयु

(7) [र्भ]रद्वाजत: द्रोणस्तत्तनयादजायतधनु: प्रख्यातवीर्योरणे तस्माद्द्रौणिर

(8) वार्य्यावीर्य्यमहिमा तस्मादभूत्पल्लव: ॥— लक्ष्मी भुवौयत्कुलसंभवाना राज्ञासमाम

II Plate, Page 1.

(1) (व) [कल] त्रभावं सप्रत्यसाधारणता परेषा मासेदतु: पार्त्थिवमण्डलाना ॥— य

(2) दुर्जज्ञाना मवर्नापर्तानामात्मीकृतविश्वरिपून्विजित्य वस्तुप्रदायार्त्थिजनायभूय: कु

(3) लव्रत कीर्त्तिसमार्ज्जनंहि ॥— तद्वंश्यपुन्नृपपुसिन्धुरशनां समुज्य धात्रीन्निर भो

(4) क्तमुस्वर्ग्ग मुपस्थितेषु कृतिषु श्रीवीरकूर्च्चादिषु आसीत्तत्रहिरण्यवर्म्म नृपतिर्भू

(5) पालभर्त्तातातस्सर्वक्षत्रकिरीटघृष्ट चरणश्रीनन्दिवर्म्मा भवत् ॥— अदत्तप्रथित

(6) बलोयुवैवराज्यं प्रोत्खातस्फुरित कृपाणपाणिरेक: योहत्वासकलरिपून्वि

(7) जित्य भूयस्सन्नम्राक्षितिपति मौलि पादपीठ: ॥— धवळितककुभायदी कांत्या भुवनम

(8) भूत्सकल हतान्धकार रवितुहिनकरौतु सार्त्थकौस्त. कुमुदसरोरुह दीर्घिका[स]

II Plate, Page 2.

(1) प्रबोध्य ॥— यस्यवल्लभकलभ्रंकरला पाण्ड्यचोलकनुल गोगणादय: द्वारिवे

(2) शसमयाभि काङ्क्षिणीस्सेवितुन्निरवकाशमासते ॥— अत्यस्तरयवरन्तपो गुण

(3) निधिर्व्वीरोवरिष्ठ स्सताम्मान्योमानधनस्वकीर्त्ति विसरत्व्याप्ताखिलाशान्त(म) विप्राणाम

(4) ददाद्गुणाय नितरा विज्ञाप्यसस्वामिने यस्मिन्मगलराष्ट्र भत्रभिहित: ख्याताजग

(5) त्वान्धवे ॥— मगलजनपद भर्तुद्दत्त्र्यायपल्लवेन्द्रभ्रत्यस्य आथर्वणराजल

(6) धेराचन्द्रदिवाकर स्थेयात् ॥ *கோவிசைய நந்திவிக்கிரமபருமற்கு யாண்டு அறுபத்*

(7) *தொன்றாவது மங்கலநாடள்வான் விண்ணப்பத்தால் ஆலப்பாக்க விசைய நல்லூழானை*

(8) *ணத்தியாக [சோழநாட்டுத்] தென்கரை ஆர்வலக்கூற்றத்து நாட்டார் காண்க தங்கணாட்டு*

III Plate, Page 1.

1 *த்தனிக்கொற்றங்குடி வரையிற் சுற்று நாற்பதிற்று வேலியுள்ளும் பழம்பிரமதேய மிருபத்துநால்*

2 வேலி புமிக்கி ன்றபடி ஏறு வேலி புள்ளுபம் பண்டு அயம்பதம்தொன்றாவது மங்கல
3. நாடாள்வான் விணணப்பததால் அலப்பாக விசைய நல்லூரமாணைத்தியாக பெருமா
4. னைகளும் பிரமதேயமாக அருளிச்செய்த பன்னிருவேலியும் யாண்டு அறுபத்தொ
5 ன்றாவது மங்கல நாடாள்வான் விணணப்பத்தாலாலபாக்க விசைய நல்லூரமா
6 ணைத்தியாக அருளிச்செய்த நால்வேலியும் உள்ளிட்டு பதினறுவேலியும் ஊரக்கூ
7 டிபுள்ளிவழியாற் மனைபும மனைப்படப்பும் ஒழிவின்றிப்பிரமதேயமாகப்பணி

III Plate, Page 2.

1 த்தமைய நாட்டோர்க்க விட்டதிருமுகந் நாட்டார் தொழுது தலைக்குவைத தெல்லை
2 போய்ககலலுங கள்ளிபும நாட்டு படாகை வலஞ்செய்து நாட்டாரவிடுநதஅணை
3 போலபபடி ஊரக்கூறு புள்ளிவழியாற் பதினறுவேலிக்கும் நின்றமனையும் மனை
4. படபபும குளமுங கொட்டகாரமும உவரியும் ஊராமும் காடும் ஓடையும் நீரபூசி
5. நெடும்பாமபெரிநததூய உடும்போடியாமை தவழ்நதெல்லாம் கோவும் பொறிபு
6 ந்திரந்து குடிநீக்கி सामान्य இரணடு பட்டிப்படியாற் सर्वपरिहार பெற்ற ब्रह्मदे
7 य ங்யாயிற்று இவ்வூர்பெற்றபரி हार வட்டநாழியும் புதாநாழியும மன்றபாடும ஊரராட்சி

IV Plate, Page 1.

1. புமதரநங கூலியும் ஈழம் பூட்சியுமிடைம் பூட்சியும் நாங்காவலும ஊடுபோகரும
2 உபபுக்கோச செயகைபும் நல்லாவுக் நல்லெருதுந நெர்வாயமும் இவையுள்ளிட்டு
3. கோத்தொட்டுணணப்பால சென்றனம் எவ்வகைப்பட்டவும் உண்ணப்பெறுதா ராக(வு)ம்
4. பட்டததான மங்கல மென்னும் பேராற ब्रह्मदेय மாகபெற்ற நல்கூர்நல
5. ப்பார்பபார் गौ தமகோத்திரதது இர ण्य கேசிசூத்திரத்து நெற்குன்றதது நூ
6 மலித்த நாகூன भट्ट னுர் ||— जत्व கரணகோத்திரத்து हिरण्य கேசி சூத்திரத்து மயிலா
7 ப்பிற் நந்தி शम्मभट्ट னுட ||— गौ தமகோத்திரத்து ஆவததமப சூததிரதது குமமஙகி
8 லெண்ணயச்சடஙகவியும் ||— இ राधित கோத்திரதது ஆவத்தமப சூததிரதது

IV Plate, Page 2.

1. अग्नि शर्म्म ததிருவேதியும ||— வாதூல गौत्र த்து ஆவத்தம்பசூத்திரததுதிருவேதி
2. [ளை] பொத்த शर्म्म னும் ||— மாடலகோத்திரது हिरण्य கேசிசூத்திரத்து எனூர் அச்சவி
3. ண்ணச்சடங்கவியும ||— ஆதரிேய கோத்திரதது ஆவத்தம்பசூத்திரத்து கொம்பறுத்
4. து குமார शर्म्म ச்சடஙகவியும ||— இக்கோத்திரத்து இச்சூத்திரதது உறப்புட் டூர்காளி
5. மண்டைச்சடஙகவியும ||— கப்பகோத்திரத்து ஆவத்தம்பசூத்திரதது சிறுபுனு
6. கில்செந்த शर्म्म ச்சடங்கவியும் ||— கோதமகோத்திரத்து ஆவத்தம்பசூத்திரத்துவங்

7 கிப்பறுத்து சடங்கவிதாய ஶர்ம்ம மனு ॥— இக்கோத்திரத்து இச்சூத்திரத்துக் கு
ஆர்குமா

8 ர ஶர்ம்ம த்திருவேதாயம் ॥— மகளண்மனை மகாத்திரத்து ஆவத்தமபசூத்திரத்துக்கிப்

V Plate, Page 1.

1. பறுத்து தேவடிக்கிரமவித்தனும் ॥— கோதம கோத்திரத்து ஆவத்தம்பசூத்திரத்
2. தங்கிப்பறுத்து பப்ப ஶர்ம்ம ச்சடங்கவியும் ॥— வாதூலகோத்திரத்து ஆவத்தம்பசூத்திர
3. த்து காரம்பிச்செட்டு செந்த ஶர்ம்ம ன்பங்களாரம் ॥— ஆத்திரைய கோத்திரத்து ஆவத்தம்
4. பசூத்திரத்து கொமயத்து செந்த ஶர்ம்ம ன்பங்கரைபட ॥— தைற்கிதன் அஞ் ஞாற்று
5. வனும் ॥— இவ்வெழுத்து வெட்டினான் கசிபபேட்டை பனைச்சேரி விடேல் விடுகு
6. பல்லவப் பெருந்தச்சன் மகன் ஸ்ரீ உ. பிர மெயன் ॥—.

[*Note.*—It is a known fact that in those times there was no distinction between long and short எ and ஒ.]

THE JESUIT INFLUENCE IN THE COURT OF VIJAYANAGAR.

BY REV H. HERAS, S.J. A M .

Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay

Introduction.

THE Rev. Arthur R. Slater, in a paper read before the Mythic Society of Bangalore and published in the *Journal* in July 1918, said "In the time of Vijayanagar kingdom, a considerable number of Jesuit Fathers resided in the city, and appear to have obtained great privileges from the ruling kings How far they influenced State matters we have little data to bring forward, but on the great House of Victory, a cross has been super-imposed on the Hindu carving on the walls. It has been suggested that this is an evidence of their influence in the kingdom."(1) I shall publish in this paper some unknown extracts of Jesuit letters which will confirm the above quoted statement, and will bring out some facts not yet recorded I have found them in three of the volumes yearly edited either in Portugal or in Spain containing letters and narratives from the Eastern Missions of the Society of Jesus The copy of these rare volumes I have worked through belongs to the *Goethals Indian Library*, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta (2)

From the dates of these letters, all written after 1600, anybody may see at once that they do not deal with the flourishing times of Vijayanagar kingdom, that ended with the battle of Talikota, in 1565, but with the third dynasty, whose capital was either Pĕnukoṇḍa or Chandragiri As a matter of fact the modern historians of South India lacking in resources and materials for the history of this third dynasty, lessen its importance so much so that even Sewell after having related the consequences of the battle of Talikota, and the murder of Sadasiva, the last Raja of the second dynasty, adds. "And thus began the third dynasty, *if dynasty it can be appropriately called.*" (3) The known grants of several of the monarchs of this dynasty suggest something more than a nominal dignity, and the contemporary European missionaries—who are better eye-witnesses than the travellers, because of their permanent stay in the country—do otherwise describe the kingdom of Vijayanagar after the Talikota disaster. An anonymous Jesuit who wrote in Goa a life of St. Francis Xavier, in 1583—then, the one contemporary of that famous sainted missionary—describes the state of the kingdom, which he had travelled through, as follows

---

(1) *The Q. J of the Myt Soc* , Vol. VIII, pp. 307-308

(2) This library, one of the best on Indian subjects, was started by the late Archbishop of Calcutta, Mgr P Goethals, S J

(3) Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* (Vijayanagar), Ch. XV, p 213 (London, 1900) The italics are mine

"This town (San Thomé or Mylapore) is in the kingdom of Bisnaga, called otherwise Narsinga (4), which some years back was one of the largest, most powerful and richest kingdoms of the whole East; because its Sovereign ruled over numberless people and could raise an army either of one million or one million and a half soldiers, so much so that all the kings and princes who were his neighbours were also subjected to him, he enjoyed a very large revenue and there was in his army a great deal of elephantry and cavalry since he was the owner of more than three thousand elephants and thirty or forty thousand of the best horses ever seen in this country, because they come from both Arabia and Persia. But eighteen years ago his power was decaying on account of different circumstances, because kingly offspring being wanted, a succession war burst out and many principal chiefs arose in arms against that who ruled at this time and, in the course of the war, plundered and destroyed the city of Bisnaga, which was the royal city, and capital of the whole of the kingdom, so populous, rich and well-fitted that there were within its enclosure about a thousand temples, they say The ruins that remain still show evidently that it was one of the wonders of the East But in spite of that the Sovereign of this kingdom was not so shaken that he lost all his power and wealth, because he owns a large state and good many elephants and cavalry and a numerous army." (5)

I.—The Jesuits at Chandragiri.

Chandragiri, in the North Arcot district, Madras Presidency, had become the capital of the Vijayanagar empire in 1592 The letter an extract from which I publish here, was written six or seven years later, since all the letters edited in its volume were dated either in 1600 or in 1601. (6) It runs as follows.

"On the Mission in the Kingdom of Bisnaga and the Residence of Chandegiri.(7)

"In this kingdom and residence there are two Fathers and a Lay Brother (8): they have a house and a church in the very royal city of Chandegri wherein the court

---

(4) It is very well known that Bisnaga was the Portuguese name for Vijayanagar. For 'Narsinga', Cf. n. 40

(5) *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* Monumenta Xaveriana ex autographis vel ex antiquioribus exemplis collecta, Tomus I, pp 61-62 (Matriti. 1899-1900)

(6) *Relacion Anual De Las Cosas Que Han Aecho Los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus en la India Oriental y Iapon en los años de 600 y 601 y del progresso de la conuersion y Christiandad de aquellas partes Sacada de las Cartas Generales que han venido de alla, por el padre Fernan Guerrero de la Compañia de JESUS, natural de Almodouar de Portugal. Tradvzida de Portvgves en Castellano por el Padre Antonio Colaco, Procurador general de la Prouincia de Portugal, India, Iapon, Brasil, de la misma Compañia . Año* 1604 *Con Privilegio En Valladolid, Por Luys Sanchez* The translated extracts may be found in the pp 131-138

(7) This is the heading of the chapter which contains the following letter. Chandegri, of course, is a corruption of Chandragiri.

(8) Those two Fathers and this Lay Brother were not scattered in different places, but the three were in the residence at the capital. Their names are not given but I suspect that one of them was Fr. Melchior Coutinho, whom we will find six years later in the court of the same king, of whom he was an intimate friend.

resides, the king treats them benevolently and bestows favours upon them and does it more and more every day.(9) He had given them for their maintenance

(9) The king the letter speaks of is the same mentioned in the third letter I shall extract in this paper *viz*, *Vencatapati*, whose full honorific name is given in the inscriptions of his time as follows Virapratapa Vira-Venkata-Patirayadēva-Mahārāya Cfr. V Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* (Madras, 1918), Vol II, p. 973, ins. 585, p. 988, ins 327. Barradas calls him Vencattapati Rayalu, cfr. Sewell, o.c cha. XVII, p. 222 But he is more commonly known by his shortened name Venkata I. He was the third king of the third dynasty, his father Tirumala being the first and his eldest brother Ranga II the second, Tirumala had been one of the most prominent officers of the last puppet king of the second dynasty, but his descendants boasted a divine pedigree which begins with the Moon, as it can be seen in the copper plates of Kûniyûr published by H Krishna Sastri in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, pp. 236-258, or in the Koṇḍyâta grant of Venkata II revised by E Hultzsch in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, pp. 125-132 During the reign of his brother Ranga II, Venkata was residing in Chandragiri, as his Viceroy, the relations between both brothers being excellent, a damaged inscription of Ranga II on a slab near the Perumālkōyil tank in the Chingleput District records a gift of land at Kunrattūr to a temple for the merit of the king's brother Venkaṭapatidēva-Mahārāja, *i.e.*, Venkata I. Cfr V Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, p 408, ins 767 After the demise of Ranga (1585-86) Venkata became the only ruler of Vijayanagar, his capital being Pĕnukoṇda an inscription on a slab of the Narsimhasvami temple, in Kurnool District, mentions Venkata I as ruling in Pĕnukoṇda, and two other inscriptions of an ancient temple at Triplicane, Madras District, refer to the king as seated on a jewelled throne at the city of Perungondai Cfr Rangacharya, o c, Vol II, p. 973, ins. 585, p. 988, ins 327 and 328 When was the capital transferred to Chandragiri? Mr R. F. Chisholm in a note to his paper on '*The Old Palace of Chandragiri*,' published in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p 295, says that Venkata retired to Chandragiri in 1592, and I wonder whether the occasion of this change of capital was due to the approaching army of Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur, because Ferishta records that "on his approach, Venkatadry, committing the place to the care of one of his nobles, retired with his treasures and effects to the fortress of Chundurgeery." Ferishta, Briggs, Vol. III, p. 141. We know several grants and inscriptions of Venkata I, the former being recorded in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol IV, pp 269-278, *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol II, p 371, and Rangacharya, o c, Vol I, p. 112, ins 663-A, and the latter ones in Rangacharya, o.c., Vol. I, p 85, ins. 409, p 117, ins. 693, p. 145, ins 138, 139 and 141, p. 401, ins 710, p. 410, ins 785, p 429, ins. 937, and Vol II, p 218, ins 104, p. 973, ins. 585, p 980, ins. 327 and 328, p. 1135, ins. 625, etc. The Viḷâpâka grant of this Monarch issued in 1601 (when the letter in question was written) gives him the titles of '*lord of the Āravîti*' and '*lord of the town of Kalyâṇa*, Cfr *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol XIII, p 126 And in the Villappâkkam copper plates, published in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol II, p 371, by Mr A. C Burnell, he claims to rule the whole of India from the Himalayas to Setu, this is nothing but an empty boast, as well as when he declares in these same plates that he was '*praised by the kings of the Kâmbhojas, Bhojas, Kâḷiṅgas, Karahātas, etc., who were his doorkeepers*' and that he was '*honoured by the Āraṭṭas and the Magadhas*' In the same grant it is said that he defeated the Yavanas, *viz*, the Mahomedans, fact recorded also by Ferishta in the above mentioned passage, but according to him this defeat was due not to the strength of Venkata's army, but to the bribery of this king 'The king (of Bijapur) surrounded the city (of Pĕnukoṇda), blocking it up closely for three months, at the end of which time the garrison were nearly submitting for want of provisions, when Venkatadry bribed Hundiatum Naik, the chief of the Beigies, with twenty-four lakhs of rupees and five elephants, to desert with his followers from the King and harass his camp, which he did so effectually, that Ali Adil Shah was compelled to raise the siege". L. c. Really the reign of Venkata I was not unsuccessful one of his successors, Venkata II, summarizes its history in the Kûniyûr plates with the following words '*After, the wise glorious Veṅkaṭapatidēvarāya ruled*

an income upon some villages and lands, but it was never settled, because of the chief Governor (10) and some grandees of that court who claimed that the revenue of the villages belonged to them Hence the king as a sign of his love for the Fathers gave them yearly a thousand pagodes (11) out from the tribute paid by one of the Nâiks who are his subjects (12), until some lands will be free, from which the maintenance of the Fathers will unobjectionably be taken He issued the necessary orders to collect this rent, and one of Ours (13) went to Congeuara (14) to talk and show these decrees to the *Pole* (15), through whom such a rent had to be received He was entertained and honoured by this *Pole*, who gave him great signs of his love, as any of those great friends of the Society would have done in Europe. When he was aware of the coming of the Father, he used to send him every day a messenger with congratulatory letters, that were, he said, like daily salvoes for cheering and regaling him He promised to pay diligently the first part of the rent on the following January, and as a matter of fact he gave us already five hundred *ducados* (16)

" And it was a striking case that it happened to the chief Governor of the Kingdom who so earnestly opposed the alms ordered by the King from the revenue of those villages for the ministers of the Church, because he being accused before the king of having robbed the royal rents and treasure, was ashamedly deprived of his function and dignity And having been requested by the King for one of his rings that had cost fifty thousand pagodes, he denied and swore on his parents he had never taken it, but he was declared guilty of theft of the ring and of three hundred thousand pagodes by many witnesses, so he is now imprisoned The new Governor, his successor, is a very good friend to the Fathers. The Crown Prince very much urges the building of a church for the

---

the earth. illuminating the ten regions with fame' Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III p 252 He was not a young man at the time when this letter was written, he having died in 1616 at the age of 67, according to Barradas, was then 52 years old

(10) The Spanish original calls this officer *Regulo mayor*, at this point, but soon afterwards calls his successor *Governador*

(11) Gold currency of the South, which was used in Madras up till the middle of the 19th century

(12) Such were for instance the Nâik of Madura and the Nâik of Tanjore For the relations between Venkata and the Nâiks of Madura, who were then the two brothers Visvanâtha III and Kumâra Krishnappa II, cfr. V Rangachari, *The History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura, in the Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLV. pp 92 and 100-103

(13) *Viz.*, one of the three Jesuits who were in Chandragiri, probably one of the Fathers

(14) Conjeveram of Kanchi-varam, the old capital of the Chola rulers in the 7th century in the present Chingleput District of the Madras Presidency

(15) This name must be a corrupted form of the Tamil word பிள்ளை 'pillai' or 'pillei' which is sometimes pronounced by uneducated people '*pulle*' It means an honourable man I am indebted of these notes to Fr. J F. Cajus, S.J., who knows the languages of the South very well

(16) Instead of *Pagodes* *Ducados* is a golden Spanish currency.

Christians on his estate (17), and as soon as there will be Fathers his desire will be satisfied " (18)

II.—The Jesuits in the Fort of Vellore

The letter I am going to extract in this chapter was written six years after, in 1606 or 1607, (19) probably by Fr. Melchior Coutinho, since the man who wrote it appears to be an eye-witness of the events narrated. It deals with the Fathers living in the fort of Vellore in North Arcot Here it is

"The Residences of Chandegri and Velure are depending on this College (20), Chandegri is a Royal City, head of this great Empire of Bisnaga (as we have said other times), although the king is not residing there at present, but in a fortress called Velur, as we will see further on (21): there are two Fathers and two Lay-Brothers in these two residences (22) The fruit of conversion is still very short, but there is a great hope that we shall attain it with patience. The principal impediment is the superstition of these Gentiles who think that becoming

---

(17) The name always given to the Crown Prince in the Vijayanagar kingdom was 'Chica Raya', which means in Kanarese 'little' or 'young' Raja. The boy who was honoured with this name at the time when this letter was written was perhaps the young man "*commonly held to be his son, but who in reality was not so*", because, according to Barradas, as soon as he was born Venkata gave him the title of Chica Raya But he being kept always shut up in the palace of Chandragiri, as the same Barradas says, how could he ask for a Church for the Christians of his estate? From the letter I shall extract in the following chapter, we know that this so-called son of Venkata was confined at Chandragiri when his father was residing at Vellore, and if he resided over there until his death, the unfortunate boy remained in his confinement at Chandragiri until the time of Barradas But I suspect that he was not in Chandragiri when the king was living here, because the constant policy of his putative father, as it can be seen in Barradas, was to keep him separated from his royal person, as if he mistrusted the spurious origin of the boy This explains why the boy wanted some Jesuits near him. That the Crown Prince the letter speaks of was this putative son of Venkata is proved because no successor was ever appointed until the hour of his death, as Barradas narrates Moreover the second extract will show, that this very putative son of Venkata wanted to have some Fathers in his confinement six years later no doubt can exist on the identification of these two persons

(18) The rest of the Chapter XVII, which contains this account, will only be of interest for the history of the Catholic Missions in India

(19) *Relacam Annal Das Covsas Que Fezeram Os Padres Da Companhia De JESUS Nas Partes Da India Oriental, & em alguas outras da conquista deste reyno no anno de 606 & 607 & do processo de conversao, & Christandade daquellas partes Tirada das cartas dos mesmos padres que da la vierao Pelo padre Fernao Guerreiro da Companhia de JESV natural de Almodouuar de Portugal . Em Lisboa Impresso co licenca Por Pedro Crasbeeck' Anno M. DCIX* The extract whose translation I publish is found in the pp 105-107

(20) *Viz* , the College of San Thomé

(21) From the above said words, it seems, we know that Venkata was permanently living in the fort of Vellore, at this time, and perhaps he lived over there until his death , nevertheless the capital of the Empire was Chandragiri This stay of Venkata I at Vellore has never been recorded in any author

(22) *Viz.*, a Father and a Lay Brother in each of these two residences · the former were Fr. Melchior Coutinho in Vellore, and Fr Anthony Dubino in Chandragiri The Brothers' names are not given

Christians they make themselves of low caste of the French and Portuguese, because as far as the law is concerned, they confess that it is true and holy and that every thing which they are told by their learned people (23) and by the Brahmins is lies and nonsense Fr. Melchior Coutinho resides always in the fortress of Velur, in the court with the King, who enjoys his friendship very much, and the king honours him a great deal and particularly it was a sign of his great love for him to give him lodging in the first enclosure of the fortress, wherein nobody is allowed to live but either his relatives and counsellors or the chief Brahmins · many people asked the King for this place, but he refused all and gave it to the Fathers, in spite of the Brahmins who were contradicting a good deal the Father built his house and church here, crowning it over its gate with a very beautiful cross, that is threatening all this heathenism the very few Christians converted and some few who go from San Thome for business sake are carefully cultivated The Father often spoke with the King on the things of his salvation and principally he took opportunity from several paintings he went to show him and specially one of St George Martyr, on horseback, spearing a dragon, with a heading in tongue badaga in the very painting, that related a summary of his history and mentioned how the king and the whole of his household became converted (24). The King was very satisfied and spoke on the painting a great deal and knows by heart the whole of the Christian doctrine, but he is not yet worthy of receiving from God such a good as it is to be fully lighted with the splendour of faith

"An Italian Lay-Brother who was a fine painter was sent to this residence and the King appreciated his coming very much, since he knew he had been sent by Rev Fr General from such a long distance only to give pleasure to him, and since he is so fond of paintings, he received this Brother with great benevolence and asked him at once whether he had then a good one to show him. The Brother had no other else but the portraits of our Rev. Fr. Ignatius and of Rev. Fr. Francis Xavier he showed them to him and the King was astonished and could not persuade himself that the Brother had painted

---

(23) We know several of the wise men who flourished during Venkaṭa's reign such were for instance, Chidambaram Gurunamaśivāyamūrti, author of the *Arunagi rivandādi*, and his disciple Ānanda Namaśivāya Paṇḍāram, author of the *Paramarahasiamālai, Chidambāra Venba, Annāmalai Venba* and some other works (Cfr Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol I, p 105, ins 614 and p 140, ins 141), Appaiya Dīkshita, author of more than 100 works in the colophon of one of them, the *Kuvalayānanda*, he mentions Venkata I by whom he was patronized, his works deal specially with grammar and philosophy (Cfr o.c, p 47, ins 151), Bhaṭṭakāḷaṅka who wrote the grammatical work *Śabdānuśāsana* (Cfr *The Q. J of the M S*, Vol X, p. 256), and the poets Tenāli Rāmakrishnakavi, the most famous, Chinna Nāranakavi, Tarigoppula-Mallana and Matla Ananta "The literary activity which was displayed during the reign of Venkata was an extraordinary one", says Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty, its Viceroys and Ministers*, in *Archæological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1911-12, p 188

(24) As is very well known, *Badagas*, or *Badugas*, as it was originally, means '*northeners*' or men who come from the north, such were the Kanarese people who invaded the south, hence Badaga language sounds like Kanarese language.

them; hence he asked him to paint the full body in a big panel: the Brother did it and he painted a portrait of the rest of the Rev. Fr. Ignatius in an hour and a half, and the King became surprised on seeing it, and going towards his lodging sent him according to his custom a *pachavelham*, which is a golden cloth costing twenty *cruzados* (25). afterwards he painted the portraits in the King's presence, little by little, where the Father took the opportunity to tell him the wonders and heroic deeds of these holy men. He painted also a panel of the Bl Virgin Mary with the Child Jesus and with the child the Baptist to satisfy the desire of the same King The panel was very well made and the King ordered it to be hung in a prominent place in the room of his assemblies, opposite his royal throne, although several Brahmins disliked it very much and procured as much as they could that the King might order to take it away. The Brother showed him some books of pictures specially those of Father Nadal, which he looked at, one after the other, asking their subject, and being very much pleased with the answer and with the mysteries of the life of our Lord Jesus Christ which were declared to him on this occasion (26). It is very edifying for him that the Brother does not receive the money he offers, and he causes the door of the palace to be opened at once to the Brother at any time he comes to talk with him He has a great opinion of the Fathers and often praises them publicly before his courtiers, and particularly he did it once before their high priest at whose feet the same King prostrates himself and whose revenue yearly surpasses two hundred thousand *cruzados* (27): and because the King praised the Fathers as religious and chaste people, the priest answered · 'If this is true, how do they eat meat?' And the King answered · 'Although they eat meat, nevertheless they have no wives', and he emphasized it to him on account of the bad reputation he has among the people, professing himself chaste

(25) Instead of *ducados* or *pagodes* common Spanish currency.

(26) I have already related the history of these pictures of Fr Jerome Nadal S J, in my Spanish work *La Dinastia Manchu en China. Historia de la Ultima Dinastia Imperial y en particular de sus relaciones con el Cristianismo y la Civilizacion Europea*, Vol I, c. XX, pp 412-414 The aforesaid Fr. Nadal, a Spaniard, one of the pioneer Fathers of the Society of Jesus, ordered a set of pictures representing scenes of the life of our Lord from several Flemish painters, in 1567, at the request of Saint Francis Borgia, third General of the Society, to illustrate the latter's book of meditations on the doctrine and deeds of Jesus Christ These pictures have been reproduced many times and in different countries Fr Julio Aleni, S.J published them in Peking in 1635, with a Chinese text of the life of Christ This work has been edited nine times, I have seen a copy of the last edition (Tu-se-we, 1887) in the Archbishop's Library, Wodehouse Road, Fort, Bombay

(27) I suppose that this high priest, '*summo sacerdote*', was Kōtikanyādānam Tātāchārya, a learned Brahmin of Eṭṭūr who had been preceptor of the King and crowned him. He is mentioned in two Tamil inscriptions of the Chingleput District, cfr Rangacharya, o c, Vol. I, p 429, ins 937 and 938, and in the Dalavāi agrakāram plates of Venkata I, o.c., Vol. II, p. 1000, ins 80. The latter inscription shows that he was supervising several Vaishnava temples, and some other inscriptions of Cangiveram record that he was in charge of the temples there. He was the head of Tātāchārya family and became the supreme doctor of the Vaishnavism in the South.

"Father Anthony Dubino, who resides at Chandegri, going to the fortress of Velur to pay a visit (to the King) brought him as a present a nice map with Badaga inscriptions and at its bottom there was a description of the principal kingdoms and of the four elements and eleven skies, and the King very much enjoyed seeing and reading all these things.·(28)

"According to the esteem of the King for the Fathers they are also esteemed by the chief officers of his court, who go sometimes to our house and church, principally on feast days when they put in it some framework ornamentation

"The Fathers have intercourse by letters and gifts with the Prince who supplicated incessantly that a Father might be sent to his own court, but since the King does not like it, it seems, the fulfilment of his desire is postponed, and they keep him in expectation with kind words and hopes." (29)

III.—The Jesuits mentioned in an International Document.

This is certainly the most interesting piece of news I have come across in this old volume, concerning the Jesuits in the court of Vijayanagar The following account was written either in 1607 or 1608, one or two years after the preceding letter (30). It starts this way

"There are eight (Jesuits) in the College of San Thome, and two or three reside in the court of the King of Bisnaga, who treats them until now as benevolently and frankly as ever, favouring them as much as a Christian King can do It may be partly deduced from a letter he wrote to His Majesty (31) this year, it runs as follows

'In the year Iauaxara, in the March Moon.'

---

(28) The nationality of Fr Dubino, whose name sounds like an Italian one, gives reason to wonder whether this missionary had been a pupil of the famous mathematician and astronomer Fr Christoforo Clavio, S.J , who had taught these sciences many years in Rome. Some years before another of his pupils, Fr Matteo Ricci, S J , had astonished the mandarins of Peking with some maps drawn by himself according to the rules of his master Cfr Heras, *La Dinastia Manchú en China*, Vol I, c XXII, p 436

(29) Cfr n (17) This news agrees perfectly with the account of Barradas, who after having related the doubtful origin of the putative son of Venkata, says "He (the King) never treated him as a son, but on the contrary kept him always shut up in the palace at Chandegri, nor ever allowed him to go out of it, without his especial permission, which indeed he never granted except when in company of the Queen" Sewell, o c p 223 Nevertheless, at this time he was not confined in Chandragiri palace, since there were two Jesuits in the town

(30) *Historia y Anal Relacion De las cosas que hizieron los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus, por las partes de Oriente y otras, en la propagacion del Santo Evangelio, Los años passados de 607 y 608 Sacada, limada, y compuesta de Portugues en Castellano por el Doctor Christival Svarez De Figueroa. ..En Madrid, MDCXIIII En la Imprenta Real.* The account translated into English is found in the pages 113-115

(31) This King was Philip III of Spain, whose Father, Philip II, as well known, since 1580, on the occasion of the death of the old King Cardinal Dom Henrique, became also King of Portugal under the name of Philip I The above published letter was addressed to him as King of Portugal

'Letter of the King of the Kings (32). Great Lord, Great Knight, King Vencatapati, very great King, to the most powerful Lord of the sea and of the land, Don Felipe, King of Portugal, etc

'I received Your Majesty's letter and I enjoyed its reading very much. Your Majesty spoke of two things in it the first was on the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who are living in my Court, and how glad Your Majesty was on hearing how I was myself honouring and entertaining them The second was on Your Majesty's Viceroy at Goa, *viz* that Your Majesty had already written to him, ordering him to help me when the good of my kingdom should require it (33), I became very glad on knowing both things, because as far as the Fathers are concerned, they, in these eleven years they have spent in my court (34), have always been good, religious, very chaste, prudent learned people and preachers of their own law, and I shall treat them in the same way as Your Majesty desires and they are worthy of As regards the Viceroy, I am always ready to help him with the whole of my army and power, when necessary, against our old common enemies the Moors (35).

'I learned how the Dutch rebel subjects of Your Majesty (36) came to Girola (37) to talk with the Nayque (38), and they requested from him the harbour of Tauana Patan (39) in which they were already building a fortress. I sent at once a messenger of mine with some letters for the Nayque, and afterwards Fr. Nicolas

---

(32) The Spanish original says 'Carta del Rey de los Rayos' Verbatim, 'Letter of the King of the thunderbolts'. I suppose *Rayos* is a printing lapsus, instead of Reyes In this supposition I have translated Letter of the King of the Kings'

(33) From 1605 to 1607 the Viceroy of Goa was Martim Afonso de Castro, who was succeeded as Governor by the Archbishop of Goa, Dom Fr Aleixo de Menezes

(34) We can deduce from this that the Jesuits were established in the Court of Chandragiri since 1595. Were they residing in the old town of Vijayanagar before the battle of Talikota? I cannot give a satisfactory answer to this question, I only say that it seems probable and the Rev. Slater in the above quoted words supposes it, while speaking of the cross in the great House of Victory

(35) *Viz.* The Mahomedans, who were always called Moors by Spaniards and Portuguese, since the Mahomedans who invaded Spain were really Moors

(36) The United Netherlands had already declared their independence from Spain in 1579, but it was not recognized until 1609 By the peace of Westfalia, in 1648, the independence of the seven United Provinces was formally conceded

(37) Girola does not sound like an Indian name of the South it must be corrupted passing throughout the original Portuguese and the Spanish translation. I suspect it must be Jingi in the South Arcot District, Madras Presidency, whose famous rock-fortress is still showing its old grandeur. The Governor of this fortress was at this time Varadappa Nâik (1580-1620), whose suspicious policy of obedience and expediency fully agrees with the above-mentioned events Cfr. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol XLV, p 92

(38) The Governor or Viceroy of the Emperor of Vijayanagar Cfr nn (12) and (13).

(39) I could not identify this Patan with any port in the surroundings of Mylapore, wherein it must be, it seems, as we conclude not only from the fact that the Rector of the College of San Thome was sent there, but also from the following description of the neighbourhood given in the same letter further on 'the port is very convenient, the town large and the population very numerous scattered in the other ports and villages of that bay, for instance Paliacate, Arimagan,

Levanto, Rector of the College at San Thome of the Society of Jesus, to my request went over there taking other letters of mine on the same subject. And I caused that the Nayque might forbid a fortress to be built by them, and might send them back out of his possessions, because since they are rebels against Your Majesty, they are also so to my person.

'The old friendship which existed between the Kings my antecessors and the kings of Portugal, from the time of Narsinga (40), must continue at present between Your Majesty and myself, and I beg Your Majesty to write me at once whenever necessary

'From my Kingdom

'Ventacaja, King'

"What the King points out about the Dutch fortress he caused to be overcome is more carefully recorded in another letter of the same Fathers, *viz.* that Fr. Rector, empowered with the King's dispatches containing what is above said by the same king, went to the Nayque, a subject of his, although a little reluctant, and since the Nayque was retarding and dissimulating, the King suspected the cause of that delay and wrote again by his own hand to him, ordering him to do at once what was commanded in his first letter, expelling from that place those enemies of the Portuguese the latter being very much better friends than the new guests. The Nayque did so, and sent at once some messages to the Bishop, to the Captain and to the town of San Thome, through his ambassadors for starting pourparlers on the surrender and frequentation of the port. Everything was rightly done, and a Captain with some soldiers was sent at once to guard the fortress. A Jesuit went with them, and another was sent there afterwards. (41)

(40) Narsinga was the first king of the second Dynasty of Vijayanagar. (1490-1509) 'Thenceforward', says Nuniz in his chronicle, 'this kingdom of Bisnaga was called the kingdom of Narsymga' Cfr Sewell, o c., p 307, and n (4)

(41) I suppose that this conduct of the Jesuits does not give foundation for the following crude recriminations we read in *The History of the Nâik Kingdom of Madura*, by V Rangachari. M A, L T., Madras, published in *The Indian Antiquary* "More than these, the Jesuits and priests, whom they encouraged at their own expense, became enemies more deadly (to the Portuguese) than the Dutch themselves They assume a tone of arrogance in their conduct and made bold to defy the Viceroy himself They retained bands of men at their own expense in total disobedience to the Government They interfered in politics and in trade, and made themselves absolute masters of the pearl fisheries of Travancore and the Indian coast They actually waged war against His Majesty's captains on the seas They obtained, by underhand means, a general charge over the several fortresses of the north and refused to render any account of the expenditure They purchased lands and received legacies without permission. Above all they held secret communications with the Dutch and even with the Muhammadans Deriving every support from the Government, they thus proved ungrateful intriguers against its authority The Government did indeed prohibit them in 1635 from purchasing land and receiving legacies without sanction, and from interference with pearl fisheries. on pain of the loss of the care of the Christians But the large allowances they had been drawing and the large private property they had accumulated, made them indifferent to these threats Financially the dependents of the State, they were actually richer than the State, which, on account of its poverty, could not even pay the soldiers and therefore drove them to be monks. The life of the monk in fact became the coveted life of the day Hundreds of people who came every year from Portugal

"The Father who was in the Residence of Bisnaga baptized an old noble man on the day of the Assumption of our Lady, he was one of the servants of the King, eighty years old and had not worshipped any idol for the last forty years but only the one true God whom he did not know, but the Father taught him, as St. Paul did with the Athenians, how to know Him, and the happy old man was very glad and his conduct in the new faith was so edifying, that, although he came at the eleventh hour, he made up for the time lost by merit and received the last denarius." (42)

I hope that these will not be the last materials found out among the writings of the old Jesuits to complete the history of the great Empire of Vijayanagar, so fortunately begun by Mr. Robert Sewell. I am very much pleased in having contributed to it with the publication of these three extracts. The last one particularly is of an exceptional importance, since it shows the international intercourse between Venkata I, Philip III and the Dutch

---

in the King's service, gave up their original object and embraced the easy and alluring occupation of monk It is no wonder that the ecclesiastical men in Goa were far out of proportion to official laymen, that they outnumbered the soldiers and civilians put together An Empire assailed by such gross evils could not but undergo irrevocable dismemberment and decadence, and within the next 20 years it was destined to collapse "—*The Indian Antiquary*, Vol XLV, p 181 It is very striking to come across now-a-days—because the above quoted paragraph was published in 1916—such terrible accusations without the mention of any source or historic document to prove these statements I regret very much to say that this is not the way to write history in modern times, although it was so in other uncritical ages But we read a little further on "They (the Portuguese) entered into a quarrel with Tirumal Nâik, at Tuticorin The cause of the quarrel was Jesuit perfidy More worldly than the most worldly laymen, these Jesuits had made themselves the practical lords of Tuticorin and its trade, and with the support of an army formed by themselves, they defied their Portuguese benefactors, intrigued with Tirumal Nâik and instigated him to seize a Portuguese agent who had been sent to purchase saltpetre in exchange for elephants" Fortunately in this point Mr Rangachari adds this footnote 'Danvers, II, 250', which was a revelation to me, really in the Vol II of *The Portuguese in India* by Frederick Charles Danvers, we find the news of the seizing of that Portuguese agent by the Nâik of Madura, at the instance of the latter, but what is Danvers' authority in this matter, he himself not giving any source of information? The authority of a protestant who either fairly or unfairly takes any occasion to insult the Catholic Religion and her priests and religious orders This was allowed to the protestant authors of the last century, but the protestant true historians of now-a-days refuse to inlay their works with such fables and legends And I wonder whether Mr Rangachari picked up the other unnoted accusations from some other sectarian author, perhaps even from the very introduction of the work of Danvers, p XXXVII. I do not proclaim *a priori* that the Jesuits are faultless, being themselves men as the rest of mankind, but to accuse anybody without proofs is not a fair way of writing history

(42) The writer alludes to two passages of the Holy Bible, cfr Act XVII, 23 and Math. XX, 1-16.

NOTES.

How the Fly Got its Name.

THE following nursery droll is well-known in the Southern Tamil districts, and, perhaps, it will interest lovers of folk-lore among the readers of the Journal in other places.

In the days when the world was young, the fly, desiring to know its name, went to a calf, and asked:

"O sleek and tender Calf!
What is my name?"

The calf replied "I do not know ask the cow, my mother" The fly then went to the cow, and asked

"O Cow!
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The cow answered "I do not know, ask the cowherd who tends me." The fly thereupon went to the cowherd, and said

"O Cowherd!
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

He replied: "I do not know, ask the stick in my hand" The fly then asked the stick

"O Stick!
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The stick replied: 'I do not know, ask the flagstaff which is bigger than I." The fly then flew to the flagstaff and asked

"O Flagstaff!
Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The flagstaff said: "I do not know, ask the crane that perches on me." The fly went to the crane, and inquired

"O Crane!
That perches on the Flagstaff,

Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf
What is my name ?"

The crane answered "I do not know, ask the pond where I swim" The fly flew to the pond, and asked

"O Pond!
Where swims the Crane,
That perches on the Flagstaff,
Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The pond said "I do not know, ask the fish that live in my bed." The fly then asked the fish

"O Fish!
That live in the bed of the Pond,
Where swims the Crane,
That perches on the Flagstaff,
Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The fish replied "We do not know, ask the fisherman who sets nets for us." The fly at once went to the fisherman, and asked:

"O Fisherman!
Who sets nets for the Fish,
That live in the bed of the Pond,
Where swims the Crane,
That perches on the Flagstaff,
Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The fisherman answered. "I do not know, ask the pot in my hand." The fly questioned the pot

"O Pot!
That is in the hand of the Fisherman,
Who sets nets for the Fish,

That live in the bed of the Pond,
Where swims the Crane,
That perches on the Flagstaff,
Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The pot replied "I do not know, ask the Earth of which I am made.' The fly then asked the Earth

"O Earth!
Of which is made the Pot,
That is in the hand of the Fisherman,
Who sets nets for the Fish,
That live in the bed of the Pond,
Where swims the Crane,
That perches on the Flagstaff,
Which is bigger than the Stick
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The Earth said. "I do not know, ask the grass that grows on my surface." The fly then asked the grass·

"O Grass!
That grows on the surface of the Earth,
Of which is made the Pot,
That is in the hand of the Fisherman,
Who sets nets for the Fish,
That live in the bed of the Pond,
Where swims the Crane,
That perches on the Flagstaff,
Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name?"

The grass answered. "I do not know, ask the horse that feeds on me." The fly then flew to the horse, and inquired

"O Horse!
That feeds on the Grass,
That grows on the surface of the Earth,
Of which is made the Pot,

That is in the hand of the Fisherman,
Who sets nets for the Fish,
That live in the bed of the Pond,
Where swims the Crane,
That perches on the Flagstaff,
Which is bigger than the Stick,
That is in the hand of the Cowherd,
Who tends the Cow,
Mother of the sleek and tender Calf,
What is my name ?"

The horse replied *Hi-i-i-i-i-i*, hearing which the fly exclaimed in joy. "So, that is my name!" Since then the fly has borne the name of *ī* in the Tamil land.

K. G SESHA AIYAR.

Indian Characters in English Fiction.

THE interest of this subject is to be attributed to the growth of the British empire in India. More than the political events, the features of the social contact between Indians and Europeans are of human interest to us. The only references to India by English writers of the sixteenth, seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries are to her wealth, splendour and gorgeousness. The trial of Warren Hastings at the end of the eighteenth century served no doubt to rivet English attention on Indian affairs a great deal

It is worth noting here that the English novel as a form of literature assumed a distinct form only in the eighteenth century and it reached its fully evolved stage of perfection only towards the end of that century and the beginning of the nineteenth century With this growing perfection of the English novel synchronises the growing interest evinced by English writers for India. It is almost an extraordinarily fortunate circumstance that Sir Walter Scott, who is regarded as the father of the nineteenth century novel, had numerous ties of kinship with India. His marriage with Miss Carpentier was decided almost on the assurance that the lady's brother, who was Collector of Salem would render financial assistance to him in any emergency. Scott's collaborator in the 'Minstrelsy of the Scotch Border,' John Leyden, sailed to Madras at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was to die in the East Indies later Bishop Heber whom Scott saw at Oxford in 1803, sitting over his Newdigate Prize poem 'Palestine' sailed for India in 1823, never to return Scott's eldest son, an officer in the Hussars, was for some time stationed at Bangalore before he left for home on account of ill-health and died at the Cape of Good Hope in 1838. But a relation of Scott's through his grandmother, who suggested a distinct story for a novel was Haliburton, Persian translator, and member of the Board of Revenue at Madras.

Haliburton came into conflict with the Brahmin dubash of the Governor of Madras, Avadhanam Paupiah who took revenge on Haliburton by getting him transferred to the feverish frontier of Chandragiri. Paupiah enjoyed the full confidence of the Madras Governor Holland and exercised an undue influence over him. When however Holland ceased to be Governor, Haliburton brought Paupiah to trial at the Sessions for conspiracy and had him convicted. It was in 1825 that Haliburton published an account of that trial to warn British officers in India against wily dubashes Sir Walter Scott introduced Paupiah directly into his "Surgeon's Daughter" published in 1827 and referred to his practice of transferring inconvenient officials at Madras to moffussil stations. 'Paupiah' is a type of Indian character which was found to make a striking impression on British officials in India The other day, the story was published that Governor Collet who was in Madras more than 200 years ago, was so attached to his dubash that he built him a temple in Madras, in which he might worship God without being obliged to go to Conjeevaram constantly as he used to. Though we are excluding here a consideration of the numerous works of "Anglo-Indian Fiction", reference may be made here to 'Brijmohun Bonnerjee' in the "Baboo" a novel attributed to Prinsep. Bonnerjee served to bring about the financial ruin of a British officer, tried to kidnap the Mussalman wife of a British officer and ruined their married life and also attempted to cheat a noble Mussalman gentleman of his paternal estate. The next great British novelist after Scott who introduced an Indian character into his writings was Thackeray. The present writer has shown elsewhere that 'Rummun Loll' in the 'Newcomes' is the result of impressions created in England by Raja Rammohun's visit there. Thackeray has compounded in 'Rummun Loll' the figure of an Indian who was lionised in British society with the traditional idea of the time regarding a native of India A distinct change in the attitude of British novelists in modern times is to be read in the character of Mir Jalaluddin introduced in "Joan and Peter" by H. G. Wells Jalaluddin is a polished under-graduate of Cambridge University who is denied a commission by the conservative British authorities but gets one in the French aerial corps. In modern times British novelists do not have to look to accounts of British officers in India for knowledge of Indian character but meet in England itself with numerous specimens of Indians. A still further advance is to be read in some novels of recent publication which reflect elaborately the political stir in India with Gandhi as the central figure.

P. R. KRISHNASWAMY.

The Death of the Rat's Mate.

I have read the interesting cumulative folk-tale of "Old Dame Lousy" which Mr. S. C. Mitra has contributed to the July issue of the Mythic Society's Journal. The following nursery tale, which I have often heard old grand-mothers tell their little grand-children in Tamil homes in this part of the country, bears a remarkable analogy to the Bengali story, and may, perhaps, interest the readers fo the Journal.

Once upon a time, a rat which had married a mosquito, lived close by the seven oceans. The mosquito died, and in the intensity of uncontrollable grief, the rat attempted to drown itself in the sea. The sea asked what the matter was; and when the disconsolate rat apprised it of the domestic tragedy, the sea was so much upset that its waters began to churn. Just then an elephant came there, and asked the sea why it was so agitated; and on hearing of the bereavement the rat had sustained, the elephant rushed against a banian and broke its tusk. The tree in its turn asked the elephant what had upset it, and when the beast narrated the calamitous event, the banian suddenly shed all its leaves. A sparrow which had built its nest on the tree, and which had gone to gather food, returned soon afterwards; and finding the tree leafless, it asked in cóncern what the sad plight was due to. The tree told the bird the mournful story of the death of the rat's wife. and the subsequent catena of events, whereupon, the bird poked one of its eyes with a sharp twig, and flew away to an old wall. The wall, observing that the bird had lost one of its eyes, desired to know what the matter was; and on hearing the tale, it fell down with a heavy thud. A ploughman who was on his way to the field, seeing the wall down, approached it, and when the wall told him all that had occurred, he broke his plough. The village schoolmaster, who just came up, inquired of the ploughman why he had destroyed the plough. The latter narrated the doleful story, and thereupon, the schoolmaster destroyed his books and went back home. The school-master's wife was surprised to see her husband return so soon, and she asked him the reason. She was told the melancholy story, which made her feel so heavy at heart, that she broke the cooking pot to pieces.

K. G. SESHA IYER.

REVIEWS.

"Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture."*

BY RAO SAHEB DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH.D.

UNDER the above title, Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar summarizes in the space of some 400 pages, the results of his familiar researches in South Indian history, and indicates what, in his opinion, are some of the main contributions of South India to Indian culture. The volume bears ample evidence of the wide scholarship and research which we have come to associate with Dr Aiyangar's works and presents Dr. Aiyangar's results clearly and cogently.

In the author's own words "South Indian history and culture has a character of its own notwithstanding the fact that the interaction of cultural forces between the north and the south is very much more full and frequent than has hitherto been recognized."

Dr. Aiyangar summarizes these contributions as follows —"In South India, Hinduism has had a history of peaceful development culminating in the efforts of Vijayanagar to give it the final form in which it has come down to us to modern times." "The Brahman has, thanks to the communities amidst which he cast his own lot, been able to carry his Brahmanical life unimpaired and even encouraged by the communities on whom he exercised his influence in the direction of elevating them to a higher plane of life." "In the sphere of conservation of learning through ages, when the material agencies for its preservation were so ill-developed and so easily capable of destruction, the success he achieved is nothing short of marvellous." "The transformation of the ritualistic Brahmanism into the much more widely acceptable Hinduism of modern times is due to the increasing infusion of the theistic element into the religious systems of the day. In this new development South India played an important part. It gave a specific realistic development to 'the doctrine of *bhakti*' by infusing into it features characteristic perhaps of the Tamil land and its literary development, making thereby religious experience fall in line with life itself." "Even in the transformation of Hīnayānist Buddhism into the Mahāyāna, India south of the Vindhyas bore an important part." "Another important contribution consists in the spread of Indian culture and the expansion of Indian commerce. South India is primarily responsible for the spread of Hindu culture to the islands of the East and the Indo-Chinese peninsula, reaching even as far east as China." "In commercial enterprise articles of trade from South India were carried in great quantity to the West. The import of the commodities of the Eastern Archipelago into India

* Published by the University of Calcutta—Calcutta University Readership Lectures.

seems to have been managed as a thoroughly Indian business." "The expansion towards the East seems to have been in full and self-contained colonies of Hindus including Brahmans." "In administration, particularly in local administration, which is a characteristic feature of Indian administration generally, South India has its own characteristics which appear to have developed early and been carried out to the fullest fruition under the great Cholas A.D. 850-1350."

This is in the main, Dr Aiyangar's theme, and he develops it in the course of nineteen chapters. A prominent defect in treatment would appear to be the disquisition into unsettled questions of chronology, etc., which Dr Aiyangar leads us into frequently and which are not quite germane to the title of the work Such for example are the chapters VII, VIII, IX and X relating to the Pallavas which contain a good deal of valuable matter useful to the student of Indian history, —matter, however, which he would expect to find in a work on the chronology and genealogy of the Pallavas rather than in a survey of South India's contribution to Indian culture

Dr Aiyangar's Chapter III on "Connection with Ceylon" also does not work itself into the texture of the theme, and could have been omitted without affecting the value of this book. The point is that Dr. Aiyangar has not attempted strictly to define the geographical connotation of South India, nor restrict himself to the scope of the subject as given in the title page, but attempts rather a general survey of the results of researches in South Indian history With this key we may now briefly survey the rest of the work. After indicating the light thrown by Sanskrit and Tamil literatures and by epigraphical and other contemporary records on early South Indian history, he leads us to a contemplation of the introduction of Brahmanism into South India from the North, and to the characteristics of such Brahmanism In this connection we are told "that the Brahmanism that prevailed in the Tamil country was in character pre-Buddhistic and had for one of its specific objects an exhibition of the heretical character of the sister religions, Buddhism and Jainism." We next see that the Tamils offered an opposition to Buddhism on behalf of Brahmanism—a state of things "that gives character to South Indian history. Brahmanism having found a welcome home in this region when Buddhism was in the ascendancy in North India pursued its path unmolested." After a brief interlude about Ceylon, the theme is again caught and we catch a glimpse of the social organization of the early centuries in Tamil land and of the Brahman who impressed himself upon the whole society by austere simplicity and loyal discharge of duty, by performance of sacrifice and getting others to perform such, by learning holy and mundane things and by his faculty of teaching the other classes, and above all, by a discharge of the far more serious duty of 'perfecting the people' (*Janapakvatā*) as the authority for consultation and guidance in matters relating to conduct in society. On this society developed gradually but with certainty the doctrine of Bhakti (piety, faith, devotion, love) to a personal God traceable alike in the primeval Sanskrit and Tamil literature. Kural, the famous Tamil didactic work is next examined and Dr. Aiyangar shows

how to any dispassionate reader, the similarity of idea between it and Kautilya's Arthasastra is quite clear, detail for detail, so as to leave no reasonable doubt left that the author of the Kural had full knowledge of the Arthasastra and adopted several of its conclusions

We next pass over the Pallava chapters to a consideration of the cultural development during their regime. They were great patrons of Sanskrit literature, art and religion, and in their period also (200 to 900 A.D.), Brahmanism became moulded by the growing influence of *Bhakti* and the great schools of Saivite and Vaishnava worship arose, with the galaxy of Saivite Saints and Vaishnavite Alwars. Dr. Aiyangar's treatment of this section is full and detailed but he does not set out in relief the concepts which South India at this period contributed to Indian belief and culture The God *Subrahmanya* for example would appear to be a distinctly South Indian contribution to the Hindu Pantheon. The development and dogmatic formulation of the Advaita, Visishtādvaita and Dvaita systems of philosophy by Sankara, Ramanujacharya and Madhva is certainly not a negligible contribution to Indian culture, but Dr. Aiyangar does not set it out He ignores the development of Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam literature. He omits also any description of the contributions in the fields of art and architecture represented by the Hoysala and Chola schools South Indian music, the magic of Malabar, the peculiar customs of Malabar and the light they throw or the influence they have exerted are also not mentioned

Dr. Aiyangar next takes us over, to us, an uneventful chapter of Muhammadan invasions to the formation of the Vijianagar Empire, which consolidated Hindu society and gave to Hinduism the impress and form which it retains to this day "Outside the sphere of *Āryāvarta* as it is, South India could claim to be the land where *Vedic* Brahmanism could be found to-day in the form which is the product of actual evolution from the Brahmanism of the *Vedic* age."

We do not propose to follow the author through his description of South India's efforts at colonization and commerce. They deserve a full study at first hand by every Indian. They focus all available information and place South Indian effort in true aud clear perspective. His description of the administrative machinery is also well worth study at first hand and a study of the pages relating to village institutions cannot but leave behind a regret that in the nineteenth century they were wiped out in the attempt for efficiency and centralized power. But we are not without hope that constructive statesmanship will, ere long, revivify the ancient roots of village autonomy in all its many-sided ramifications and devolve on the village community the administration and ordering of its own daily life and concerns, as of old, the Central Government concentrating merely on matters of national concern.

We cannot conclude this review without a word of acknowledgment to the Calcutta University which has brought out this useful contribution to Indian historical literature, and to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar for his interesting and learned work. A. V. R.

Studies in Tasawwuff.

BY KHAN SAHEB KHAJA KHAN.

IN this book, the author has dealt with the esoteric side of Islam

In reference to the teachings of Aristotle and other ancient philosophers, the term 'esoteric' refers to the doctrines which they expounded to select disciples in contradistinction to those which they published to all the world. In Islam, this distinction does not imply that the esoteric doctrines are kept secret as a mystery, but only that they are of a higher and more difficult order, requiring more preparation and preliminary study for their reception. The author also, has stated in the book that for acquaintance with esotericism, a sort of '*leavening*' in one's temperament is necessary and that great teachers have hit upon ceremonials as the basis of this training.

In chapters I and IX these ceremonials are described and a detailed account of their esoteric side or the inner meaning, which is more important, is also given. The ceremonials mentioned are five in number, *viz.*, (1) *Belief* in the formula that none is worthy of worship but God and that all prophets are His messengers. (2) *Prayers*, the obvious object of which is to make oneself disposed towards goodness, for good works make sins disappear. The esoteric object of prayers is the progress of man in his spiritual journey. (3) *Fasting*, where man shows the qualities of angels and attains the attribute of God, who neither eats nor drinks. (4) *Charity*: God created the universe and distributed His treasure; so man is enjoined to distribute a moiety of his earning thus attaining an essential attribute of God. (5) *Pilgrimage* to Mecca, which consists, besides other ceremonies, of seven circumambulations around a black stone which apparently amounts to idolatry. The author has justified the ceremony as it is said to be in memory of the worship of prophet Abraham and reminds man of his true origin and thus gives him a spiritual start.

The stages which one has to pass through before he is rewarded with the excellence of proximity to God are also described in the book. The first stage consists of the acquirement of knowledge, for, knowledge frees man from sinful influences. In the second stage, man should ponder over the actions of God, of which he is a manifestation. Then he should dive into His attributes and lastly he must reform and enlighten the world.

Tasawwuff is defined as guarding oneself against seeing 'other than God'. It is said to be based upon *actions*, *i.e*, conforming to the ceremonials above stated and *thinking and feeling*, *i.e.*, getting above earthly things and also on the following qualities of the heart:—*viz.*, Submission, Liberality, Patience, Silence, Separation from World, Travelling and Poverty—as illustrated in the lives of all prophets (Peace be on all of them). Jalaluddin Rumi also has said: 'Close your lips, your eyes and your ears, laugh at me if you do not find the truth.'

In chapter V, the author has described the connection between God and man.

This is also the theme of the theory of Emanation, which prevails generally in the philosophies and religions of the East. Man is said to have come out of the knowledge of God and returns to his own reality after death.

The idea of the Co-existence of God and Matter has been debated by Aristotle also, who held that both are co-existent, only that God is unchangeable, whereas matter changes. Plato believed that there is one World-Soul of which the souls of men are transient parts. According to him the Universal existed before the individual.

The theory of Emanation, though perfectly consistent and reasonable in itself, is silent about individual immortality. But in the book under review, we have an assurance of the individual immortality of the soul and its responsible relation to God.

Soul has been defined as an essence that knows itself and its Creator and enquires into causes and effects. It is free from all qualities of space. It is connected with body but possesses the attributes of God. In virtue of its connection with the body, the soul is said to acquire ignorance, purity, impurity, good morals and the reverse, etc. Appendix II contains an account of 'Ghazzali' a soul which the author has done well to include in the book. It may be commended to the attention of every thoughtful reader interested in questions like the nature of the soul, immortality and the soul's relation to God, etc.

As regards the future state of man, the author says that this earth is only a dream and quotes the saying of the holy prophet Muhammad (Peace be on Him) that 'People are asleep, when they die they awake'. Thoughts undoubtedly lead to the formation of character, for is not one's character the crystallization of his own thoughts? The thoughts and actions of men in this world are said to take their shape in the next world and await him there.

As to what the next world is, it is stated by the author that some believe in an veridical existence of a supersensuous world, others in its falsidical existence, yet others who believe that at death, soul does not entirely leave matter but sticks to body, and dissolves in it, corresponding, perhaps, to the ectoplasm of Sir Oliver Lodge.

Speaking of predestination, the author remarks that all religions which admit the existence of God, believe that God has will and He directs the world as He wills. But all religious books contain this dualism that man is a *free agent* and that he acts as his destiny has *pre-ordained* for him.

Chapter II is devoted to a discussion of the three different philosophic schools of Islamic thought. The belief of the ordinary people consists in a God separate from His creation. The Quran supports the doctrine that man comes out of the knowledge of God, gains the experience of the world and returns to his own reality. This doctrine corresponds to the view that there is one essence and many manifestations. Several verses of the Quran may be quoted in support of this view. There is a third school which believes that the essence alone is in evidence, every other thing being only the manifestation of the attributes of that essence.

This view conflicts with what Ghazzali—the most renowned Muslim philosopher—thought. He held that attributes alone could be in evidence, the essence being an unknown and unknowable quantity.

Appendix I is about the Sufi orders in the Deccan and in Appendix III some of the important technical terms in Tasawwuff are explained which helps towards a thorough study of the book.

On the whole the book is a collection of metaphysical essays. It demands a severe strain, but the reader feels amply rewarded, when he has carefully gone through the book and he cannot but feel grateful to the learned author for the manner in which he has dealt with the intricate problems treated in the book.

A. H. S.

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1920-21.

WE have to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a copy of the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1920-21. Though late in-publication, it contains much interesting matter and records much useful work done. What strikes us most is the narrative fashion in which the Report is written in which all hard technical superfluities have been avoided and essential facts presented in a concise and yet comprehensive manner One can read through the Report in an hour or two at a stretch and not miss anything worth knowing about It is as useful to the technical man as it is interesting to the lay reader We wish all our technical reports were drawn up in this manner—brief and to the point and yet complete and replete with all essential facts

The Report is divided into three main divisions, *viz.*, (1) Conservation, (2) Exploration and (3) Epigraphy. Under the first head, an account is given of the repairs effected during the year to the tombs of the Mughal Emperors, to temples, bridges, monuments, etc., in various parts of India so as to preserve them from utter ruin. The photographic plates printed at the end of the Report show the ruins as they were and as they appear upon restoration and repair · so that a good idea may be formed as to the value and importance of the work done.

In the course of the repairs undertaken, a few interesting and hitherto unknown facts came to light which may be briefly stated here. A false doorway was found in one of the pre-Muhammadan monuments at Dera Ismail Khan where each panel is ornamented with a single full-blown lotus flower and the doorway itself stands on a radiating arch whose voussoirs are set in good white lime mortar. These features are said to be of extraordinary rarity in these monuments. At the Palpara temple in Bengal, "the door frame is elaborately designed and exquisitely ornamented in moulded and sculptured brick, the refinement of the decoration and its restriction to the entrance imparting something of the peculiar charm of certain

Spanish monuments and all the more deserving of appreciation in the East where restriction in the application of ornament is not a common feature." Near Jaipur, in the Cuttack District of Orissa, there is an old bridge of eleven arches called the Tentulimal bridge erected by the early sovereigns of Orissa belonging to an age ignorant of the use of the arch. At Bijapur in the Bombay Presidency a novel piece of conservation was that carried out to the magnificent old Baobab tree which was one of the execution trees formerly used by the Adilshahi Sultans for the hanging of prisoners. At the Gupta temple at Bhumara in Central India some exceptionally beautiful sculptures were discovered. The image of Ganesha in the temple "has the big ears natural to an elephant instead of the usual short ones." The services of two Italian experts were secured to re-affix the paintings of the Ajanta frescoes to the rocks from which they were peeling off. The experiment is stated to have proved a complete success in spite of considerable difficulties in the way.

Under Explorations, the site of Harappa on the old bed of the Ravi, south-west of Lahore, was explored and the ruins examined. Remarkable seals were found bearing legends totally unlike any other form of script known in India which suggest that "at this site lie buried the remains of a city of very great antiquity and of seemingly quite peculiar culture." Further explorations carried on at Taxila disclosed a new strata of buildings so that it now transpires that there were four strata of buildings instead of three as originally supposed. These buildings are stated to belong to the third, fourth, and fifth centuries B C. Many interesting relics have also been found and described. Two sculptures of historical value were discovered at Muttra and at Gopalpur near Muttra. The statue at the former place is now worshipped as Gokarnesvara Mahadeva but judging by its dress it appears to be the statue of a Kushan King seated in Indian fashion on a Simhasana. This statue is supposed to give "useful information as to the general style and character of the missing heads of the Kanishka, Wima and Chastana statues, and for this, as well as for other reasons, is of special interest." The other statue is that of Manasa Devi which has an epigraph yet to be deciphered At Nalanda "the most interesting find of the year was a long and important record inscribed on both sides of a large copperplate, surmounted by a seal soldered to its top, which bears an emblem the dharmachakra flanked by two gazelles, which is the insignia of Nalanda." The copperplate records the grant of villages for the upkeep of the monastery at Nalanda but also contains references to the kings of Sumatra and Java. Interesting political questions of the ninth century are thus involved which will be elucidated in due course. "In the southern circle, Mr. Longhurst had the good fortune to discover an important and hitherto unrecorded group of rock-cut temples at a place called Bhairavakonda, 28 miles north-west of Udayagiri, in the Nellore District. There are eight temples in all excavated on a rocky hillside forming the western face of a picturesque ravine." Mr. Longhurst considers them all to have been erected by the Pallavas and to range in date from the seventh to the end of the eighth century. "This fortunate discovery has added an important group to the list of really early Hindu monuments in the Southern Presidency." In the Gwalior

State, the capital of a Garuda pillar was found which appears to belong to the period of 150 B.C.

Under Epigraphy, many manuscripts, coins, copperplates and records were secured. Of these, the inscription of Yuddhamalla discovered by Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu is of great interest. It is a metrical record of about the middle of the tenth century A.D., and as such is much older than the oldest Telugu poetical work hitherto known, *viz.*, the Telugu Mahabharata of Nannaya Bhatta dating from the eleventh century A.D. The discovery of this inscription leads one to infer that "there must have been, as in Kanarese, a Jain period of Telugu literature prior to the eleventh century A.D., whose productions are now lost to the country for reasons yet to be discovered." An inscription discovered at the Elgandal Fort, Karimnagar District, has brought to light the fact that the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb, had a Hindu writer by name Rae Bindraban serving under him and that at the time when the inscription was engraved he seems to have held the post of Governor at the Elgandal Fort. "The selection of a Hindu Governor for the frontier fort of the Qutb-Shahi Kingdom indicates the characteristic shrewdness and sagacity of Aurangzeb."

The Report before us is altogether an interesting and informing record of much useful work done. B. P.

"Karnataka Sabdanusasanam."

(Revised Edition.)

KARṆĀṬAKA-ŚABDĀNUŚĀSANAM of Bhattâkalankadêva, is a classical grammar of the Kannada language, with which no devoted student of that language and literature can be expected to be unacquainted. Yet, it is not improbable that this scientific treatise has been insufficiently studied or used, if not altogether neglected or overlooked, by some earnest students; not because of their ignorance of its importance, but because the only available edition of the work by B. L. Rice, Esq., C.I.E., M.R.A.S., late Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, was not within easy reach of all on account of its prohibitive cost. It was a bulky volume owing to the inclusion of the transliterated text in Roman characters, perhaps for the convenience of the foreign student, but of no use to the Kannada reading public. And it had been long out of print.

In these circumstances, the revised edition, recently published by Praktana-Vimarsa-Vichakshana, Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S., retired Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, is most welcome to the expectant public of the Kannada Nadu. The book is more handy, some unessential matter, such as the English transliterated text and the somewhat antiquated essay on Kannada Literature, being omitted, the size being reduced from quarto to octavo. This reduction has made practicable the reduction of the price to the modest sum of Rs. 5.

Besides, other highly desirable improvements have been introduced, as referred to by the distinguished editor in his preface :—"The paragraphs have been

broken up into convenient lengths according to their subject matter, and words in combination separated where necessary. The aid of punctuation marks has been largely availed of to make the meaning of the passages as clear as possible. The sutras of the present work quoted in the commentary, as well as the words taken up for explanation in it, are printed in big type. The sources of other sutras occurring in the commentary are indicated in brackets by their side." The appendices which have involved much patient and erudite labour in their preparation and the index of technical terms are very useful adjuncts. They afford facilities for ready reference to the student of a critical study of the subject. The English translation of the sutras and additional notes may be found useful to the readers more conversant with English.

The learned introduction is another interesting and valuable feature of the work. It affords a brief survey of the grammatical literature of Sanskrit showing to what extent it has influenced the scientific development of the Kannada grammar. The form of the sutras, the Vritti (gloss) of the Vyakhya (commentary), and the very name and arrangement of the work are all suggested by Sanskrit grammar. It embodies the discussion which leads to the appreciation of the culture and recognized position of the learned author, and his high patriotic aim "to bring to the notice of the learned the claims of the Kannada Language and to promote its cultivation along with precision and elegance in the use of it, in short to revive the glories of the brilliant age of Kannada Literature which had been associated with the Jaina supremacy under the Ganga and Hoysala Dynasties of Mysore."

The learned and well-known editor of this second edition has brought to bear on this important work all his learning and patient research and experience to remove the several defects of the first edition and to introduce many improvements, as testified to by that true lover of Kannada language and literature, Mr. B. L. Rice, C.I.E., but for whose devoted efforts to bring out the first edition under almost insurmountable difficulties, this monumental work could not have seen the light of day and paved the way for the present edition, as also by other competent observers such as Rao Bahadur Mangesha Rao, B.A., of Madras. Mr. R. Narasimhachar has placed the Kannadigas under a deep debt of gratitude by presenting to them this second edition of Karṇâtaka-Śabdânuśâsanam in this new and charming form. But a desire still lingers that a still cheaper edition may be made available so as to be within easy reach of all students of Kannada.

H. N. V.

History of Indian Logic.

BY SATISCHANDRA VIDYABHUSHANA.

THE greatness of a nation is proved by its intellectual activity and spiritual life. How Hindus have been able to keep up an uninterrupted tradition in both these respects, in the midst of social and political vicissitudes of far-reaching influence, is the marvel of history. In logic, grammar, rhetoric, rituals and Vedanta,

the stream of thought rising in the dim and distant Vedic period, has continued to flow with undiminished volume, through early, mediæval, down to modern times, and every department of thought enriched by new material has been developed to a degree almost incredible. There is endless work in research therefore still left to be shouldered by noble-minded and patriotic scholars who aim at disclosing to the world the great thought-wealth bequeathed to the moderns by the selfless souls of Ancient India.

We have recently received a copy of "A History of Indian Logic (Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Schools)" in English, written by the late Mahamahopadhyaya Satischandra Vidyabhushana, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.A.S.B., and subsequently brought up-to-date by I. J. S. Taraporewala, with a Foreword from the Hon'ble Justice Sir Ashutosh Mukherji. We need not say that it is one of the greatest works in modern times, and of the highest literary value.

The author has brought his keen insight, profound learning, and critical acumen to bear upon a subject which ordinarily is reckoned too dry to appeal to common minds, but which clothed in the tiger's skin of latter-day jargon, is positively dreadful. Even those who are honestly curious to know what Sanskrit logic intends to convey by the flood of sounds, altogether unintelligible even to one who has mastered the other literary branches of Sanskrit, are reduced to despair when they find they have to make their way slowly and patiently across pitfalls that beset the path at every step and through a wilderness of names and definitions which for a long time appear to be arbitrary and unmeaning. A scientific history of Hindu thought has long been a desideratum.

We, therefore, heartily welcome this work, calculated to help every earnest student to have a clear idea of the progress of Indian logic from the earliest times. Every part of the work displays scientific method, and perspicuity of style, and abounds in those biblical virtues that characterize modern publications of the highest quality. We hope to be able to review it in detail, in a later issue.

K. A. K.

The Lhota Nagas.

BY J. P. MILLS, I.C.S.

With an Introduction and Supplementary Notes by J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., Hon. Director of Ethnography, Assam

Published by the direction of the Government of Assam, by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London and Bombay.

Price 25*sh*. net.

STUDENTS of ethnography in India will welcome this valuable addition to their libraries. Mr. Mills writes as a keen observer and not as a theorist, which makes his book doubly welcome. His book, like Mr. Hutton's on the *Angami Nagas* (Macmillan, 1921) is typical of the method that should be followed in writing

monographs of this kind. The book is divided into seven parts, devoted to the following topics .—General, Domestic Life, Laws and Customs, Religion, Folk-Tales and Songs, Language, and Appendices (relating to Lhota Calendar, Human Sacrifice, etc). Mr. Hutton's introduction is both interesting and suggestive. For the main part, it invites attention to the significance of many points in Mr. Mills' account of this interesting tribe. In doing this it gives us a good glimpse of the composition of the Naga tribes, which enables us better to understand Mr. Mills' description. Mr. Hutton's general summing up as to the affinities of the Nagas will be read with interest by anthropologists everywhere, as he is the first writer to put forth a comprehensive view, based on fairly reliable data, of the whole tribe. The book as a whole is excellent both from the anthropologist's and from the general reader's point of view It ought to give an impetus to the study of tribes and castes in India, for it is written in an attractive and striking style Mr. Mills must have cultivated much intellectual sympathy with the men of the tribe he writes of—and his preface shows that he counts "friends" among them—for without the closest intimacy of relationship with them, the information he gives could not have been forthcoming. We commend the book to all interested in Indian ethnography.

C H. R.

Vaishnava Lyrics.

Mr. J. A. Chapman who has done into English verse these lyrics with the help of two other Bengali gentlemen with a view to awaken the minds of non-Bengali readers who have till now found in them nothing soul-stirring or spiritual. Mr. Chapman says that the lyrics are utterly charming. We would say they are not only charming but, what is more, they are full of spiritual inspiration. In understanding the deeper spiritual note underlying the passionate note of love sounded in these lyrics and seeing in Radha the perfect devotion of a soul immersed in divine love, the foreigner could indeed be said to have understood the heart of India which is religion itself. It is a pity that the *Vaishnava Lyrics* should be confined to sentiments of Bengal. Such lyrics are to be found in plenty in the poetry of Maharashtra and, more than anywhere else, in the divine songs of the Tamil Vaishnava saints. The highest form of sensuous love is not inconsistent with the perfect devotion of man to God. Rightly understood and rightly interpreted these soul-stirring songs carry with them a moral exhilaration that can be found nowhere but in India. It is to be regretted that the two Hindu authors who have helped Mr. Chapman to publish this book did not induce him to write upon this phase of the question, if they at all intended that their book should be a moral eye-opener to others. We are extremely thankful to the authorities of the Oxford University Press for having published these priceless lyrics.

K D

The Vedanta, its Ethical Aspect.

BY M.R.Ry. K. SUNDARARAMA IYER, AVL., M.A.

THE book deals with a subject from which modern India is drifting. It is a collection of writings by a well-known name in Southern India. It consists of eleven chapters, ten of which are reprints from old issues of "Vedanta Kesari", the organ of the Ramakrishna Mission at Madras. The more important of them deal with Vedanta as the source of spiritual truth, and as universal religion, on the practical aspect of the Vedanta, on Vairagya and Progress, on the nature, causation, and the motive of Karma, and on Karma as related to Service.

The subject is treated in a way that should afford a clear grasp of it to the average, educated reader. The author is by no means technical, nor is he by any means a self-centred sanskritist, but a well and widely-read discourser on the Vedanta, who has rendered his subject interesting as well as illuminating. Owing to the brevity of this note, we have to abstain from any critical or appreciative references to individual contents in the book, but we can recommend the book to the class of people, who, on reaching middle-age and a secure income, feel an awakening desire to know the nature of the phenomena of life and death. In going to this writer, they may be sure that they are not going to a bigot or a doctrinaire, but to a cultured writer, who deals openly with a subject of paramount human interest.

So much for the matter of the book. As to the get-up, it is the product of the Vanivilas Press of Srirangam, whose enterprise in the publishing line needs no fresh comment. The price is three rupees.

G. R. J.

The Faith of Islam (Fourth Edition).

BY THE REV. CANON SELL, D.D.

Diocesan Press, Madras.

THE Faith of Islam has now reached its fourth edition and still stands unrivalled as an exposition of the basis and tenets of this great religion. It is not a personal history of its founder, nor of its political adventures; it is a history of the development of its doctrines and so fills up a gap in the literature of the subject. After a chapter on the foundations of Islam, the basis on which it rests, we have an account of the Quran and the Traditions, which latter form its second basis. The question of inspiration is lucidly dealt with. Then comes a chapter on the various sects of Islam, brought up-to-date by the inclusion in it of the latest sect, the Ahmadiyah one. The chapters on the creed of Islam, its practical duties and its feasts and fasts conclude a wide range of subjects. The value of this book lies in the fact that it is based on original Arabic and Persian sources and may, therefore, be

accepted as an authoritative exposition To all students of comparative religion this work is invaluable, as they will find here a clear and concise statement of points little known and on which information is not easily procured. A copy will be found in the Society's library. It can also be obtained from the Diocesan Press, Vepery, Madras

F. R. S.

A Short History of Sanskrit Literature.

BY M. CHAKRAVARTHI, M.A.,

Samkhyatirtha, Professor of Sanskrit, Vidyasagar College.

Published by K. K. Bhattacharya, 4, Gopal Bose Lane, Calcutta.

Price RS. 1—8—0.

THIS is an excellently written, but poorly printed, handbook of Sanskrit literature. It is based on standard authorities on the subject and in places it draws on original sources. Mr. Chakravarthi deserves to be congratulated on producing a handy and accurate history of Sanskrit literature, which is well within the means of every one. When a next edition is called for, we have no doubt he will have realized the importance of producing a work of this kind on good and durable paper.

C. H. R.

Introduction to the Bhagavad-Gita.

BY V. K. RAMANUJACHARYA, B.A.,

Ex-Member, Madras Legislative Council, Madras.

Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.

MR. Ramanujacharya's introduction to the *Gita* is suggestive to a degree. In his preface he avows his indebtedness to theosophical teaching for a proper understanding of this renowned work. Mr. Ramanujacharya's study ought to prove helpful to many a student of the *Gita*, who like the author has found himself confronted with difficulties in understanding it.

C. H. R.

NOTICE.

The Indian Antiquary.

Society of Antiquaries of India.

THE last forty years have witnessed a great advance in antiquarian research in India, and Indians themselves are exhibiting increasing interest in all that appertains to the past history of their country. Where formerly the study of India's important archæological, epigraphical and numismatic relics was confined to a handful of Englishmen and one or two Indian scholars, there are now many Indians, including the trained officers of the Indian Archæological Survey, who, devoting expert attention to original documents and lithic and other records, are able to supplement and occasionally correct the conclusions arrived at by acknowledged European authorities. The time, indeed, appears to be ripe for the creation of a Society of Antiquaries of India, formed on the lines of the Society of Antiquaries of London, which would include among its members, not only those Indians and Europeans, who have established their position in the field of historical and archæological research, but also the Ruling Princes and Indian gentlemen, like the late Sir R. Tata, who are ready to encourage and support the labours of the trained antiquary.

In the event of such a Society being constituted on lines approved by those interested, and its importance and prestige being further secured by the grant of a Royal Charter, it is proposed to transfer to it, as the organ of its activities, the well-known Journal, *The Indian Antiquary*, founded fifty-two years ago by the late Dr. Burgess, which deals with the history, archæology, epigraphy, folklore, etc., of the whole of India and Burma.

"The Indian Antiquary."

It is recognized that the foundation of the proposed Society of Antiquaries of India must involve much preliminary discussion, and that considerable delay in launching the Society on a working basis is unavoidable. It has therefore been arranged for the time being to direct efforts to securing the continued existence of *The Indian Antiquary*, which is at present the sole property of Lieut.-Colonel Sir R. C. Temple, Bart , by transferring the possession and management of the Journal to a small private company, *The Indian Antiquary, Ltd.*, which, in the event of Sir R. C. Temple hereafter desiring to relinquish active management of the Journal, would carry on the work which he has undertaken alone for so many years.

Since its foundation by Dr. Burgess in 1872, *The Indian Antiquary* has deserved well of India. He edited it till 1885, when it was taken over by Dr. J. F. Fleet and Sir R. C. Temple till 1892, by which time it had become the chief exponent of oriental research in private hands and the chief medium for the publication of Indian epigraphical studies. For several years it trained and maintained

a private staff for discovering, collecting and reproducing in facsimile all kinds of Indian epigraphic records, and its volumes, which have now reached No. LII, enshrine the whole history of epigraphical research as a systematic study. Moreover, it has performed pioneer work in teaching a new generation of Indian scholars the method of securing accurate knowledge of the annals of ancient and mediæval India. Well-known Indian scholars to-day, as well as European authorities, are among its most valued contributors. For several years Professor D. R. Bhandarkar was associated with Sir Richard C. Temple in the editing of the Journal. Since his resignation, the appointment of an Indian joint-editor has been filled by Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Mr. S. M. Edwardes has also taken a part in the joint-editorship.

An Appeal to Students of Indian Antiquities.

In the light of the above record and with a view to providing the proposed Society of Antiquaries, when hereafter founded, with a journal of established reputation, the Directors of the private company, formed to take over *The Indian Antiquary* from the sole proprietorship of Sir R. C. Temple, now appeal to all Indians and Englishmen interested in India's history to assist their object, either by becoming annual subscribers to the Journal, or by sending donations to be utilized in consolidating its future position and enlarging its scope. The annual subscription to the Journal is Rs. 20, and may be paid to The Superintendent, *Indian Antiquary*, British India Press, Mazagon, Bombay, or to Messrs Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., 11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, W. Donations may be sent to Lt.-Col. Sir R. C. Temple, Bart., [c/o Lloyd's Bank, Ltd. (Messrs Henry S. King & Co.), 9, Pall Mall, London], who as chief editor and director will have the controlling voice in the management of the *Indian Antiquary Ltd.*

(Signed) R. C. TEMPLE,
(,,) R. E. ENTHOVEN,
(,,) S. M. EDWARDES,
Directors, Indian Antiquary Ltd.

Subscriptions received during the quarter ending 31st December 1923.

Names.		Vol.	Amount. RS.	A.	P.
Messrs.					
M. Mahadevan, Bangalore ..	..	XIII	5	0	0
F. R. Sell, Bangalore	..	XIV	5	0	0
Rev. Father Aucouturier, Bangalore	..	XIV	5	0	0
Government Epigraphist, Fernhill	..	XIV	3	0	0
Rev. F. Goodwill, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5	0	0
N. Kamaksharow Naidu, Bangalore	..	XIV	3	0	0
Dr. R. Shama Sastry, Mysore ..	..	XIV	3	0	0
Rev. J. B. Buttrick, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5	0	0
P. K. Gode, Poona	..	XIV	3	0	0
Sir William Beardsell, Madras ..	..	XIV	3	0	0
D. Venkataramiah, Bangalore ..	..	XII	5	0	0
P. Sampat Iyengar, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5	0	0
G. H. Krumbiegel, Bangalore ..	..	XIII & XIV	10	0	0
M. N Kuka, Bombay ..	..	XIV	3	0	0
Thomas Leishman, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5	0	0
Cowan Holburn, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5	0	0
Dr. A. P. Fernandez, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5	0	0
Principal, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram	..	XIV	3	0	0
K. T. Bhashyam Iyengar, Bangalore	..	XIV	5	0	0
J. R. Isaac, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5	0	0
Rev. P. Picot, Coromandel ..	..	XIV	3	0	0
M. R. Munisiddappa, Mysore ..	..	XIV	3	0	0
S. A. Venkateswara Iyer, Battagundu	..	XIV	3	0	0
J. B. Cook, Ashambo ..	..	XIV	3	0	0
K. S. Krishnamurthy Iyer, Madras	..	XIV	3	5	0
K. A. Neelakanta Sastry, Chidambaram	..	XIV	3	5	0
H. S. Narayana Rao, Shimoga ..	..	XIII & XIV	6	5	0
V. N. Ghokale, Chikodi ..	..	XIV	3	5	0
Honorary Secretary, Cosmopolitan Club, Madras ..	..	XIV	3	5	0
Rev. A. R. Fuller, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5	0	0
G. Paramasivayya, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5	0	0
B. Balaji Rao, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5	0	0
Rev. Father A. Lobo, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5	0	0
C. H. Doveton, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5	0	0
V. Aiyasami Iyer, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5	0	0
R. Narasimhacharya, Bangalore ..	..	XIV	5	0	0
Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot	..	XIV	3	5	0

List of books presented or purchased, etc., during the quarter ending 31st December 1923.

Director-General of Archæology, Simla—

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1920-21.

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 14 Antiquities of Bhimbar and Rajauri by Ramachandra Kak.

Superintendent of Archæology, Burma—

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1923.

Registrar, Calcutta University—

"History of Indian Logic" By Satishchandra Vidyabhushana.

Registrar, Mysore University—

Mysore University Calendar for 1923-24.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer's Address at the Convocation of the Mysore University—24th October 1923.

Report of the Mysore University for 1922-23.

Chief Secretary to the Government of Mysore—

The Mysore State Administration Report for 1922-23.

The Dewan's Address at the Mysore Representative Assembly—October 1923.

The Guide Book of Mysore.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington—

Designs on Prehistoric Pottery from the Mimbres Valley, New Mexico, by Walter Fewkes.

The Science of Man—Its needs and its prospects by Karl Pearson.

The Indian in Literature by Herman F. C. Ten Kate.

A New Era in Palestine Exploration by Elihu Grant.

Leopard Men in the Naga Hills by J. H. Hutton.

Ancestor Worship of the Hopi Indians by J. Walter Fewkes.

Pigmentation in the old Americans with Notes on graying and loss of hair by Ales Hodlicka.

Curator, Oriental Library, Mysore—

"Karnataka Sabdanusasana"—Revised Edition.

Oxford University Press (Publishers)—

"Vaishnava Lyrics."

Presented by—

Col. Raja Jai Prithvi Bahadur Singh of Bajang, Nepal—

Yeginibhairah Bijaya, about 195 years old.

Old Newari Navaratri Pooja Bidhi.

Yāgnavalkya Mithakshara, written on leaves about 700 years ago.

Tatwa Kaumudi Dasa Mahabidya.

Sapta Sati Chandi, about 900 years old

Ramayana, about 300 years old.

(All these manuscripts are in Niwari characters.)

Private Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore—

Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference (28th Jan. to 1st Feb. 1922).

Rajasabhabhushana Rev. Father A. M. Tabard (Translator)—

Essay on Gunadhya and the Brihatkatha.

Mr. T. K. Balasubramanyam, Srirangam—

The Vedanta—its ethical aspect by Professor K. Sundararama Iyer.

Mr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastry, Mysore—

Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. I, Nos. 3 and 4, Vol. VI, Nos. 1 and 3, Vol. VII, No. 2, Vol VIII, No 2.

By purchase—

Siva Tattwa Ratnakara—Part I. Published by Messrs. B. M. Nath & Co.

Narrative of the Military Operations on the Coromandel Coast against the armies of the Dutch, French, and Hyderali Khan by Munro Innes.

"Sabdakalpadhruma" by Raja Sir Radha Kanta.

Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 (two copies), 2 and 4 and Vol. IX, Nos. 1 and 2.

In exchange for back numbers of the Journal—

Mrichchakatika or Toy Cart edited by N. B. Godbole.

Sri Bhashya of Ramanuja edited by Vasudeva Sastry Abhyankar, Parts I & II.

"Vikramōrvasīyam" edited by Shankar Panduranga Pandit.

Subhāshitāvali of Vallabhadeva edited by P. Peterson.

Mālati Madhava of Bhavabhuti edited by R. G. Bhandarkar.

Yogasutras of Patanjali edited by Rajaram Sastri Bodas.

Vyakarana Mahabhashya of Patanjali edited by Kielhorn (Vols. II & III).

Hymns from the Rigveda by P. Peterson.

Panchatantra Part I edited by Kielhorn.

do Parts II & III edited by Dr. G. Buhler.

do Parts IV & V edited by Do.

The Mythic Society

COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1923-24

PATRON.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.S.I., G.B.E.

Vice-Patrons.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA GAIKWAR OF BARODA, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

HIS HIGHNESS THE YUVARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.I.E.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF COCHIN, G.C.S.I.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Honorary Presidents.

THE HON'BLE COL. SIR HUGH DALY, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

THE HON'BLE MR. H. V. COBB, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.B.E.

THE HON'BLE MR. W. P. BARTON, C.S.I., C.I.E.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

V. P. MADHAVA RAO, ESQ., C.I.E.

SIR DORABJI TATA, Kt.

PRESIDENT.

RAJASABHABHUSHANA THE REV. A. M. TABARD, M.A., M.B.E., M.R.A.S.

Vice-Presidents.

RAJAMANTRADHURINA A. R. BANERJI, ESQ., M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E.
RAJADHARMAPRAVINA DEWAN BAHADUR
K. S. CHANDRASEKHARA IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.L.
RAJAMANTRAPRAVINA DEWAN BAHADUR
P. RAGHAVENDRA RAO, ESQ., B.A., B.L.
DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL, M.A., Ph.D.
RAJAKARYAPRASAKTA RAO BAHADUR M. SHAMA RAO, ESQ., M.A.
F. J. RICHARDS, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S., I.C.S.
MUSHIR-UL-MULK MIR HUMZA HUSSEIN, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

General Secretary and Treasurer.

S. SRIKANTAIYA, ESQ., B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

Joint Secretary.

A. V. RAMANATHAN, ESQ., B.A.

Editor.

F. R. SELL, ESQ., M.A.

Branch Secretaries.

FOR ETHNOLOGY—C. HAYAVADANA RAO, ESQ., B.A., B.L.
FOR RELIGIONS—THE REV. F. GOODWILL.
FOR HISTORY—K. DEVANATHACHARIAR, ESQ., M.A.
FOR FOLKLORE—V. R. THYAGARAJA IYER, ESQ., M.A.

Committee.

The above *ex-officio* and C. S. BALASUNDARAM IYER, ESQ., B.A. P. SAMPAT IYENGAR, ESQ., M.A., PRAKTANA VIMARSA VICHAKSHANA RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S., K. CHANDY, ESQ. B.A., K. SRINIVASA RAO, ESQ., B. PUTTAIYA, ESQ., B.A., and Dr R. SHAMA SHASTRY, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S.

Curator on the Premises.

T. SWAMINATHAIYA, ESQ.

The

Quarterly Journal

of the

Mythic Society

Vol. XIV] APRIL 1924 [No. 3

INDIAN MUSIC.

By D. B. Ramachandra Mudaliar, Esq., M.R.A.S.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

Music is believed to be of divine origin, and it is said that Brahma obtained music from Samaveda. "It is the language of the soul," says Deussen, the great thinker, who recognizes in it the summit of all art. According to Hindu tradition, before the world was created, an all-pervading and a most melodious sound issued from Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswara, who were themselves the first musicians. The fact that music has intimate relation with astronomy, astrology, medicine, painting, has been demonstrated by ancient Indians, who held that music deals with ever so many things, continually helping to maintain universal harmony. In support of these statements, there is a number of very interesting legends.

Among the celestials there is a class, known as Gandharvas, meaning angels. They are twenty-seven in number, like the Nakshatras, meaning stars. Of the latter, Hasta is considered to be both a nakshatra and a Gandharva. The Sun and the Moon are also Gandharvas. The wives of Gandharvas are called Apsarases. All these are famous for their most enchanting music, dancing and acting. They devoted themselves so exclusively to the cultivation of this art that music is known as Gandharva-vidya. The musicians of Indra's court are selected from this class.

In Yajurveda, speech is personified as woman, and it is said that if she is allowed to approach the Gandharvas, she may not return, being likely to be captivated by their songs of syren sweetness. We are told also that the Gandharvas are excellent archers, and that once upon a time, when Gayatri flew in the sky as a bird to reach the Moon, she was struck by an arrow shot by a Gandharva in order to prevent her from carrying off the Moon who was a brother Gandharva. The Gandharvas gave rise to a form of marriage, called "Gandharva Vivaha", based on free love, which is acknowledged as one of the forms of marriage allowed by both divine and human laws. The Apsara women were being deputed by Indra to tempt the sages at their penance, and to turn them back from their aspiration to divine powers. Sakuntala, the world-famous heroine, is the daughter of an Apsarasi, Menaka and of Rishi Viswamitra.

Kinnaras and Kimpurushas are other varieties of Gandharvas with animal faces and human bodies, who are also associated with music. The Gandharvas were singers, Apsarases were dancers, and Kinnaras were performers on musical instruments. With these are ranked Angirasas also. Narada and Tumbura are the reputed leaders of the heavenly choir, and are to this day invoked as the deities presiding over music. When Shiva performs the mystic dance, Nandi accompanies him with his voice and Vishnu beats tune. Such beliefs serve to show that music has, in all ages and climes, exercised a most peculiar fascination over human beings, nay, over all living things. Indian kings and chiefs have invariably patronized every branch of music and if it had not been for the munificent rewards at the hands of the Maharajas, Indian music would not have been the flourishing art that it is to-day. The spirit of such encouragement still survives.

Whether as a science or as an art, this most important and intricate subject has more or less engaged the attention of all civilized and uncivilized people, and has often stirred them to a living interest. In India especially has it flourished from primeval times. From the most remote ages, music has been regarded as one of the necessaries of life and not as a luxury that could be dispensed with. Not a single event of importance, in public or private life, is solemnised without the sweet discourse of music

Music is distinguished from all other human arts and sciences in that it is the one thing that will relieve the afflicted and the oppressed heart, that it will bring rest and refreshment to the wearied brain and tired limb, and that it will appeal to all human beings of whatever grade of society or civilization. There is a most sensitive chord in human body which is set vibrating by the appeal of music, and even the most hardened heart cannot fail to be touched by it and to be momentarily changed for the better. This

appreciation of music is not confined to human beings alone, but is shared by all animate nature. The most familiar instance is that of a cowherd, who making music on his rough pipe prepared from the ordinary reed gathers together all the straying cattle and brings them home safely. The Lord Sri Krishna, as Venugopal, the cowherd and the lute, is the Indian idealization of this fact. The dreaded serpent is charmed by the strains of music and its gambols, before the snake-charmer's pipe, are evidences of the divine power of music to subdue the most savage fury in nature. Witness also the child, with its undeveloped instincts, soothed and hushed to quiet and sleep, by the sweet melody of the lullaby, in the loving tone of its mother, although the child scarcely comprehends what is being sung.

Though not bearing on the subject, it may casually be mentioned that in all sciences and arts, the knowledge of ancient Indians was so advanced that a tailor was able to make a man's coat, when the measurement of his neck alone was given, a sculptor was able to cut out the figure of a man from granite, with only the dimensions of his little finger as a clue, and an artist would paint the figure of a woman by an idea of the length and the thickness alone of the hair of her head being given; and as to their uprightness a promissory note consisting of a couple of lines written on a palmyra leaf, perhaps not even four inches long, bound them more surely than any registered document of the present day, for a period of seven succeeding generations, in one case, and perpetually in the case of the other. They made large transactions with no more living witness than fire. Documents for gifts and sales were made only with the sprinkling of a handful of water.

Indian music which is presided over by Saraswati, the goddess of learning, is instinct with religious fervour, as is evidenced by the fact that in India all religious ceremonies, devotional prayers, and social performances, are invariably accompanied with the chanting of musical verses. The Hindus gave the art of music a religious character. They had their own vocal and instrumental music and characteristic and favourite dances, and one of the chief deities, who is very fond of dancing, named Nataraja meaning king of dancing, is enshrined at Chidambaram. This is the God that gave salvation to his devotee Nanda, though he was a Panchama, notwithstanding that he had been kept out of the temple by the priests. The curriculum of their studies in music would do credit to any of the most accomplished musical institutions of the present day. Music was thought to be a necessary part not only of the secular enjoyments and religious devotion, but of warfare and funeral ceremonies as well. Songs were sung by numbers of devotees, both by day and night.

Almost all the kings of ancient India were patrons and themselves

connoisseurs of music, and royal ladies strove hard to acquire mastery in singing. In the palaces of kings, there were chambers known as "Sangitha-sala" meaning the music saloon, in which dancing and singing were practised and demonstrated. The princes of ancient India not only received instructions in music, but also composed musical poems in three principal branches, *viz.*, lyric, epic and dramatic. Great composers received munificent rewards in the shape of grant of five hundred villages, the revenue of all southern districts for forty years, and forty lakhs of gold coins of the value of two and a half rupees each A certain poetess received from a Pandya King, the reward of an elephant, a chariot and a garland of golden flowers for her poetry. This indicates what love they had for music in those days and also what attention they paid to women's education.

Mr. Bain has remarked that no people, excepting the Indians, have ever presented a variety of musical composition with alliteration; "What are the various metres of Greece and Rome which have filled Europe with astonishment, when compared with the extensive range of Indian poetical writings?" While speaking of rhythm and metre impressing upon the ear, he says, "they are helpful to memory." Mr. H. T. Buckle says that there are more numerous and more complicated metres in Indian music, than are to be found in any of the forms of European music. Sage Valmiki set the Ramayana to music and his pupils, Lava and Kusa, sang the whole poem so exquisitely as to attract the notice of Sri Rama, the hero of the epic.

Indian music was in a thriving state even three thousand years ago. The works of Bharata who flourished in the fifth century in the south, those of Sarangadeva of the thirteenth century, also of the south, and of Ahobala of the seventeenth century, of the north, are all held in very high esteem at the present day as the standard works on Indian music, in which the pitch of the notes has been well fixed so as to give a correct idea of notes, and thereby to determine them. Nammalwar, a most pious Dravidian saint, was also considered a great authority in music.

During the reign of Pandya kings, in Kumari, the capital of South Madura, there was a musical *sangham* (institution). Most of the works written by them happened to be washed away by flood. A few that remained were destroyed by the Buddhists and the Jains owing to religious animosity. Some that still remained became extinct, as no one could make a practical use of them on account of the difficulty in correctly interpreting the technical portions.

Also, during the reign of Nilandarathervil Pandya, in South Madura, there was a similar *sangham*, in which one of the scholars by name Athamkotasan, a disciple of Agastya, read and recited with musical grace the most

renowned Tholkappiam, Thol means old, Kapyam is a corruption of Kavyam, means literature, meaning old composition. The Tamilians of old used twenty-two srutis in reciting even their religious hymns, known as Tirugnanam, Thevaram and Thiruvasagam.

The ancient inhabitants of South Madura were using twelve thousand ragas with twenty-two swaras, instead of twelve swaras of the present day, and were using Veena which was known then by the name of Yal, with seventeen, twenty-seven, one hundred and even more strings. A reference to the real grace and embellishment in music can be found in the lines of Sillippadikaram. Sillappu is a corruption of Silambu means an anklet, and Adhikaram means a chapter, meaning a chapter on anklet, a Tamil drama, written by Ilankovadigal, *i.e.*, younger prince, whose brother Sengattuvan ruled over the Tamil Chera country about eighteen hundred years ago. The commentary on this work by Adyakumular contains reference to the grace and exquisite skill displayed in the art of singing and dancing, by Madhavi, a most enchanting actress, to please her lover Kovilan. The first *sangham* of South Madura conducted the music classes for over two thousand five hundred years, but after its extinction it is impossible to ascertain the minute details of music prevalent then, though Ilankovadigal, who flourished in the first century, has given some particulars.

Subsequently, Bharata and Sarangadeva of the South also gave similar details. Divakaram, meaning metrical foot, an important Tamil lexicon, gives a lot of information and minute details concerning the early Dravidian music. Bharata has composed "Natya Sutra" meaning a treatise on dancing, but this has not survived, and only one chapter of the whole book, the twenty-fifth chapter, alone exists, which contains mostly the fundamental principles of the art. It is but the rudiments of this that are yet in vogue in India, and even in this, some of the minor details described are not easily intelligible, hence they are not in practice, nor has any improvement upon them been found feasible.

Voltaire says, that before Herodotus, the Greeks wrote all history in verse, which custom they borrowed from the Egyptians, who in their turn had it from the Hindus, since all the sacred and classical writings of the Hindus are in verse. It may also be noted that the whole of the Tamil literature. *viz.*, theology, in which the Tamilians excelled all other notions of antiquity, philosophy, astronomy, medicine, and in fact every work of theirs, such as even grammar and dictionary, were also in verse.

Pythagoras, the Greek philosopher, visited India two thousand five hundred years ago for the purpose of obtaining information, and determining the notes of an octave. Sir W. Jones and Colonel Todd say that amongst the

system of the Hindus of early ages, music appears to have attained a theoretical precision.

The twelve notes including the minute quarter tones of the Indian music were carried from India to Japan, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, Persia. China, Malaya, Siam and Annam.

Sir W. W. Hunter says that the Indian art of music was destined to exercise a very wide influence. The art passed on through the Persians to Arabia. King Shankol of Hind, at the invitation of the Emperor Behram of Persia, sent ten thousand musicians to Persia. From thence, it was introduced into Europe by Guido Arezzo, in the beginning of the eleventh century. The Greeks like the Egyptians, had but six notes, and the Italians added the seventh. To Judio Arentine, a monk of the thirteenth century, belongs the credit. The Indians had, however, a number of them then, and later Jayadeva in the North composed in Sanskrit a series of the most delicious strains, in varied airs, which are the delight of the Hindus to the present day.

Nearchos, who accompanied Alexander the Great in 325 B. C., says that in India the writing was done on well-beaten and smooth cloth. It is well-known that the art of writing, though known to Indians for centuries, was hardly resorted to by them as a means of perpetuating the music of their sacred Vedas. Their mode of transmitting knowledge of music was by means of learning the songs, by the ear. The faculty of memory, intensively cultivated, and brevity of expression, were the principal means of preserving knowledge. This is also the case with musical literature. Much of this knowledge has been handed down, from generation to generation, by traditional and oral transmission.

From the eighteenth century onwards, there have been a number of poets in India most religiously disposed. I refer here to only one of them, most popularly known in South India, whose works are even to-day treated as classic in music. Thyagarajaiya, a great saint who flourished a hundred and sixty years ago at Tiruvadi, a place of well-known religious importance in the Tanjore District, had, on Ekadasi days on which he fasted completely, composed in all ten thousand song poems in praise of God, but with the exception of a comparatively small number, all of them were destroyed by fire. Subsequent to his death, his contemporaries who survived him, and who belonged to a different school of philosophy, smitten with jealous causedy by the excellence of the poems, destroyed a large number. About five hundred of them, however, have escaped the fate of the rest, but not even half of these are in general use now, as no musician can succeed in rendering them faithfully. These inspired verses of the great saint, apart from their religious fervour, philosophic depth, and musical merit, are also high class literary compositions

in Telugu. He has frequently expressed the view that music is the best medium for attaining salvation.

In order to prevent further deterioration of these valuable song poems. Mr. K. V. Sreenivasa Iyengar, a brother of one of the greatest living musicians of Southern India, well known as Mr. Tiger Varadachar, has made a very praiseworthy endeavour to publish them in popular notation, with commentaries, in a number of volumes known as "Thyagaraja Hridayam," of which the first volume has already been issued.

At the All-India Music Conference held at Baroda on the 22nd March 1916, under the gracious patronage of His Highness the Gaikwar, a meed of praise was given to the ancient Dravidian proficients in music. It is also established from the very commencement that the Dravidians had more minute notes and sub-notes in their scales than are to be found in modern days.

Besides this, the theory was that the keynote of each science had to be religiously reserved for the purpose of teaching it only to those best fitted to receive it. And it was for this reason that the fundamentals of any science were nowhere openly explained. The presumption was that the science which was not learnt directly from a teacher could not be acquired by mere individual effort. The mystery of each science was generally taught by the Gurus, in their last moments, to a deserving disciple whom they considered to be a worthy recipient.

In the Sri Chakram, a mystic geometrical figure with forty-eight triangles, which has been set up generally in all temples by Sri Shankaracharya the Jagad Guru, all is plain and easily understood with the exception of one little secret, which forms the key of the whole Chakram and which is not easily perceived by the uninitiated. Without knowing the secret key the Chakram is unintelligible. In the same manner there are hidden mysteries in other sciences, such as cannot be understood, unless taught by the Guru, but the secret is revealed from time to time only to a select few, who are tried through a long course of pupilage. They had likewise a key for even the most difficult calculations in music which however has most unfortunately been lost.

It is observed that music stimulates the nerves, regulates the circulation of blood, improves the concentration of mind and lessens bodily pains and mental worries. Dr. Knox says that music refines the soul, infuses better ideas and thoughts, and animates action. The great poet Milton required constantly the Lydian airs to brace him up against eating cares. On one occasion Mr. Lloyd George expressed that he would rather be a musician than the Prime Minister of England. Martinus Capilla tells us that fevers could

be cured by songs. Dr. Cox relates a case of insanity in a soldier having been most miraculously cured by music. Mr. Burton says that Farinelli cured King Philip of Spain of his melancholia in the eighteenth century. Dr. Rush, an eminent physician, observes that the Germans are seldom affected with consumption, because of the strength which their lungs acquire by exercising them in vocal music, as it constitutes an essential branch of their education. A most renowned music master of an important academy asserts that he had known several persons who were consumptive having been restored to health by the exercise of their lungs in song. Sir William Jones has remarked that music has the power of digestion and absorption. With this view in ancient days Indian princes were in the habit of hearing music after food.

Pet animals such as cats and dogs have also attraction for music. Even mice are drawn out of their holes and spiders from their webs by the effects of music, and they run away when it is discontinued. Sir John Hawkins says that when a house was infested with snakes, musicians were called for who by their music charmed them away. An American scientist says that if a milkmaid sang while milking, the cow would yield a fourth quantity of milk more than usual. Minstrel Saga said, while sailing, music on board the ship attracted fishes which jumped into the boat. Bul-buls and nightingales keep fluttering about when they hear music. Wild elephants and antelopes tempted by sweet strains approached the garden at which Sirajuddaulah was entertained at a picnic.

It is not always easy to express in writing any idea springing up in the human brain, in a manner sufficiently clear to all, nor can any written book reproduce the innumerable variations met with in the articulation of sound. Much less is it possible to convey the peculiar impressions produced by gestures and other graces used by a public speaker. More elusive still are the delicate shades of blending in the musical notes of an Indian melody. No notation therefore, however complete, can accurately describe the magnificent outcome of the highest inspiration. Although the Indians were known as the best mathematicians who dealt with integers up to thirty-two places and decimals to many places, yet they deliberately omitted to record any measurement for determining the notes of music, as it is not possible accurately to decipher the minutest details by committing them to writing. You have all noticed that when a stone is thrown into water, waves are formed round the central point, which gradually increases in diameter and decreases in intensity at a regular uniform interval and this is just the case with the sound of music. It can only be caught by the ear, as the variations outstrip our power to represent them. The ancient Indians were therefore very conservative, and for real and accurate knowledge of music, they had greater

faith in oral instruction and personal guidance than in written books. Hence their apparent indifference to musical notation, for when once a piece was reduced to writing, it ceased to live and became mechanical.

It is very difficult to indicate exactly in writing the manner and expression of emotional ideas in singing, as emotion is as much a part of us as understanding. Emotion obeys fixed laws, and follows an orderly and uniform course and runs in sequence. It has its logic and method of inference and therefore it is a part of the mind. Dr. Seaman most thoughtfully suggests that we can concentrate greater intensity of feeling in a single musical note than in pages of writing. Presumably it was on such considerations that the Indians decided that they should not attempt a notation for Indian music. In spite of this, however, a system of notation had been worked out to serve a popular purpose.

It is interesting to quote Sarangadeva's doctrine of the origin of human sound. He says "The idea in the mind generates Agni, meaning animal heat, which in its turn generates Vayu, meaning sound. This Vayu proceeds upwards from the Mooladharam, meaning the centre of the trunk, through the stomach, the heart, the head, and finally emerges, through the mouth, in the shape of Nadam, meaning voice. In these five places, Nadam obtains five corresponding names, of Atishookshma meaning very minute, Sookshma meaning minute, Pushta meaning developed, Apushta meaning undeveloped, and Krithrima meaning artificial sound. The very minute sound is audible only to Yogis contemplating salvation. The next to it, *viz.*, minute sound also is not audible to every one, but it may sometimes be heard by closing ears. The Nadam increases in intensity, in the ratio of 1, 2 and 4, being Mandram meaning low in the heart, Madhyamam meaning middle in the trunk, and Taram meaning high in the head. The sound which is thus produced has twenty-two varieties. The sound which could be distinctly heard is called sruti, meaning note. There are twenty-two nadis meaning arterial passages across. When the air passes through them, these passages dilate, and the sound comes out fully concentrated. In the same manner, there are twenty-two sthanas in the trunk and the head. The outcome of these twenty-two notes are the twenty-two srutis which were once prevalent in India, though in modern practice, we recognize only twelve srutis. The ancient Tamilians had designated the saptaswaras by Tamil names. They were known as Kural, Kaikkilai, Ulai, Ili, Vilari and Taram. Each of them denotes a varying passion, *e.g.*, Kural means natural tone, Tuttam means sound produced by the help of the tongue, Kaikkilai means unreciprocated passion, Ulai means disappointed howl, Ili means contempt, Vilari means compassion, and Taram means high. Subsequently, but even before the age of Panini, 250 B.C., these

seven notes were known by the present Sanskrit names, *viz.*, Shadja, Rishabha, Gandhara, Madhyama, Panchama, Dhaiwata and Nishada and were designated by their initial letters usually adopted for the seven notes used as symbols, for facility of singing, *viz.*, Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha and Ni. But the notation was not further developed and deciphered, because the minute classification of sound effects was found to be incomplete and inaccurate in writing.

The human intellect is so constituted that by hearing often a particular tune you can fix it in the mind, but cannot so accurately commit it to writing, as these gross symbols can never indicate the subtler variations of the living voice. This phenomenon is found in a smaller degree even among animals. You will surely feel amused when I say that even the domestic dogs have learnt to bark in various tones, indicative of their desire as distinct from the bark of a wild dog. A domesticated dog has a bark of eagerness as in the chase, that of anger as when growling, the howl of despair as when shut up, the bark of joy as when starting on a walk with his master, the bark of demand of wishing for a door to be opened, and the baying at night as an alarm. All these, doubtless, indicate various emotions and desires, and this is the result of the dog having lived in close association with human beings, who are the highest manipulators of voice, and of its having heard their various articulations of joy and sorrow.

It is generally believed by the Hindus that the surest way to secure the blessings of a deity is to utter its praise in music, and our Bhajana organizations, which in these days find curious imitation among foreigners too are based on this principle. Sri Chaitanya, among the latter-day saints of India, is said to have danced and sung till he fell into a fit of ecstasy. The fact is remarkable that, even in the most advanced nations in the world, praise and prayer are generally accompanied by music. In the Chinese annals, a curious belief is recorded that music has the power of making even the heavens descend upon the earth. It is religiously ordained that Samaveda should be recited with musical grace.

Charles Darwin says, "It appears probable that the progenitors of the human race, whether males or females, before acquiring the power of expressing their mutual love in articulate language, endeavoured to charm each other with musical notes and rhymes." Women generally possess sweeter voice than men as their throat does not undergo any change of form by age. And if this serves as any guide at all, we may infer that they first acquired musical power in order to attract the other sex. But if this be so, this must have been the case long long ago, before our ancestors had become sufficiently human to justly appreciate women for their intrinsic worth.

Naturalists are much divided in their views as to the object served by the

singing of birds. The males of song birds do not in general search for the females, but on the contrary, their business in spring is to perch in some conspicuous spot, breathing out their full and amorous notes, which by instinct the female knows and repairs to the spot to choose her mate. It is affirmed that this is certainly the case with the nightingale. Mr. Beepsteen, who kept a number of birds during his life-time, asserts that the female canary always chooses out of a hundred competitors the one whose notes please her most. Mr. Yarrel says that during the season of songs the first rate bird sometimes sings till he drops down dead by rupturing a blood vessel.

Having given a very brief account of the origin and history of Indian music and other susceptibilities in connection therewith, I shall now proceed to give you the rudiments of the musical notes of the Indian octave, comparing them with the English.

In determining the number of notes, the ancient Indians seem to have been influenced by their partiality for the mystic figure seven. For the musical notes are seven, known as Saptaswaras, the oceans of the world are seven, known as Saptasamudras, the worlds are seven, known as Saptalokas, the planets are seven, known as Saptagrahas, the saints who formed the religious ancestors are seven, known as Saptarishis, the days of the week are seven, known as Saptawaras, the arteries for feeling the pulse of human beings are seven, known as Saptanadis, the principal colours are seven, and the constituents of the human body are also seven.

It would interest you to know how the pitch of these seven notes was originally fixed by the saints who lived in forests, by careful observation of the sounds uttered during the respective seasons by the various birds and animals by which they were surrounded.

The late Mr. Chinnasamy Mudaliar, M.A., who had made music his life study and who spent the whole of his hard earned fortune on it, describes the various notes, with reference to the emotions that give rise to them. He says, Sa is the sound of joy and happiness, produced by the peacock, at moments of rapture, which generally happens when the clouds gather in the sky, indicating the commencement of the rainy season. Ri is the troubled low of the cow in calling to her calf dragged away from her. Ga is the puzzled bleat of the goat, in the midst of its flock, calling for the aid of its fellows. Ma is the unhappy cry of the heron on the bank of a pool, uttered on seeing the gathering of the clouds, and anticipating a flood, which would force her to flee elsewhere for safety. Pa is the note of joy sounded by the nightingale at spring tide, the brightest period of the year. Dha is the neigh of readiness of the horse, at the moment when the rider approaches it. Ni is the sorrowful yell of the elephant when the mahout strikes the back of its

head with an iron rod. Stringed instruments were invented to imitate the humming of bees, and drums to reproduce the sound of thunder.

These saptaswaras have both literal and figurative meanings. Shadja means originator of the six notes, Rishabha is so called because the Rig-veda was chanted to its key, Gandhara is so called because it is associated with the Gandharvas, Madhyama means the middle of the seven notes. Panchama means the fifth note. Dhaiwata means the unaffected note, which is not moved from its own position in relation to other notes, and Nishada means the note with which the scale terminates. Of the lower animals, the cock alone is said to be able to reproduce the whole gamut of the musical scale.

The lowest of these seven notes is called Shadja, as it forms the foundation of the other six. Shadja is derived from Sanskrit, shad means six, and ja to be born, meaning the fundamental note which determines the other six. This note repeated at the end makes up a complete octave of eight notes. The scale thus formed is divided into two halves, each being composed of four notes, the first and the last of which remain immutable, while the two intermediate notes alone are liable to variation. These seven principal notes are also based on phonological principles, being related to the seven principal vowel sounds, *viz.*, अ has bearing to Sa, आ to Ri, इ to Ga, उ to Ma, ए to Pa, ओ to Dha and अं to Ni. They are also divided into four main castes according to merits, *viz.*, Brahmans being Sa, Ma, and Pa, as each of which contain four srutis, Kshatriyas being Ri and Dha with three srutis, Vysyas being Ga and Ni with two srutis and Sudras being sharps and flats, as unstables, being affected by the relative value of the various notes.

Every note is composed of three tones, *viz.*, first, third and fifth, *i.e.*, Sa, Ga and Pa of the Indian tones, of C, E, and G, of the English tones, in the same way as the sun's ray is composed of three primary prismatic colours, *viz.*, yellow, red and blue. Musical harmony is attained only if the pitch of the sound is uniform. These seven sounds which succeed each other proceed from the grave to the acute. The grave and acute sounds are the two extreme ends of the scale. The highest sound of the octave is produced by double the number of vibrations of the lowest, and the most acute note is the eighth of the series. The two extreme notes are the octaves of each other, one being the lower and the other higher. A melody thus formed of a succession of notes taken from the first series preserves the same character if it is sung in the same order, higher or lower. A musical scale so formed of consecutive sounds has no other limit than those of our power of perceiving sounds. The sounds having been thus fixed, they

are further operated with reference to Ragas and Talas. Raga indicates the type of melody, and is the general name given to a large variety of songs coming under the type, and Tala indicates rhythmical beat, which determines time and fixes the relative duration of musical sounds with reference to a fixed unit. All ragas however may be divided into four classes, those consisting of five notes, those of six, those of seven, and the mixed ones consisting of irregular notes. The arrangement of ascent and descent in the last class is not the same as in the case of the first three classes. This class may therefore be called compound Ragas. There are seventy-two ragas, each involving seven notes, classified into twelve distinct groups and thirty-five talas commonly recognized. The main ragas have been sub-divided into innumerable ragas of derivative scale, and these are called their wives and sons known as Raginis and Putras; of which about one thousand ragas are said to have been generally known, but about two hundred alone are in general use now. It should be observed here, that few voices can touch in artistic singing all the notes of the three octaves. According to the Indian tone of music the compass of the human voice, generally of a matured adult, is three scales, one below the register and the other above it.

Every raga in the Indian music is associated with some divinity or other, for example, Shankarabharana means ornament of Siva. Some names have also reference to particular sound, for example Garudadhvani means note of an eagle. These names are partly of a connotative nature, while the rest are mostly arbitrary. Music was so much spread and developed in ancient days, that different melodies were generally fixed for different seasons and for different periods of the day and night, and the rule is observed even to this day.

The raga which is sung in winter which introduces five other seasons in succession begins with Sri, as Hindus begin everything with Sri, which means Lakshmi signifying prosperity. So, the raga also begins with Sri, and therefore in winter, which is the commencement of the seasons, Sriraga is sung. Next is the spring, which means Vasantha and therefore Vasantharaga, as its name indicates, is sung in spring. In summer, songs are sung in Panchama tone as it is the substitute for Dipika, which means a burning lamp and is associated with heat, which would produce flames. Megha means cloud, and so the Megha Mallar raga is sung in the rainy season to produce rain. Bhairava raga is sung in autumn, as Bhairava is another name for Siva, who, together with his consort, Parvati, is particularly worshipped in autumn, and Narayana raga is sung in winter, as it is associated with heroism, the winter being considered the most convenient season to engage

in war. Similarly, Hanumatodi is intended for the morning, Kharaharapriya for the noon, Subhapantuvarali for the evening, and Natabhairavi for the night, and so on. There are also notes expressing reverence, request, pleasure, sorrow, etc. Mayamawagowla denotes reverence, whereas Hari-kambodi is intended for imploring. For expressing sorrow and pleasure respectively, Punnagavarali and Bilahari are largely used. For royal courts Arabhi, and for love Mohana, are used. The Hindu musicians take great care not to confound the notes intended to express these varying passions of the human soul. It is said that by way of test, the Emperor Akbar commanded Naik Gopal to sing Dipika raga; in obedience to which the Naik went to the Jumna river, plunged in up to his neck and sung the characteristic notes. As he went on flames burst out and he was consumed to ashes in spite of his being in water. Then the experiment of Natabhairavi raga was entrusted to Thansain, with the result that though sung at midday its notes induced darkness and encircled the royal abode, as far as the songster's voice could be heard.

In the English music, the seven sounds are called Do, Re, Me, Fa, Sol, La and Si, which are derived from the first syllable of each line of a Latin hymn written by Paulus Diaconus who flourished in Italy in the eighth century and the letters of the alphabet usually adopted to indicate the seven notes are C, D, E, F, G, A and B. These letters are repeated for each octave, with the terms sharp and flat, equivalent to Thivra and Comala in the Indian music for the intermediate notes. When the compass of these notes, English and Indian, are compared, the difference can be mathematically expressed, with 282 points for the English notes against 268 points for the Indian notes.

English	Do	Re	Me	Fa	Sol	La	Si	Do
	24	27	30	32	36	40	45	2 48
Indian	Sa	Ri	Ga	Ma	Pa	Dha	Ni	Sa
	22	26	29	31	35	39	42	2 44

The Hindu music attained perfection at the very commencement and it continues to remain perfect. For, it may be assumed that the calculations used by the Hindus at present are as they existed from the earliest times. The very fact that the octaves as they proceed have the vibrations of their notes in geometrical progression, shows that the musical ear was most delicately trained.

Mr. Vossius maintains that Egyptians who borrowed their music from India, had also a musical scale similar to that of the English, many centuries before Guy of Arezzo published his own. There was however a good deal of controversy

as to the twelve notes, till Heyden in 1732, Mazart in 1756 and Beethoven in 1798, fixed and divided in equal temperament the various tones and semi-tones.

Physiologically speaking, the ordinary human ear is capable of appreciating tones having 33 to 4,000 vibrations per second, *i.e.*, from the lowest basis C.33 vibrations to the highest treble, C.5·4223 vibrations of the piano taking Sa as the basis with 2160 vibrations. Tones above and below this, even when audible, can hardly be distinguished from one another. The lowest limit has been fixed at 16 vibrations and the highest at 38,000 vibrations a second, by employing very small tuning forks. A sound corresponding to 38,000 vibrations a second is also audible. But the modern scientists in America who have been making very minute researches have not been able to fix the velocity of the vibrations that ought to be audible to the human ear.

In the animate beings the vocal chord is essential for producing sound. The vocal organs of both human beings and animals present a general resemblance. Some of the animals have large sacks attached to the vocal chords which increase the resonance of the voice, for example, the noisy braying of the ass is due to this. On the other hand the giraffe, porcupine and a few other animals, have no vocal chord and hence they are mute. According to Professor Max-Muller, the average length of the vocal chord in man is 18½ millimeters when relaxed and 23⅓ millimeters when stretched, whereas in women 12⅔ millimeters when relaxed and 15⅔ millimeters when stretched, thus giving a difference of about ⅓ between the two sexes, which accounts for the different pitch of the male and female voices. One millimeter is equal to 1/25th of an inch roughly, and therefore the vocal chord of a human being is about ½ to ¾ of an inch. The man's vocal chord is about ⅓ longer than that of a woman or a boy, but the timbre and the form of the larynx differ in various races of mankind and with the Tartars and Chinese the voice of the male does not differ so much as in most other races.

Turning to the subject of musical instruments, I may mention that in ancient days the Indians had brought even instrumental music to a high state of development. They had stringed and wired instruments very peculiar and adapted to their mode of singing. These instruments had generally seven to twenty-one strings denoting the seven main notes. Veena was known then by the name of Yal with a hundred and even more strings and it is said that an instrument used by the great sage Agastya had a thousand strings. A great variety of wind and other instruments were also in use.

The Indian musical instruments may be classed under three main heads in each of which there are methods calculated to produce musical sounds. Firstly by pulling metal, wire, or catgut-strings stretched to tension and

producing sounds from them by strokes, either by plucking, or by striking, or by friction by horse hair. Secondly, by percussion and compressing air and letting it out, through hole or holes in various proportions. And thirdly, by blowing air through hole or holes with varying speed and by subjecting it by some device, metal, wood, or horn or other substance to measured strokes. The Veena is alluded to in the Vedas themselves while the flute is the favourite of Lord Sri Krishna. Although wind instruments are more largely in use, yet they have been of secondary importance for the reason of their use by the mouth which is generally considered as unclean by the Hindus.

The innumerable musical instruments of Indians, most of which are very ancient, are indicative of the ingenious variety of India's music. There are over fifty kinds of stringed or wired instruments, eighty kinds of wind instruments and a hundred and twenty kinds of other miscellaneous instruments. Among drums alone there are over a hundred kinds. Of the latter, three kinds were most remarkable. They were the battle drum, the judgment drum and the sacrificial drum. The battle drum was regarded as an equivalent to the present-day regimental flag and the capture of the battle drum meant the defeat of the army. Even a list of the various instruments will surely be a very lengthy one, nor do I attempt to explain them, as it is not possible to describe all of them at one stretch. I would however mention one of each kind, taking first a stringed or wired instrument.

Of all the musical instruments, the stringed or wired instruments of India are the most melodious, full of grace and embellishment and capable of great range. Among wired instruments the Veena is one of a very high order, and it occupies the first place. According to Hindu mythology, it is one of the emblems of Saraswati, the Goddess of Learning. Its stem two to three feet long, forming the frame, is generally made of jack-wood, to one end of which is attached a hollow wooden resonance box of the shape of a hemisphere, and to the other end just below, but half a foot away from the butt-end, is also attached a gourd to balance the instrument on the ground. There are a number of sound holes, on the plain upper surface of the resonance box, on which a bridge is placed. On this frame, the wires are fitted and spread over twenty-four rigid frets made of brass or silver and are fixed and screwed at the two ends of the frame. It has four main wires and three sub-wires all screwed tight on the scaled stem, and each of them has a range of two octaves up to the last fret. These four wires are usually tuned to the key note. They are played by the right hand finger nails specially allowed to grow or by a plectrum worn on the finger's tip. The three side wires are struck not only as a kind of drone to the music but also to mark time and contribute harmony. The main wires are operated by the

left hand fingers. The various notes are produced on the frets in contact with which the wires are worked and vibrated.

The next in order are the instruments worked by compression of wind. Those worked by various other methods are considered to be next to them in excellence. I therefore take a wind instrument, Nagaswara the pipe. It is in common use throughout India. No ceremony is complete without it. It is made generally of black wood but the modern tendency has been to have it overlaid with silver or gold plates in token of the proficiency of the performer. It consists of a tube two to two and a quarter feet long conical in shape enlarging downwards with finger holes bored horizontally and with cadjon leaves fixed to the muzzle as a mouth-piece. The piper blows through the tube, simultaneously working with the finger on the side holes also, with variations of sounds of acute and grave scaled down to key note. There are in all twelve holes, seven of which are generally used by the fingers, and the remaining five are left alone to regulate the pitch. These holes are fully or partially covered according to the delicacy of the note to be produced. While blowing through the muzzle, the horizontal key note holes are worked with eight fingers of both the hands. Great skill is required to bring out on this all the notes of the gamut. It is always accompanied by one or two drones, which indicate the fundamental note and the fifth note, *viz.*, Sa and Pa of the Indian tones or C and E of the English tones. On the Nagaswara the performer can produce all the graces of music. The music is very pleasing but it is not intended to be heard at close quarters.

I next take an instrument known as Jalatarang falling under the category of the third class. In this there is an arrangement to produce musical sound, by striking with two thin sticks held in both hands fourteen China cups of varying sizes placed in a semicircular form and filled with water in different proportions so as to produce the different tones and semi-tones. These cups are placed within the radius of the performer's reach who sits in the centre. It requires a drone to maintain harmony. But this latter day invention makes no provision for the subtle effects of blended notes.

Having given only one instrument of each of the three important kinds, I wish however to make at least a mere reference to a few other ancient instruments of noteworthy features. In Ceylon there is an instrument which has only two strings, one of flax and the other of horse hair and has tiny bells attached to it. The hollow part of this instrument is half a cocoanut shell covered with the dried skin of a lizard and perforated below. With a little variation there is a similar one in Assam. Another of the kind is in the Punjab but this is provided with forty-five strings, seven for each swara. In Deccan there is a similar instrument made of clay and a long drum made of deer skin.

Another in Burma is shaped like a boat and is provided with forty-two bamboo sticks of various lengths. These are beaten with a wooden hammer to produce the required notes. Another instrument in the North has a bowl made of ostrich egg and there are a number of other instruments of extraordinary kind even the exact shape of which is unknown. Each variety can produce some peculiar grace or graces of music.

You are probably aware of a recent invention by one Mr. P. Subba Rao, B.A., who is a native of the Northern Circars. The invention is a happy combination of the two instruments, *viz.*, the jalatarang and the harmonium. The inventor calls it Jalactronium. Its arrangement roughly is that a current of electricity passes through a wire which when electrified produces a magnetic field, and as the wire is wound round a piece of iron the magnetic effect is increased. This magnetised iron attracts another piece of iron to which hammers are attached to strike the various cups. The hammers are made of special material and produce no harsh or metallic sound. The magnetic arrangement by which the cups are struck is called a "relay". The range compasses from two to four octaves. Magnetic relays that strike the cups are actuated by keys on a switch board. By pressing the necessary key of the switch board the hammers strike the corresponding cups producing various musical sounds. The key switch board may be imagined to be of the kind of a typewriting machine. The harmonium is kept in unison with the jalatarang which actuates it. The notes on the harmonium correspond to those in the cups in the same or higher or lower octave as may be fixed. The short and sharp sounds of the jalatarang, combined with those of the harmonium, produce a pleasing effect. The keys of the harmonium are utilized as the keys of the switch board, to faithfully reproduce the notes both in quality and in quantity. A standard set of cups are kept ready for comparison and other cups are standardised by filling them with the requisite measure of water. Two or more corresponding notes of different octaves can be produced at the same time by playing with both hands. A harmonist who sings with this arrangement requires no other accompaniment. This invention is really novel.

There is yet another invention known as Subra-Veena by one Mr. P. S. Subramanyam. The invention may be said to be the combination of harmonium and veena. The main object of the invention is to supplant harmonium, a latter day's invention, with veena, a classical and national instrument. In this a key board has been provided and a note is produced by pressing a particular key which at the same time works on the striking lever and in turn it operates on the various strings of the veena. More minute strains are similarly worked while the various strings are under vibration. Subtle effects of blended notes are produced by pulling the lever to which a

tape is attached. This invention is intended solely to facilitate the learning of veena-playing which is very difficult, and also to produce richer and more concentrated notes, the veena is in unison with the harmonium. This invention is also novel.

Let me remark in passing that of all English musical instruments the violin is the only one capable of reproducing every variety of intonation and grace and calculated to unfold the infinite potentialities of Indian music.

I hope this brief account, which I have been able to place before you, will convince you that Indian music has a history of its own. Need I say that Indian music commands the admiration of every scholar, who has made a searching study of its origin and history, and who wishes to know what lights up every face in an Indian home?

TWO TAMIL DANCES.

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, ESQ., B.A.

Nāṭya-śāstra, or the art of acting was developed in great elaboration by Bharatamuni in his *Bharata-śāstra* of about the fourth century A.D.; but as it was itself probably based on the earlier *Naṭasūtras* [1] of Śilālin and Kṛiśāśva who have been referred to by, and must therefore have lived before, the great grammarian Pāṇini, the age of the dancing art of Aryan India as a science goes back to very high antiquity. The Tamilian branch of this art, although it followed its Aryan sister in certain particulars and copied several of the technical terms relating to that science in later times, must have had, however, an antiquity equally hoary and also maintained a distinct individuality in this, as in many other branches of culture; for we find here several varieties of dances peculiar to her own independent civilization, which are absent in the Sanskrit treatises. In the *Araṅgēṛṛukādai* and the *Kaḍalāḍukādai*, the third and sixth chapters of *Pugār-kāṇḍam*, the first book of *Śilappadigāram*, some references are made to several of the varieties of dances in vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the learned commentator Aḍiyārk-kunallār (*c.* 1200 A.D.) has taken this opportunity to insert, with copious quotations from some Tamil works, such as Agattiyam, Śeyiṛṛiyam, Jayantam, Guṇanūl, Nāṭaka-tamiḻ-nūl of Matīvāṇa, etc., a fairly detailed account on the characteristics, significance, utility, etc., of the various kinds of dances, either purely pantomimic or accompanied by music, both vocal and instrumental, the principal reprsentatives of the latter being the *yāḻ* and the *kuḻal*.

Kūttus or dances were primarily divided into several pairs of sub-divisions consistent with their character; and one such classification was the *Śāntik-kūttu* [2] and the *Vinōdakkūttu*.[3] The former was the collective name of four [4] kinds of dances which were indulged in by the hero or the dancer in a mood of reposeful enjoyment and as a means of æsthetic recreation; while the *Vinōdak-kūttu* which had to appeal to the masses was more of a spectacular than an intellectual kind and was sub-divided into six varieties, *viz.*,[5] *Kuravai*, *Kalinaṭam*, *Kuḍakkūttu*, *Karaṇam*, *Nōkku* and *Tōṛpāvai* with the optional inclusion of the *Vidūḍakkūttu* or sometimes of the *Veṛiyāttu* as the seventh.

---

1. Q. J. M S., Vol. XII, page 157. Some place Bharata before Christ.
2-3. Mah. Swaminatha Ayyar's edition of *Śilappadigāram*, page 80.
4. namely, *Śokkam*, *Meykkūttu*, *Avinayam* and *Nāṭakam*.
5. 'எழுவகைக் கூத்து மிழிகுலத் தோரை யாட வகுத்தன் னகத்தியன் றனே'—Page 81.

Of these, *Kuḍakkūttu* was also one of the eleven varieties (according to another grouping) danced by the Dēvas in their fight with their born enemies the *asuras* and enumerated in the following stanza :—

'கடையமயி ராணிமரக் கால்விந்தை கந்தன்
குடைதுடிமா லல்லியமல் கும்பஞ்—சுட்ர்விழியாற்
பட்டமதன் பேடுதிருப் பாவையரன் பாண்டரங்கங்
கொட்டியிவை காண்பதிஞோர் கூத்து.'

These again were classified into two groups of six and five each according to the posture of dancing, either standing or otherwise :

'அல்லியங் கொட்டி குடைகுடம் பாண்டரங்க
மல்லுட னின்றாட லாறு'

and 'துடிகடை யம்பேடு மரக்காலே பாவை
வடிவுடன வீழ்நதாட லைநது.' 6

Of these we shall take up for consideration only the two varieties *Kuḍai* and *Kuḍam*, which are described in the following lines of the *Kaḍalāḍukādai* as having been played on two special occasions:

'படைவீழ்த் தவுணர் பையு ளெய்தக்
குடைவீழ்த் தவர்மு ஞடிய குடையும்
வாணன் பேரூர் மறுகிடை நடந்து
நீணில மளந்தோ ஞடிய குடமும்' (lines 52—55).

In his commentary on these lines, Aḍiyarkkunallār says that god Subrahmaṇya after having slain the demon Śūrapadmāsura who had concealed himself in the ocean, danced his war-dance of triumph on the heaving wave-platform of the oceanic stage to the accompaniment of the rattle of his drum *(tuḍi)*,[7] and that later on, when all the other remaining Rākshasas threw down their weapons in despair and fled from the field before the war-god's impetuous onslaught, Subrahmaṇya screened his face with a parasol and played in derision the *Kuḍaikkūttu* or the Umbrella-Dance. These are the two [8] varieties of dances mentioned as peculiar to this god and it is noticeable that both of them are of Tamilian origin and do not find corresponding equivalents in the sub-divisions described in the Sanskrit *Nāṭya-śāstras*. Murugaṉ (the Tamil synonym of

6. Mah. Swaminatha Ayyar's edition, page 89.

7 மாக்கட னடுவே
ணீர்த்திரை யரங்கத்து நிகர்த்து முன்னின்ற
சூர்த்திறங் கடாதோ ஞடிய துடியும்—ll. 49—51 of *Kadalādukādai*.

Compare also சேடனுக்கசண் டாளரக்கர்குல
மாளவிட்டுதெண் டேழலைக்கடல்கள்
சேரவற்றனின் முடிவிற்கரமீ—றறுதோண்மேல்—*Tiruppugal*.

8 குடையொடுதுடியிரண்டும் குமரனதாடலாமே—*Chūḍāmaṇi*.
அறுமுகத்தோனுடல் குடை and துடியாடல் வேன்முருகனுடல்—*Śilap*, page 89.

Kumāra) is more popular in Tamilian South India than in the Aryan North where his worship is not so much favoured [9]; and we find him given an equal status with Vishṇu and Śiva in early Tamil literature. He was the tutelary deity of the *Kuṟiñjinila-mākkaḷ* [10] or hill-men, in whose routine of worship *tuḍi* [11] (drum) was the chief musical accompaniment and *veṟiyāttu*, a kind of wild spirit-possessed dance, formed an important feature. *Tirumurugāṟ-ṟuppaḍai*, the first poem in the *Pattuppāttu*, is in praise of this god Murugaṇ and is considered so sacred as to be utilized by the devout 'Murugites' for their daily recitation (*pārāyaṇam*); while as many as eight pieces in the available *Paripāḍal* are exclusively dedicated to the glorification of Śevvēḷ (Subrahmaṇya).These *Kuḍaikkūttus* are now sometimes performed during temple processions when the god's umbrella-bearer cuts some capers with his unwieldy parasol in front of the deity, but the *Kāvaḍikkūttu* is a greater favourite in these days in Murugaṇ's worship and festivities.

The second variety called the *Kuḍakkūttu* is another dance peculiar to the Tamil genius, but again we do not find its counterpart in the premier Sanskrit treatises on the art of dancing. Its origin has to be traced to the purely pastoral pursuits of its votaries, the shepherds, who eventually came to consider it as one of the three favourite dances of god Vishṇu in his special manifestation as Gōpāla, the Divine Shepherd.[12] In the Śaṅgam works[13] but more frequently in the impassioned utterances[14] of the Vaishṇava-āḷvārs, reference is made to the partiality of Kṛishna to this kind of dance. One such instance is in a verse of Periyāḷvār's *Tirumoli* [15], where its learned

---

9. *Elements* of *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, page 415.

10 சேயோன் மேய மைவரை யுலகமும்—*Tolkāppiyam*, *Aha* · *S* 5.

11. தொண்டகமுருகியம் போர்த்துடி குறிஞ்சிப்பறைபேர்—*Chūḍāmaṇi*.

12. மாயோன் மேய காடுறையுலகமும்— *Tolkāppiyam*.
'குன்றெடுத்து ஆநிரைகாத்தபிரான், கோவலனுய்க்குழலூதியூதி, கன்றுகள் மேய்
த்துத் தனதோழதரோடு, கலநதுடன் வருவானை'—*Periyālvār-Tirumoli*.

13. இடவல குடவல கோவல காவல— *Paripāḍal*, 3ம் பத்து, 1. 83;
குடத்தாடல் குன்றெடுத்தோனுடல்—*Śilap.*, page 89.

14. குடங்கலநதாடிக் குரவைமுன் கோத்த கூத்த—பதிெருமொ, தும்பத்து,எம்திருமொழி.
—*Śilap.*, page 89.
குடமாடுகூத்தன் கோவிநதன்—நாச்சி, ய-ம் திருமொழி.,
குடமாடிக் கோவலனுய்மேவி என்னெஞ்சம்
இடமாகக் கொண்ட இறை—இயற்பா, உ-ம்திருவ, பா 98.
குடமாடி இம்மண்ணும் விண்ணும் குலுங்க உலகளந்து
நடமாடிய பெருமாள்—இயறபா, திருவி, பா 38
குடமாடல் வாய்ந்த பரததுவத்தான்—திருவேங்கடமாலை, 48.

15. குடங்களெடுத்தேறவிட்டுக் கூத்தாடவல்ல எம்கோவே—2-ம் பத்து, எ-ம்திருமொழி

commentator has attempted to trace the origin of this kind of pastoral dance as follows:—

"As brahmans perform sacrifices in days of plenty, so too do shepherds in prosperous times give vent to their exuberance of joy in improvising the *Kuḍakkūttu* or the Pot-Dance"—a recreation that would naturally have suggested itself to a class of men whose wealth was wooed, so to say, out of the cornucopia of their milk and butter-pots. "The dancer balances a tier of pots on his head and a few more on his shoulders, and throwing up some in the air catches them as they fall in succession (thus keeping up a continuous line of pots going round in the same manner as the game of *ammānai* is being played by little girls). The pots are either common earthen ones or are made of an amalgam of five metals (*pañchalōham*)." Lord Kṛishṇa as the prince of all shepherds (*āyarkōn*), was therefore the deity-elect of these arcadian performances, more particularly of the *Kuravaikkūttu* (Skt. *Rāsakrīḍa*),[16] the idyllic dance played on the moonlit lawns of Bṛndāvana to the entrancing accompaniment of his own divine flute, the musical instrument typical of *mullai-nilam*. The *Kuḍakkūttu* is popular even to-day in the form of *Karakamāṭṭam* connected with the worship of Kāḷi, in the *Uriyaḍi* festival commemorating the sports of the infant Kṛishna, and in the street acrobats' performances.

But the authors of *Śilappadigāram* and its commentary mention also a different occasion on which this Pot-Dance was played by Kṛishṇa; *viz.*, that of the defeat of Bāṇāsura in his own capital of Śōṇitapura (Śōnagaram). Aniruddha, the son and grandson respectively of Pradyumna and Kṛishṇa, made love on the sly to Ushā, the beautiful daughter of Bāṇa, and was forthwith imprisoned by the irate father in his invincible fire-girt castle. But Kṛishṇa despite the spirited opposition of Śiva, Subrahmanya, Ganēśa and all the goblin hordes entered the city,[17] defeated Bāṇa and would have killed him outright but for the timely pleading of Śiva and Bāṇa's agreement publicly to celebrate the marriage of his daughter with her secretive lover. This was the occasion when Kṛishṇa signalised his triumph by a frolicsome spell of his favourite Pot-Dance. Two other varieties attributed to him are the *alliyam* and the *mallu*,[18] which he indulged in on the occasions respectively

16. தொடுத்தகைகோத்தாடற பேர் சொல்லிய குரவையென்ப—*Chūdāmani.*
This dance has been described in *Āychchiyar-Kuravai* in *Śilappadigāram.*

17 Compare the following description in *Tiruvaraṅgakkalambagam*, verse 39:
மோடியோட வங்கிவெபபு மங்கியோடவைங்கரன்
முடுகியோட முருகனோட முக்கணீசன் மக்களத்
தேடியோட வாணனுயிரம் புயங்கள் குருதிநீர்
சிந்தியோட நேமிதொட்ட திருவரங்கராசரே

18 குடமல் லோடல்லியந்தான் கொண்டல்வண்ணன் தன் கூத்து—*Chūḍāmaṇi.*

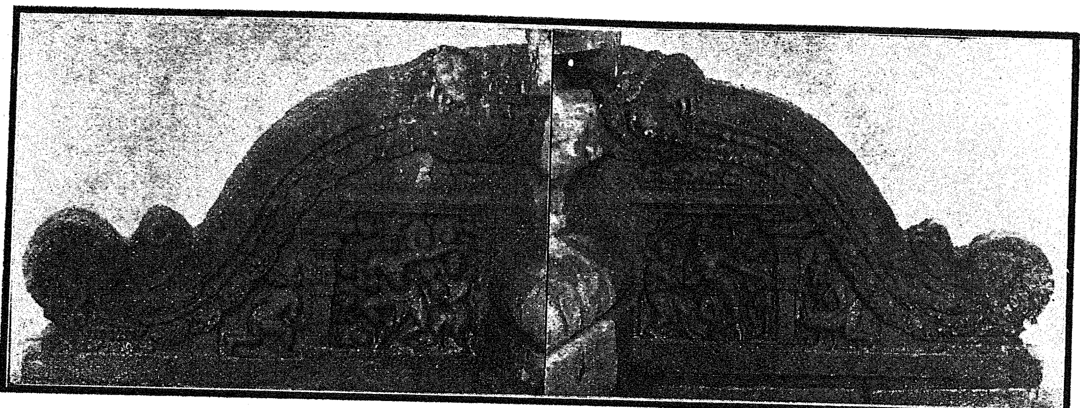
of killing the elephant-emissary of Kamsa and Kamsa himself. Kṛishṇa had in his eventful life in the *Āyarchchēri* several other opportunities for dancing; he danced his petulant and jubilant dances when butter[19] and curds were denied or given him, and danced again on the five-headed serpent Kāḷīya [20] who was polluting the Yamunā's waters. It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Bālarāmabharatam*, a work on the dancing art composed by the royal author Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara (1758-98), Mahārāja of Travancore, mentions Shaṇmukha (Subrahmaṇya) and Kṛishṇa among the *bharata-pradhāna-purushas*, or important divinities intimately connected with the dance.

The reason why the two varieties called the *Kuḍaikkūttu* and the *Kuḍakkūttu* have been detailed above is because the sculptures found on the two *yāḷi*-panels flanking the entrance into the *sanctum* of the Adbhuta-Nārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkaḍittānam[21] (Chenganacheri taluk of the Travancore State), one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* (holy places sacred to Vishnu) of Malai-nāḍu commemorated in the hymns of Nammāḷvār, may be taken to represent these two types of dances. The sculptures seem to belong to the end of the tenth century, and may therefore be contemporaneous with the few records of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman (A.D. 980-1037) found engraved on the base of the circular *adhisthāna* of the *garbhagṛiha* of this temple. These sculptures need not necessarily illustrate the dances of Subrahmaṇya and Kṛishṇa as such, but may even be representations of their exposition by mortal dancers. The *Kudaikkūttu* panel is a good piece of workmanship and represents the dancer as exhibiting his skill on the dais of a covered *maṇḍapa* (the *Rangamanḍapa* or the *Kūttambalam* of temples?) while an attendant standing to his left holds an umbrella aloft, its duplicate being held perhaps by the dancer himself, although this detail is not quite so clear in the sculpture. Two other attendants provide the musical accompaniment consisting of the inevitable *mṛidaṅgam* and a pair of cymbals. A flock of five *hamsas* looking more like ducklings than royal swans is seen sunning itself on the roof of the *maṇḍapa* and adds to the picturesqueness of the whole composition. The other panel of *Kuḍakkūttu* is also from the chisel of the same sculptor as is evident from the general style of its work and the recurrence

19 Compare his title of வெண்ணெய்க்கூத்தன்

20 பையரவின் சுட்டிற் சிரமபத நாட்டினன் சேர்வு—*Tiruvēngadamālai*, verse 1.
கானகமாமடுவிற் காளியனுச்சியிலே தூயநடம்பயிலும் சுந்தர—

21 It is perhaps a happy coincidence that the temple contains a sculptural representation of the *Kuḍakkūttu* while Nammālwār has also described the god of this place as:
'வைகுந்தம், கோயில்கொண்ட குடக்கூத்த அம்மானே' verse 5.



Varieties of Ancient Tamil Dances

of the same details as in the other piece. The posture of the dancer is, if anything, more vivacious and the attendants are figured with a more expressive touch of realism: witness the agile bend of the drummer's body and the watchful pose of his head. The dancer's head is dressed up in the *karaṇḍa-makuta* or the *dhammilla* style popular in representations of Kṛishṇa and the absence of the tier of pots has to be accounted for by limitations of space. Two pots each are enjoying a doubtful equilibrium on the extended left and bent right arms of the dancer, while three or four pots are seen dangling in space thrown up in the quick volutions of his rhythmic movements to be caught as they fall and thrown up again in succession.

Such are the two dances illustrated in the accompanying photographs, and their importance, if any, lies in the fact that they represent varieties of the ancient Tamil dances, some of which at least were the independent product of the distinctive culture of the Tamils and are still enjoying a fugitive existence, though in altered forms, in Kēraḷa, the yet unrifled 'Old Curiosity Shop' of several early customs and institutions.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SIVA-WORSHIP WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VIRASAIVISM.

BY R. RĀMA RAO, ESQ., B.A.

THE Vīraśaivas so called on account of their staunch devotion to the god Śiva form an important and influential community in the Kannaḍa-speaking tracts of the Dekkan including parts of Bombay and Madras Presidencies as well as the State of Mysore. They are also known as Lingāyats because they worship the *linga* or the stone emblem of the god Śiva and wear it always either enclosed in a small box and suspended by a string or tied in a scarf on their persons Their religion is of considerable importance to the students of South Indian history and languages not only because its sudden ascendancy paved the way for the downfall of the Kalachurya dynasty of kings, and because several powerful chiefs like the rulers of Ikkēri and Māgadi who grew in importance with the downfall of Vijayanagar were its adherents but because its growth gave a powerful stimulus to the development of a popular literature in the Kannaḍa language. The chief article in the creed of the Vīraśaivas is the exclusive worship of the god Śiva whom they believe to be the Supreme Being, the Origin of the Universe, Lord over all beings and the deliverer of his devotees from their bondage of births and deaths. It is therefore necessary while dealing with the origin of Vīraśaivism to trace the beginnings and development of the worship of the god Śiva.

Let us first turn to the most ancient scriptures of the Hindu Aryans, *viz.*, the Vedas. The name Śiva is seldom met with in the Vedic hymns but the other names used for this god such as Rudra, Bhava, Śarva, Triyambaka, occur in several passages in the Vedas. In some hymns Rudra is represented as "discharging brilliant shafts which run about the heaven and earth (Rig Veda, vii, 46, 3) and as possessing weapons which slay cows and men (*ibid.*, i, 114, 10). This would lead us to infer that he was identified with the destructive power of lightning He is often spoken of as fire and identified with the fire-god Agni. "The fire is Rudra; he is born when he is completely piled up." (Yajur Veda, v, 4, 2.) But we must not from these jump to the conclusion that Rudra was a terrible deity identical with the destructive agency of lightning or fire. For there are several other passages where he is spoken of as beneficent to men and beasts. The complex nature of the god is clearly brought out in the following hymn of the Rig Veda: "Offer these praises to the divine Rudra, armed with the strong bow and fast-flying arrows,

the bestower of food, the invincible, the conqueror, the creator, the wielder of sharp weapons ; may he hear our praises. He is known by his rule over those of terrestrial birth, by his sovereignty over those of celestial origin : protecting our progeny, Rudra, propitiating thee, come to our dwellings and be to them a guardian against disease. May thy blazing weapon which discharged from heaven traverses the earth, avoid us: thine, appeaser of the wind, are a thousand medicaments ; inflict not evil upon our sons and grandsons. Harm us not, Rudra ; abandon us not ; let us not fall under the bondage of thee when displeased ; make us partakers of the life-promoting sacrifice and do you (gods) ever cherish us with blessings" (vii, 46, 1-4). He is here the Supreme Creator and Ruler of the Universe punishing with his terrific arrows wicked men (the cow-killers and man-slayers : Yajurveda : Śatarudriya, chapter 19, 7) but benignant to his worshippers, protecting them against disease and increasing their food, cattle and progeny (*Cf.* also R. V., vi, 49, 10 ; i, 43, 1-4).

The passages quoted above are mostly taken from the Rig Veda but hymns of similar import are to be found in the other Vedas also as evidenced by the following extracts : " The Rudra in the fire, in the waters, in the plants, the Rudra that hath entered all beings, to that Rudra be homage" (Yajur Veda, v, 5, 10). "Rudra has broken your necks, ye Piśāchas ; may he also break your ribs, ye spooks. The plant whose power is everywhere has united you with Yama (death)" (Atharva Veda, vi, 32, 2). "O King Bhava, be gracious to the sacrificer, for thou hast become lord of cattle ; whoever has faith saying 'the gods are' be thou gracious to his bipeds and quadrupeds " (*ibid.*, xi, 2, 28). "Let Bhava and Śarva hurl at the evil-doers, the witch-craft-maker, the ill-doer, the missile of the gods, the lightning (*ibid.*, x, 1, 23). With mind, with libations, with flame (haras ?), with ghee, unto the archer Śarva and unto king Bhava—to them who are deserving of homage, I pay homage; let them conduct those of evil poison away from us" (*Ibid.*, vi, 93, 2). "Do ye (Sōma and Rudra) release us from difficulty, from reproach, enjoy ye the offering, put in us immortality" (*ibid.*, v, 6, 8).

Let us now turn to a book in the Yajur Veda, known as Śatarudrīya which is devoted exclusively to the god Rudra and which is held in high esteem and used in daily worship by pious devotees of Śiva all over India. Here the nature of the god appears in a much more developed form. He is the deity benignant to his worshippers irrespective of their walks of life but wrathful to evil-doers and is the lord of all the beings on earth. "O Girīśa, we pray to you by good (Śivēna vachasā) words. Make this our world free from *Yakshma* (disease) and happy. May the divine physician destroy all the serpents and demons (Yātudhānyah)" (1-5-6). Several names are given here for Rudra. He is called *Nīlagrīva* blue-necked, *Mṛiḍa* happiness-giver,

Kapardin wearer of matted hair, *Bhava* ever persistent, *Sankara* beneficent, *Siva* good, *Bhagava* the rich, *Iśāna* lordly, *Sarva* arrow-wielder, *Ugra* terrible, *Bhīma* fierce, *Pinākin* the bearer of Pināka (a bow), *Paśupati* lord of cattle. He is the thousand-eyed, lord of the worlds, of cattle, of road-trackers, of food, of fields, of forests, of trees, of herbs, of warriors, of thieves and robbers, of *punjishtas* (killers of birds) and *nishādas* (hunters), of swordsmen, of *vrātas* (assemblies) and *vrātapatis* (leaders of assembly), of heroes and horsemen, etc. He is prayed for to keep the children and cattle happy and not to hurt them with his arrows (10, 3, 5 & 6) but be terrible towards cow-killers and man-slayers (10, 7). Prayers are also addressed to Rudras found in the ocean and sky, who are blue-necked, dwellers in trees, protectors and also injurers of men in food and drink, shooters of arrows and they are prayed to keep the devotee happy and to inflict harm on his enemies (11th anuvāka). They are elsewhere found associated with the Vasus and Ādityas and sometimes with Maruts who are called sons of Rudra (A. V., v, 24, 12; viii, 8, 12. xix, 11, 4; R. V., x, 92, 5: x, 128; i, 45, etc.).

There is a chapter in the Atharva Veda (chapter xv) which is believed by some scholars to throw a flood of light on the origin and nature of this deity. This chapter resembles to some extent the celebrated Purusha Sūkta of the Rig Veda. Just as in the latter hymn we find a mysterious account given of the origin and greatness of the Purusha, the significance of which cannot be clearly followed we find in this chapter of the Atharva Veda the nature and deeds of the Vrātya described in terms which equally mystify and puzzle us. It begins by saying "A Vrātya there was, just going about; he stirred up Prajāpati. He, Prajāpati, saw in himself gold (suvarna), he generated that; That became one: that became star-marked? (lalāma); that became great: that became chief; that became *brahman*, that became tapas; that became truth; therewith he had progeny (tēna prājāyata.) He increased; he became great; he became Mahādēva, he attained the lordship of the gods; he became the Lord (Īśāna). He became the great (or sole) Vrātya (Ēkavrātya)." We next hear of the Vrātya taking a bow (Indra's bow) and wearing a turban (the day) and moving in various directions followed by the Ādityas, Viśvēdēvas and other gods as well as by Vedic hymns. He is next stated to have stood erect for a year at the end of which he sat on an *āsandí* brought by the gods for him. Its feet are said to have been the seasons, its cushion the Veda, its pillow the Brahman. We next hear of the months being made his guardians and heaven and Āditya his attendants. The archers Bhava, Sarva, Pasúpati, Ugra, Rudra, Māhādēva and Īśāna were given as his attendants from various quarters. He moved and was followed by earth, fire, herbs, Diti and Aditi, Iḍā and

Indrāṇi and by all the gods, the *sabhā*, *samiti*, army, and *surā* (liquor). We have next some injunctions that all classes of people to whose house a learned (vidvān) Vrātya might go should show him due respect and should, in case fire-oblations are about to be offered at the time of his visit, take permission from him before making the oblation. We next hear again of Indra, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, Rudra, Yama, Agni, Īśāna and Prajāpati moving out after the Vrātya when he set out towards various quarters and that the sun and moon were his right and left eyes. Finally, the chapter concludes with the statement that with the day is the Vrātya westward, with the night eastward; homage to the Vrātya."

Professor Hara Prasada Sastry has, in his Presidential Address delivered at the annual meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1921, tried to prove the identity of the great Vrātya referred to in the above passage with the God Rudra-Śiva. He says that the Vrātyas were a nomadic people without any permanent settlement and fighting the Vedic Aryans and that Śiva who is represented in Hindu tradition as a homeless vagabond living on cremation and burial grounds represents their spirit and is their god. The stringless bow, the āsandi (or charpois), the turban, the whip, etc., which are associated with the great Vrātya in the above passage are also found to have been in vogue among the Vrātyas as stated in Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda and the Lātyāyana Sūtras. The sacrificer has to take, according to the chapter of A. V. quoted above, the permission of the Vrātya who might be present at his house at the time of the sacrificial offering, otherwise the sacrifice would be fruitless. The Vrātya himself was above sacrifice. This is exemplified in the story of Daksha refusing to honour Śiva at his sacrifice and the harm that befell him consequently. Lastly the great Vrātya is said to have been served by Bhava, Śarva, etc., given by different quarters. These represent seven out of eight murtis (aspects) of Śiva, the Antardēśa, the four cardinal points, the Zenith and the Dhruva.

Let us now briefly examine the above grounds for identifying the great Vrātya with Śiva. In the first place there is no authority in the Vedas for interpreting the word Vrātya as a member of a wandering tribe inimical to Aryans. This word does not occur elsewhere in the Vedas. The word *vrāta* which is closely associated with it simply means a collection or a tribe and is used in a good sense (see R. V., iii, 26, 6: v, 53. 11; vi, 7, 5, 9; x, 34, 8, 12; A. V. ii, 9, 2).

The Vedic hymns describe the Asuras, Dasyus and Yātudhānas as enemies of the Aryans but nowhere is the Vrātya described as fighting with the Aryans. Even if we accept the Vrātyas to be a nomadic tribe outside the pale of the Aryan civilization we do not see any reason for identifying Śiva

with their spirit. The Vedas do not depict Rudra-Śiva as a homeless vagabond. There are several passages in the Samhita and Brāhmaṇa where the northern quarter is assigned to him, and oblations are directed to be offered to him. In fact, he is often spoken of as Agni or fire (see A. V., vi, 93, 2; ix, 8, 18; Y. V., v, 4, 2, 10; v, 6, 10; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 2, 3, 29: 2, 6, 2, 3-6; 5, 4, 2, 10). He is described as a promoter of sacrifices and the protector of sacrificers Nor do we find either in the Vedic or Post-Vedic literature the stringless bow, or the turban, or the *āsandi* or the whip as associated with him. His bow is represented to have had a string (jyā) in the Vedas, ***pra-muncha** dhanvanas tvamubhayor artniyor jyām* (Śatarudrīya 1, 10). With regard to the statement found at the commencement of chapter XV of the Atharva Veda that the Vrātya became Mahādēva and Īśāna it is evident that the names Mahādēva and Īśāna here merely indicate that he attained the lordship of the gods and not that he was to be identified with a particular god. For in the same place we find him identified with Brahman, Tapas, Truth, etc. Further we find that all the gods, Indra, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, Rudra, and Īśāna, Agni and Prajāpati are described as moving after him or being his followers. Not merely Bhava, Śarva, etc., who are the different forms of Rudra-Śiva but all the seasons, heaven and Ādityas are said to have been his attendants. He is said to have been the origin of the *rājanya* (kshatriyas), *viś'* (merchants), etc. In fact, he does not partake of the nature of Rudra-Śiva or any other god but is an incomprehensible almighty and infinite being like the Purusha in the Purusha Sūkta.

We shall now trace the history of Śiva-worship in the Brāhmaṇas and Gṛihya Sūtras. We find here elaborate rules laid down for offering oblations to Rudra (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, chapter V). He is often identified with Agni. "Now when it is first kindled and there is as yet nothing but smoke, then indeed that fire is Rudra" (*Ibid.*, II, 3, 2, 9, also I, 7, 3, 8; V, 2, 4, 13; IX, 1, 1, 1). The origin of Rudra is explained in a peculiar way. "When Prajāpati became disjoined, the deities departed from him. Only one god did not leave him, to wit Manyu. Extended he remained within. He cried and the tears of him that fell down settled on Manyu. He became the hundred-headed, thousand-eyed, hundred-quivered Rudra" (*Ibid.*, IX, 11, 7). Elsewhere in the same Brāhmaṇa we find Rudra is stated to be Agni; Śarva the waters; Paśupati the plants; Ugra the wind; Aśani the lightning; Bhava the rain-cloud: Mahādēva the moon; Īśāna the sun (*Ibid.*, VI, 1, 3). With slight modifications the above eight forms of Rudra correspond to the *ashṭamūrtis* (eight forms) of Śiva as popularly known:—the Earth, Water, Fire, Air, Ether, the Sun, the Moon and the Sacrificer. We also have references to Rudras who are said to be eleven in number. We meet here for the

first time with Ambikā, the wife of Rudra, but curiously she is spoken of as his sister, "Let the maidens then also walk round, thinking 'May we enjoy prosperity!' That sister of Rudra named Ambikā, indeed is the dispenser of happiness" (*Ibid.*, II, 6, 2, 14). Here also are to be found the myths connected with Rudra which were developed later into elaborate legends in the Purāṇas. Thus we have in Śatapatha Brāhmana I, 7, 4: "Prajāpati conceived a passion for his own daughter (either the sky or dawn). 'May I pair with her' thus (thinking) he united with her. This assuredly was a sin in the eyes of the gods. The gods then said to this god who rules over the beasts (Rudra): 'This one, surely, commits a sin who acts thus towards his own daughter, our sister. Pierce him!' Rudra taking aim pierced him ...... When the anger of the Gods subsided, they cured Prajāpati and cut out that dart of this (Rudra); for Prajāpati doubtless is this sacrifice. They said (to one another), 'Think of some means by which that (part of the sacrifice torn out with the dart) may not be lost and how it may be but a small portion of the offering itself.' They said 'Take it round to Bhaga (Savitri), who sits on the south side (of the sacrificial ground): Bhaga will eat it'.. .. .. They accordingly took it round to Bhaga... ....Bhaga looked at it! It burnt out his eyes .... ..They said · 'It has not yet become appeased here, take it round to Pūshan. They accordingly took it round to Pūshan. Pūshan tasted it: it knocked out his teeth. ...." The former part of this myth was later developed into the legend of Śiva cutting off the fifth head of Brahma for his illicit love towards Sarasvati, his own daughter. The latter part became the story of the god Śiva or Vírabhadra smashing the teeth of Pūshan and burning the eyes of Bhaga for taking part in Daksha's sacrifice.

Among the Grihya sūtras, the Āśvalāyana lays down that on the full moon day of the Āśvayuja the Āśvayuji ceremony is to be performed during which after having bathed one should offer a mess of cooked food for Paśupati with the formula: "To Paśupati, to Śiva...........svāhā' (II, 2, 2). Another curious sacrifice called the Śūlagava or the spit-ox sacrifice is ordained to be performed in autumn or spring during which a black bull or bull with black spots is to be sacrificed to Rudra at a place which cannot be seen from the village after night according to some or after sunrise according to others. Nothing belonging to this sacrifice should be taken back into the village for this god would do harm to those who might do so *. This spit-ox sacrifice procures wealth, lands, purity, sons, cattle, long life, splendour (IV, 8). The

* A festival called Māhēśvarana-jātre is celebrated by Lingāyats in honour of Śiva in the Karṇātaka During this festival large numbers gather at a place away from the village and are fed on boiled rice, plantains and sugar and ghee. No one is permitted to take back to his house anything that remains of the food after eating.

Pāraskara Gṛihyasūtra further lays down that after the bull is sacrificed and offerings made to Agni, Rudra, Śarva..... ...and Iśāna, should follow the sprinkling round to the different quarters of the horizon and after that should be sacrificed the offerings to Indrāṇi (wife of Indra), Rudrāṇi (wife of Rudra), Śarvāṇi (wife of Śarva), etc. (III, 8). We also find in the same Sūtras directions to do obeisance to Rudra in times of danger or difficulty. A path he addresses. 'Adoration to Rudra who dwells on the paths. Make me arrive safely' .. . ...When he intends to swim across a river he addresses it: 'Adoration to Rudra who dwells in the waters. Make me arrive safely' .... Similar prayers are to be offered while traversing a forest, mountain, burial-ground and cow-stable. "And wheresoever let it be let him always say 'Adoration to Rudra'." For the Śruti says, 'Rudra is this universe'. . . .. The thunder he addresses: 'May the rains be friendly to us; may (Indra's) darts be friendly to us—may they be friendly to us which thou throwest, O killer of Vṛitra' (III, 15, 18). The Sānkhyāyana Gṛihyasūtra mentions Vishṇu and Virūpāksha (Śiva) among the gods who are to be prayed to during Brahmayajña (IV, 9, 3.)

Of the Upanishads there are two which specially treat of the nature and significance of the god Śiva. The Śvētāśvatarōpanishad contains sublime ideas about the nature of God and his relations to man and the world and speaks of Śiva as the Supreme Being. According to this there are two entities in the universe, the Lord (Īśa) who is strong, supports all this together and the other (Jīva or soul) bound because he has to enjoy (the fruits of works); but who when he has known the god is freed from all fetters (I, 8, 9). This god is named Hara (I, 10). "He, the Creator and supporter of the gods, Rudra, the great seer, the Lord of all, he who formerly gave birth to Hiraṇyagarbha, may he endow us with good thoughts." "That Bhagavat exists in the faces, the heads, the necks of all, he dwells in the cave (of the heart) of all beings, he is all-pervading, therefore he is the Omnipresent Śiva" (III, 11). "He who knows Śiva hidden in all beings like the subtile film that rises from out the clarified butter, alone enveloping everything... .....he who knows the god is freed from all fetters" (IV, 16). We shall see later that the philosophy of the Vīraśaivas is mostly based upon this Upanishad.

Atharvaśiras is another Upanishad appertaining to Śiva. The gods, it is said, went to Rudra and asked him who he was. He replied "I am one who have been existing from the beginning and will continue to remain for ever. There is nothing different from me".... . . The gods then with up-stretched arms prayed to him: "Salutation to Rudra who is the earth: salutation to Rudra who is death: salutation to Rudra who is ambrosia .. .." The derivation of the name Rudra is thus given in the Upanishad: *atha*

kasmād uchyate Rudrah yasmād ṛishibhir nānyair bhaktair drutam asya rūpam upalabhyate tasmād uchyate Rudrah : "He is called Rudra because none except sages who are his devotees can see his form early." We next hear of Pāśupatavrata or the vow of devoting oneself to Paśupati or Śiva. Such a devotee should destroy greed and anger, concentrate his mind on Rudra, be moderate in food and besmear his body with ashes by repeating the words "The ash is fire, the ash is water, the ash is earth, everything is ash, the ether is ash, the mind, the eyes and other senses are ash." This is the Pāśupatavrata enjoined for the removal of the noose with which the *Paśu* or the individual soul is tied. This Pāśupatavrata together with the besmearing of ashes and the idea of the *Paśu* or soul being released from the trammels of life is of supreme importance to all the Śiva sects including the Vīraśaiva.

Among the two great epics the Rāmāyaṇa is essentially a Vaishnava work. Vishṇu and Śiva once fought with each other and Śiva was defeated. The disciple of Śiva, the great archer Paraśurāma, was defeated by Rāma, an incarnation of Vishnu and Rāma also broke into two the great bow of Śiva at the court of Janaka.

The Mahābhārata abounds in allusions to the greatness of Śiva. It is he who appeared before the Pāṇḍava hero Arjuna in the garb of a hunter and pleased with his prowess bestowed upon him the divine weapon Pāśupata (see Vanaparvan). The story of Śiva destroying the Tripuras or three cities of the demons, which is faintly indicated in the Yajur Veda (VI, 2, 3) is given at length in the Karnaparvan of this work. In the Ānuśāsanaparvan, Kṛishṇa is said to have prayed to Śiva in order that he might get sons by his wife Jāmbavati. He repaired to the Himālayas to the hermitage of the sage Upamanyu who recounted the glories of Śiva to him and gave him *dīksha* or initiation in Śiva worship. In the course of his narrative Upamanyu stated that Mahādēva was the only god whose linga was worshipped. He and Umā were the real creators of all living beings as these bear the marks of the two, the *linga* and the *yoni* and not the discus nor the conch-shell nor marks of any other god (*na padmānkā na chakrānkā na vajrānkā yatah prajāh lingānkā cha bhagānkā cha tasmān Māhēśvarī prajā* (Māhābharata: South India Edition: Ānusaśānaparvan XIII. 217). In the Narāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparvan we find the Pāśupata mentioned along with the Sānkhya, Yōga, Pāncharātra and Vedas as the different systems of religion and that Srīkantha or Lord of Umā was the propounder of the Pāśupata system (359-64, 67).

Phallic Worship.

The allusion in Mahābhārata to the worship of linga leads us to the question whether Rudra-Śiva was worshipped in that form by the Vedic

Aryans. It is well-known that phallic worship of some sort or other was in vogue among the ancient Phoenicians, Egyptians, Phrygians and among the ancient Greeks. In the Atharva Veda phallic worship seems to be indicated in connection with Kāma, the god of Love who is invoked under a number of synonymous words Prajāpati, Skambha, Vaitasa, the last of which has been undoubtedly used in the sense of *virile membrum* (Ind. Ant., Vol. 35, p. 265). In the Rig Veda we find two places where such a worship is alluded to. In the first Indra is prayed not to allow those whose God is Śiśna (*śiśnadēva*) to disturb the rites of the singers (R.V., VII, 21, 5); in the other he is represented to have conquered the riches of a city after killing those whose god is Śiśna (R.V., X, 99, 3). The term *śiśnadēva* evidently refers to the worshippers of the god of love or unchaste people, according to Sāyaṇa. It certainly cannot refer to worshippers of Rudra, for in no passage of the Vedas or Upanishads or Gṛihyasūtras referring to him can we trace any element of phallic nature nor is he represented in the Vedic hymns as an enemy of Indra. It is a thorny question to settle whether idols were in existence in India in the Vedic period. According to Dr. Bollenson, a painted image of Rudra is described in the hymn *sthirēbhir angaih pururūpa ugrah babhuś śukrebhih pipiśē hiranyaih* 'With strong limbs, many-formed, awful, brown, he is painted with shining golden colours' (Ind. Ant., Vol. 35, p. 257). But this meaning seems to be far-fetched. There is no clear allusion to idol-worship anywhere in the Vedas. But it seems probable that hieroglyphics of some sort or other were objects of worship in Vedic period including the phallic representations (*Ibid.*).

Later, however, when image-worship became popular, images of Śiva also came into use. Patanjali in his Mahābhāshya gives the instance (under Pāṇini Sūtra V, 3, 99) of an image of Śiva as an object of worship. On the reverse of the coins of the king Wema Kadphises (2nd century A.D.) we find the human figure of Śiva with a trident in the hand; and there is also an emblem; but it is Nandin or bull, and not a linga or phallus. At the same time the old system of using a phallic emblem for the god of love seems to have been transferred to the worship of Rudra probably to symbolise the creation of the universe by him. Similarly symbols for *yōni* consisting of chakras or triangles began to be used to represent the wife of Siva, Pārvati, through whom the universe was believed to be created. But the images of Śiva and Pārvati were not entirely replaced by these symbols and both were current, though in later days the phallic emblem of Śiva alone was used in the garbha-gṛiha or the holy of holies in temples while sculptured figures of the god were found in other parts of the temple. In his book on iconography Mr. Gopinatha Rao gives two instances of early

lingas, one from Bhitār and the other from Guḍimalla in both of which the human figure of Śiva is also found in conjunction with the phallic emblem. Both these lingas belong to the early centuries of the Christian era (Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 64-65). There are also two examples in the Mysore State of the ancient lingas of Śiva. The first is the Mattapatti god now represented by Kallēśvara for whose enjoyment a village was granted by Hāritiputa Śātakanni, king of Banavasi, as stated in a Prākṛit inscription on a pillar opposite the Kallēśvara temple at Maḷavaḷḷi (Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VII, Shikarpur Taluk, No. 263), and the second is the huge linga in the Pranavēśvara temple at Tālgunda which is said to have been worshipped by Śātakarṇi and others (*ibid.*, Shikarpur Taluk, No. 176). In both cases, however, it is difficult to say what was the exact nature of the god worshipped at the time of the inscriptions.

The worship of Rudra in the form of linga is analogous to that of Vishṇu in the form of *sāligrāma* stone, and of Surya as a disc drawn on certain kinds of stone. "Because it is established to be phallic in its nature, some may be inclined to consider Linga worship obscene and immoral. There is nothing in it to be ashamed of; the two great generative principles of the Universe, Śiva and Śakti, or Purusha and Prakriti, the father and mother of all creations, the energy and matter of the physical scientist, is symbolised briefly in the form of the linga and the yoni. For the past two thousand years at least, the Hindus, males and females, have been offering worship to this symbol of the Great Architect of the Universe, without in the least adverting to or feeling conscious of the so-called obscenity of this pure symbol of the fatherhood and motherhood of the supreme deity; to them it is a symbol and nothing more; there is nothing obscene in connection with its worship; the simplest and the purest materials, such as water from a well reserved for ceremonial purposes, flowers, incense and freshly cooked rice and cakes, are used in the worship of the Linga If there be any the slightest lack of cleanliness and purity on the part of the officiating priest, it would be passed over unnoticed in a Vishṇu temple; but never in a Siva temple where absolute purity and cleanliness are rigorously demanded from the *pūjāri*. Thus, whatever might have been the original setting and the import of the symbolism, at the present time they are forgotten and lost; and the worship of the Linga and the Yōni is absolutely and thoroughly free from even the remotest associations of any kind of immorality or indecency." (Gopinatha Rao's Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 69-71.)

In this connection we have to discuss another important question connected with the origin and nature of Rudra-Śiva. Certain scholars are of opinion that the worship of the god was borrowed from the aborigines and

that he is an evil deity whose source of worship is fear and whose wrath is appeased by prayers. Thus Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says in his work *Vaishnavism, Ṡaivism and Minor Systems*: "The followers of handicraft and also the forest tribe of Nishādas are brought into close connection with Rudra; probably they are his worshippers or their own peculiar gods were identified with the Aryan Rudra. This last supposition appears very probable, since the groups of beings whose Pati or Lord he is represented to have been dwelt in or frequented upon fields, forests and waste lands, remote from the habitation of civilized men" (p. 104). In another place, in the same work, he says: "We have had occasion in a previous section to remark that Rudra-Ṡiva had a close connection with stragglers in the forest, with Vrātyas or those who were not included in the Aryan community, and with the wild tribe of the Nishādas, and also observed that the gods of these last were amalgamated with Rudra. Rudra's partiality for serpents and his being the lord of spirits or Bhūtas, were probably due to the influence of the serpent worship and the devilry of the savage tribes. There are places in the Rig Veda in one of which Indra is prayed to not to allow those whose god is Ṡiśna to distrub the rites of the singers (VII. 21, 5); and in another he is represented to have conquered the riches of a city after killing those whose god is Śiśna. Here evidently those whose god was Śiśna or phallus are meant as the enemies of the Vedic Aryans who disturbed their holy rites. Notwithstanding all that is said about the matter my own belief is that the persons here referred to were really some tribes of the aborigines of the country, who worshipped the phallus. Just then as the Rudra-Ṡiva cult borrowed several elements from the dwellers in forests or stragglers in places out of the way, so it may have borrowed this element of phallic worship from the barbarian tribes with whom the Aryans came in contact" (page 115).

Further, we find in the same work: "It will thus be seen that, in the time of Gṛihyasūtras, Rudra was still a terrible god, who had to be appeased. He was the god that held sway over regions away from home over fields, wildernesses, cemeteries, mountains, old trees and rivers. Whenever a man came to anything which inspired awe and terror, Rudra was the god thought of and prayed to protect. Herein lies the reason which rendered him in later times the omnipresent supreme lord of the universe to the exclusion of all other Vedic gods except Vishṇu. Many are the occasions in the life of man which excite fear; there are epidemics and other diseases, poisons, serpents, storms, thunderbolts and wild and awful scenes, and consequently the god who brings on these occasions and protects when appeased will be thought of oftener than other gods. What contributed to the formation of

Vaishṇavism were the appearances and occurrences which excited love, admiration, and a spirit of worship while in Rudra-Śaivism the sentiment of fear is at the bottom, however concealed it may have become in certain developments of it, and this sentiment it is that has worked itself out in the formation of various Rudra-Śaiva systems of later times. In the monotheistic religions of other countries the same god is feared and loved; in India the god that is loved is Vishṇu, while the god that is feared is Rudra-Śiva" (page 106).

Sir G. A. Grierson writes in his Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV: "The word Śiva is already in the Vedas used as an epithet of the god Rudra, and it is well-known that Śiva has become one of the principal deities of the Hindu pantheon. It has been asserted that this use of the word Śiva must be explained from the influence of a Dravidian *Śiva* red. Now the word *Rudra* in the Rig Veda often seems to mean 'red' and it seems probable that the conception of the god Rudra-Śiva has a tinge of Dravidian ideas" (page 279.) (See also the Article on Dravidians in Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.)

But in spite of the opinions quoted above, it is difficult to conceive that the Aryans could have borrowed the worship of Rudra-Śiva from the aborigines at such an early period as the time when the Rig Veda was composed. The greater part of the Rig Veda is believed to have been composed by the Aryans when they were in the Punjab and engaged in fighting with the natives of the land. It is therefore not probable that they could have taken over the worship of a deity from their enemies. The early Aryans could not have addressed the god of their enemies as the supreme creator and ruler of the universe and helping them in their sacrifice nor would they have invoked his aid for success in battle against their enemies. Moreover the worship of Rudra seems to have been consistently performed by the Aryans from the earliest down to modern times. He is often invoked in the Vedas in company with Vishṇu (R. V., IV, 3, 7; VI, 40, 5; X, 66, 3-4; A. V., VIII, 5, 10); and is identified with Agni, the god of fire in several passages. The Rudras, his sons as they are called, representing his energy and nature in miniature form are prayed to in every sacrifice and ancestral rite and are associated with Maruts, Vasus, and Ādityas. Hence Rudra-Śiva must be treated as an Aryan god. As regards his connection with *nishādas* and the followers of handicraft I have already shown while dealing with Satarudrīya that he is addressed as the lord of all the universe including fields, forests, trees, herbs, etc., and of all classes of human beings including warriors, horsemen, hunters, swordsmen, of cattle and horses and all kinds of objects. There is absolutely no reason to infer from this that he was identified with *nishādas*.

With regard to the followers of handicraft referred to there is no reason to identify them with the aborigines as the Vedic Aryans themselves were skilled in several arts. His connection with the Vrātyas has been already disproved. His partiality for *bhūtas* and serpents is a later conception and as pointed out in this article he is spoken of as an enemy of both in the Vedic hymns. That the phallic element in the worship of Rudra-Śiva is also of later origin has already been proved. The philological argument about the derivation of the word Śiva seems to be too weak to prove anything. The name Śiva has throughout Sanskrit literature including the Vedas the meaning "auspicious" or beneficent. The *Śiva tanuh*, the auspicious form of Rudra is contrasted with his terrible form in the Śatarudrīya hymn. Śiva is never used in the sense of red in Sanskrit nor has the Tamil word Siva ever been used as an equivalent of beneficent or auspicious.

As regards the nature of the god Rudra-Śiva we must remember the general nature of the Vedic gods like Indra or Agni who are all described as shining beings endowed with the power to strike enemies and help the adorers. Rudra is no exception to this. He kills the enemies of the Aryans and wicked men with his terrible arrows, disease or poison but to his worshippers and the virtuous he is ever beneficent protecting them against disease, conferring on them long life, wisdom and bliss. The Vedic gods all represent certain natural phenomena deified into gods. Agni represents fire, Yama death, Varuṇa water, etc. But what does Rudra represent? He represents rain-cloud, which with its lightning can burn forests and living beings but which with its rain promotes vegetable and animal life and brings food to cattle and men. His epithets *Girīśa*, the lord of mountain, *Nīlagrīva*, blue-necked, etc., can all be satisfactorily explained in this way. Speaking more philosophically Rudra represents in the Vedas the kinetic energy of the universe. He is spoken of as the father of the world (R. V., VI, 49, 10), and as ruling over all divine and human beings (R. V., VII, 46, 1), the augmenter of progeny (R. V., VII, 59, 12), lord of all living beings and herbs, conferrer of immortality and wisdom and promoter of oblations to gods (R. V., IV, 37), and at the same time the tormentor of the *Yātudhānas*, *Piśāchas* and others by lightning, disease, poison and death. In fact, he is the one god of the Vedic hymns who comes nearest to our conception of the Supreme Being. No other deity is spoken of in the Vedas as the Supreme creator and protector of the universe or the all-knowing, bestower of immortality. It is true that the number of hymns addressed to him is not quite so large but this is due to the fact that most Vedic songs are connected directly with sacrifices and do not concern themselves with the nature of the Supreme Being. But when we go to the Upanishads we find sublime ideas

about the nature of soul and god, and the Śvētāśvatarōpanishad is an instance to show the supreme nature of Rudra-Śiva. No other deity except perhaps Vishṇu ever commanded such importance as Śiva in the Upanishads or in later Hindu sacred literature. In most of these respects the conception of Rudra is analogous to that of Jupiter, Jehovah and other supreme gods of ancient nations.

Turning now to later Sanskrit Literature we find that several Purāṇas, Āgamas and Tantra works deal fully with the nature and attributes of the god Śiva. In these we learn that Śiva is the supreme cause of the universe. With the help of Prakriti he generated the Trimūrtis, Brahma, Vishṇu and Rudra, the creator, the preserver and the destroyer of the universe, all of whom are said to derive their power from him and depend upon him for their support. But very little difference is often made between Rudra the destroyer and Śiva the supreme cause. In fact the two are generally identified. The greatness of Rudra and his superiority to Brahma and Vishṇu are extolled. He is described as having five faces, Vāmadeva, Tatpurusha, Aghōra, Sadyōjāta, and Īśāna. The Īśāna aspect of Śiva is represented by the face on the top of the *linga*; the Tatpurusha by that facing the east, the Aghōra by that facing the south; the Sadyōjāta by that facing the west and the Vāmadēva by that facing the north. Another characteristic feature of later Śiva worship is the large number of līlāmūrtis or different forms assumed by Śiva, described in the Purānas. Among these may be mentioned Lingōdbhavamūrti. Brahma and Vishṇu once quarrelled about the sovereignty of the universe and suddenly there appeared before them a linga resembling a pillar of fire. Instead of quarrelling with each other Brahma and Vishnu set about to find out the top and bottom respectively of this linga. Brahma assumed the form of a swan and flew ever so high but could never see the top of the linga. At this juncture Brahma came across a petal of the *Kētaki* flower and asked it wherefrom it was descending; to this the petal answered that it was falling from the the head of Mahēśvara, for what length of time it could not remember. Taking hold of the petal, Brahma descended and lied to Vishnu that he had discovered the head of Mahēśvara and from it had brought this petal of the *Kētaki* flower. Vishnu, however, readily confessed his inability to discover the feet of Śiva and detecting the falsehood uttered by Brahma cursed him not to receive any worship from men on earth. The *Kētaki* flower was also cursed so that it could not be used in worshipping Śiva except on Śivarātri day. Some Līlāmūrtis of Śiva show him in the attitude of slaying demons like Jalandhara and Andhaka; some depict him as destroying disease (*apasmāra*) and death (Yama). Others show him as benignant to his supplicants. Some however depict him as killing Vishṇu in his forms of Fish, Man-lion,

as Vishṇu is said to have grown insolent and become a source of danger to the world. One represents Śiva as being half male and half female symbolising the union of Purusha and Prakṛiti. The most picturesque of all these forms is perhaps the Natarāja, the favourite deity of Chidambaram in which the god is represented as dancing. These Purāṇas and the Āgamas and Tantras treat in detail of the worship of Linga, the use of sacred ashes, exclusive devotion to be shown to the worshippers of Śiva, the nature of Pāśu and Pāśa, etc., most of which have been already alluded to in the Upanishads.

Saiva Sects.

No sects, Śaiva or Vaishṇava, are mentioned in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas or Gṛihyasūtras. Each god, Indra, Agni, Varuna, Vishnu, or Rudra has his share of praise and fire oblations. But when we come to the Upanishads we find a few like the Śvētāśvatara and Atharvaśiras extolling Rudra as the Supreme Being while Vishṇu and others are relegated to an inferior position but in others like Nārāyaṇōpanishad we find Vishnu treated of as the Highest Being. Still no sharp division exists between the worshippers of the gods. But when we come to the Mahābhārata we meet the Pāncharātra or Vishṇu Bhāgavata school of the Vishnuites said to be founded by Nārāyaṇa himself and the Pāśupata school of Śaivites declared to be founded by Śrīkaṇtha (Rudra) As time went on these schools developed and to some extent the Purāṇas were coloured by the ideas of these schools. Each school has its *āgamas*, the Śaiva *āgamas* being supposed to be derived from Śiva himself and declared by him to his consort Pārvati. Among them Suprabhēdāgama, which deals mostly with the ritual to be observed in Śiva temples, is the most important. But it must not be supposed that all the people were sharply divided into these schools. The poets Kāḷidāsa, Subandhu, Bāṇa, Śrīharsha and several others praise Śiva in their works. But they were not bigoted followers of Śiva and have praised Vishṇu also as the Supreme Being in some places though some of them seem to have been more partial to Śiva. The great Advaitic reformer Śankarāchārya (of the eighth century) and his numerous adherents though mostly bearing the outward marks of the Śaivas worship Vishṇu also along with Śiva as the manifestations of the Supreme Being.

As time went on several sects or sub-sects arose in each school. As early as the time of Patanjali we hear of a Śaiva sect known as Śivabhāgavatas who carried in their hand an iron lance as an emblem of the deity they worshipped (see his comment on P. V. 276 in his Mahābhāshya). They are probably the same as the Pāśupatas mentioned in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata, and referred to in the Linga Purāṇa and other Purāṇas. In fact Pāśupata seems to have been a general term for all the devotees of

Śiva, who extolled the god as the Almighty and wore the marks of sacred ashes on their persons and worshipped the image or phallic emblem of the deity. (See Linga-Purāṇa, chapter 59 ; Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, chapter 27, etc.) Another term used as an equivalent of Pāśupata was Māhēśvara. The Śaka satrap Rudradaman and some of the Āndhrabhritya kings probably belonged to this sect. Wema Kadphises, a powerful prince of the Kushan race who ruled over a large part of Northern and North-western India about the second century A.D., styles himself as a devotee of Mahēśvara. So also we hear of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin (A.D. 508) as meditator on the feet of Mahādēva (Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 111); Drôṇasimha and Guhasēna, kings of Valabhi, are described as *Parama-māhesvaras* (staunch adherents of Mahēśvara) (*ibid.*, page 165); the Vākātaka king Rudrasēna is spoken of as *atyantasvāmi-Mahābhairava-bhakta* (great devotee of the god Bhairava, a form of Śiva) (*ibid.*, p. 248). A grant to the Kapālēśvara temple and to the Brāhmaṇas who study the Atharva Veda at the agrahāra of Nirmaṇda is mentioned in the Nimand copper-plate inscription of Samudrasēna of *Circa* 612-613 A. D. (*ibid.*, p. 290). Nāgavardhana, nephew of the Chālukya king Pulkēśin II, is said to have granted a village for the worship of the god Kapālēśvara and for the maintenance of the Mahāvratins residing in the temple.

If however we turn to Hiuen-Tsiang's travels in India we find distinct reference to the various sects worshipping Śiva. "There were 3 Deva temples at Jalandhar with more than 500 professed non-Buddhists of the Pāśupata sect." (Walters' Yuan Chawang, Vol. I, p. 296 ; see also p. 331.) "Of Deva temples there were above 100 and there were more than 10,000 professed adherents of the sects, the majority being devotees of Śiva ; some of these cut off their hair, others made it into a top-knot ; some went about naked and some smeared themselves with ashes ; they were persevering in austerities seeking release from mortal existence. Within the capital were 20 Deva temples" (*ibid.*, Vol. II; p. 47). "The Bhūtas cover themselves with cinders and think this to be meritorious. Their skin is of a livid white colour looking like a cat in the chimney-corner.........The sect of the Kāpālikas with their chaplets of bones round their heads and necks inhabiting holes and crevices of the rocks, like Yakshas who haunt the place of tombs" (Life of Hiuen-Tsiang by Beal, p. 162). Similarly Bāṇa's Harshacharitra of the same period contains references to temples of Śiva, Kāḷi and Chāmuṇḍi (consorts of Śiva) and also to the Pāśupatas. A Bhairavāchārya is mentioned as the ascetic who required king Harsha's services to guard him against goblins while engaged in worship at midnight on the day previous to New Moon day in the burning ground.

Kapalika Sect.

Let us now study the two sects Kāpālika and Pāśupata in greater detail. The Kāpālikas worshipped Bhairava, a form assumed by Śiva when he cut off the fifth head of Brahma. We find images of Bhairava enshrined in temples at some distance from inhabited villages all over India. Even to-day his image is worshipped at Kāśi and it is believed that no one should approach Viśvēśvara or bathe in the Ganges without first paying homage to him. He is generally depicted as a nude figure and carrying in his left hand a human skull from which blood is trickling down and is being licked by dogs. The Kāpālikas also wore a necklace of skulls, offered sacrifices of animals and even human beings to the goddess Kāli, feasted on flesh and wine, and worshipped women. The modern Śākta movement in Bengal is closely associated with this sect and the sect had once several followers especially among the non-Aryan people. We have already seen reference to this sect in Hiuen-Tsiang's Travels and Harshacharitra. References to human sacrifices are found in Bhavabhūti's Mālatimādhava where the heroine is carried away by Kapālakuṇḍala, a female follower of occult teachings connected with the worship of Bhairava and Durgā and who wanted to offer her as a human sacrifice to the goddess. In Bhāgavatapurāna (v. 9) we hear of Jaḍabharata being carried away to a temple of Kāḷi to be sacrificed but the goddess who knew his deep devotion to God is said to have saved him and killed his would-be slayers. Śankara, the famous reformer, is said to have come across some members of this sect who tried to persuade him to drink wine in a skull, and wear a necklace of skulls or cowries but he refused to listen to them and the attempts made to persecute him by magic recoiled on the heads of the members of this sect. Rāmānuja in his commentary on Vēdānta Sūtras speaks of them as versed in six mudras and as meditating on one's own soul as seated on a female organ. He also condemns them for stating that a non-Brahman becomes a Brahman by mere *dīkshā* (initiation) and becomes a yati by merely following the Kapāla-vrata (Ramanuja's Sri Bhāshya, II, 2, 35). The sacred books of the Kāpālikas were the Tantras, which though following the philosophy of the Upanishads and Yōgaśāstra differ from them in laying stress on the worship of women, flesh and wine and the equality of all classes of people including the pariahs in the act of divine worship. Perhaps the true significance of several of the religious rites of this sect has not been clearly understood and several degrading or revolting practices arose therefrom and the Southern schools of Śaivism therefore condemn it as *vāmāchāra* or left-hand practice. Some of its features however seem to have been existing already in the Atharva Vēda. (For a more favourable view of the Tantras and their significance readers are referred to Sir John Woodroffe's Śhakti and Śhakta).

Lakulisa Pasupata or Kalamukha Sect.

As we have seen before the name Pāśupata is used in the Purāṇas as well as in the writings of foreign travellers as a general name for the followers of Śiva. Mādhavāchārya, in his celebrated work *Sarvadarśanasangraha*, mentions the Nakulīśa Pāśupata as one of the important religious systems. Who is this Nakulīśa ? The Lingapurāna represents Mahēśvara to have told Brahma that in the 28th cycle of yugas when Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and Vāsudēva were born from the *Amśa* of Vishṇu he would enter the body of an orphan *brahmachāri* left in the burning-ground. He would be called Lakulin and the place where he was incarnated would be known as Kāyāvatāra. Four sons would be born to him named Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya. These would be great Brahman ascetics well versed in the Vedas and be Pāśupatas with their bodies covered with ashes and by the constant worship of linga, and by devotion to Śiva and by Māhēśvara-yōga would reach Rudralōka free from births. (Lingapurāṇa: chapter 59, verses 125-134; also chapter 7, verses 34-35.) References are also found to Nakulīśvara as an incarnation of Śiva and a yōgāchārya in Śivapurāṇa (Solapur Edition, Part 2: chapter X, 5) and also in Vāyupurāna and Kūrmapurāṇa. Evidently the Nakulīśa of Sarvadarśanasangraha is the same as Lakulīśa or Nakulīśvara of the Purāṇas. That this Lakulīśa was a historical personage is borne out by several inscriptions. An inscription dated Vikrama 1028 or 971 A.D. found in the temple of Nātha near that of Ēkalingji, near Udaipur, refers to Śiva being incarnated as a man with a club (*lakula*) in his hand in the country of Bhṛigukachchha and to sages Kuśika and others following Pāśupata-yōga. Another inscription usually called Chintra Praśasti composed between A.D. 1274 and 1296 states that Śiva became incarnate in the form of Bhattāraka Śrī-Lakulīśa and dwelt at Kārōhaṇa in the Lāta country (Gujerat) and that his disciples Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruśa and Maitrēya became the originators of the four branches (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XXII, pp. 151-153). Images of Lakulīśvara are found in Rajaputana, at Māndhāta, a sacred place on the Narmada, the Kailāsa temple at Ellora and Belgāmi in Shikārpur taluk (*Ibid.*). Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar places the rise of the Pāśupata school at about the second century B.C., a century after that of the Pāncharātra system as Lakulīśa, the founder of the Pāśupata school, is spoken of as contemporaneous with Vāsudēva Kṛishṇa of the Pāncharātra. But we cannot entirely depend on the synchronistic evidence of the Puranic tradition for fixing the chronology of Lakulīśa.

The followers of Lakulīśa are also known as the Kāḷāmukhas, an important Śaiva sect. We have several inscriptions in the Mysore State relating to

this sect. The earliest is the Nandi Plates of Rāshtrakūta King Govinda III dated 807 A.D. recording a grant to Īśvaradāsa, head of the matha in the temple at Nandi. This donee is styled a Kāḷāmukha and a disciple of Kalāśakti in Chikballapur plates of A.D. 810 (Mysore Archæological Report 1914, page 36). An inscription of A.D. 943 found at Hēmāvati, Sira Taluk, states that Lakulīśa was born again as Munināthа Chilluka and that he killed sin with the sword Sivāgama (Ep. Carna., XII, Sira 28). An inscription at Halkur of Śaka 1100 records a grant to Dēvendraśakti, Rāmaśakti, etc., upholders of the Lākuḷāgama-samaya, and followers of Kāḷāmukha (ಲಾಕುಳಾಗಮಸಮಯಸಮುದ್ಧರಣರುಂ ಕಾಳಾಮುಖ ಪ್ರತಿಬದ್ಧರುಂ :—Ep. Carna., V, Arsikere 62). Another at Kaṇikatte of Śaka 1075 records a grant for conducting the daily worship to the god Anilēśvara, to Komārasingapaṇḍita, upholder of Lākuḷāgama [1] (ಅನಿಲೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಅಂಗಭೋಗ ರಂಗಭೋಗ ನಿವೇದ್ಯಕ್ಕಂ ನಂದಾದೀವಿಗೆ ಸವಾಗಿ ಲಾಕುಳಾಗಮಸಮಯ ಸಮುದ್ಧರಣರಪ್ಪ ಕೊಮಾರಸಿಂಗ ಪಂಡಿತರ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂಮಾಡಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟದತ್ತಿ :—*ibid.*, Arsikere 46). Another at Gotnakere in Tiptur Taluk records a grant for the daily worship of the god Manchēśvara to Lalāladēva, etc., upholders of Lākula system. [2] (ಆ ಮಂಚೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ ನಿತ್ಯಪೂಜಪಂಚಪರ್ವ......... ಮಠಪತಿ ತಪೋಧನರಾಹಾರಕ್ಕಂವಾಗಿ ಲಕುಲದ (ಹೊ) ಸಮಯಸಮುದ್ಧರಣರಪ್ಪ ಮಂಚಜವ್ವೆಯಪುತ್ರರು ಲಲಾಲದೇವ......Ep. Carn., Vol. XII, Tiptur 12) The inscriptions of Kālāmukhas are met with even as late as the period of Vijayanagar kings. Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti, whose disciple was the celebrated Mādhavamantrin, [3] is spoken of as the *rājaguru* of Harihara II. During all this period from the 9th to 14th century the Kālāmukha priests were in charge of most of the Śiva temples throughout the Karnātaka. They were also heads of *mathas* or monasteries to which hundreds of students flocked to learn Grammar, Logic, Vēdānta, Siddhanta, Agama, etc. The Kālāmukha priests are generally described as being possessed of the 8 attributes of Yoga, Yama, Niyama, etc., and learned in the Rig, Yajus, Sāma, and Atharva Vedas with Angas as well as in

1. By a mistake in dividing the words this has been translated as referring to Vāgi-Lākuḷāgama.

2. In the translation of this inscription, Lalāladēva is spoken of as the supporter of the new samaya of Lakula. This is due to a wrong reading of the phrase *Lakulada hosamayasamuddharaṇarappa*. Here the letter *ho* has evidently crept in owing to some error. In the transliteration of the inscription, we find Lakuladasamaya-samuddharaṇarappa and the letter *ho* is omitted. Moreover the phrase *hosa samayasamuddharana* is against Kannaḍa grammar and never met with in inscriptions and in literature. Hence the new samaya of Lakula of the translation ought to be corrected into *the samaya of Lakula*.

3. Mādhavamantrin is the author of Tātparya-dīpikā, a commentary on Sūtasamhita. He calls himself at the end of the work as *upanishanmārga-pravartaka* (follower of the path of Upanishads). This work clearly shows that the Kālāmukhas followed the old Vedic rites and the caste system and paid respect both to Vedas and Siva Āgamas and could not have been guilty of the revolting practices wrongly attributed to them by Rāmānuja. The Banavasi Inscription clearly proves that Mādhavamantrin was a Kālāmukha. (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol IV)

Siddhānta, Kāvya, Nātaka, Bharata (dancing) and other sciences. There were both married men and Brahmachārins among them and the latter were held in higher esteem than the former. Their names usually end in—rāśi,—śakti,—śiva,—jīya,—ābharaṇa, etc. Their influence was so great that some of them are spoken of as rājagurus (royal preceptors), to the late Hoysaḷa and early Vijayanagar kings. (For a more detailed account of the Kālāmukhas see Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. VII, No. 3.)

The commentators of Sankara state that there were four Śaiva schools bearing the names of Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kārukasiddhāntin and Kāpālika. Rāmānuja and Kēśava Kaśmīrin mention the same four schools but call Kārukasiddhāntin by the name of Kālāmukha. Rāmānuja states, in his Śrībhāshya (II, 2.) that the Kāḷamukhas hold that dining in a skull, besmearing the whole body with ashes, eating the ashes, holding a club, placing a vessel full of liquor and worshipping the god as seated therein, etc., are conducive to one's welfare both in this world and hereafter. Apparently he seems to have mixed here the practices of the Kālāmukhas with those of the Kāpālikas as the references to the Kālāmukha priests met with in the inscriptions show them to be of a very high character and free from the revolting rites or customs associated with the Kāpālika sect.

According to *Sarvadarśanasangraha* of Mādhavāchārya, the chief tenets of the Nakulīśa Pāśupata system are:— By the word *Paśū* we are to understand the effect (or created world), the word designating that which is dependent on something ulterior. By the word *Pati* we are to understand the cause, the word designating the Lord, who is the cause of the universe, the Pati (or ruler). The sentient spirit that to which transmigratory conditions pertain is also of two kinds, the appetant and non-appetant. The appetant is the spirit associated with an organism and organs; the non-appetant is the spirit apart from organism and organs. The Lord or Pati is the possessor of infinite, visual and active power. Union is a conjunction of the soul with God through the intellect and is of two degrees, that characterized by action, and that characterized by cessation of action. Of these union characterized by action consists of pious muttering, meditation, and so forth; union characterized by cessation of action is called consciousness, etc.. ...... Religious exercise is of two kinds, acts of piety and postures .... The acts of piety are bathing with sand, lying upon sand, oblations, mutterings, and devotional perambulation .... He should worship with the six kinds of oblations, *viz.*, laughter (a loud laughter Āhā, Āhā), song, dance (with outward indications of internal sentiment), muttering *hum* (like the bellowing of a bull, an imitation of the sound *hudung*); adoration and pious ejaculation. The postures are snoring, trembling, limping, wooing, acting

absurdly, and talking nonsensically. (Cowell and Gough's Translation of the Sarvadarŝanasangraha, pp. 105—107.)

From the above it will be evident that this system is a kind of qualified monism in which certain religious exercises are enjoined upon man in order that he might purify himself and perceive (intellectually or emotionally) his oneness with the Lord, the Creator of the universe. A great deal of importance is attached in this system to Yōga or Karma accompanied with proper knowledge. In most of the inscriptions in which Kāḷāmukha priests are mentioned, we find them invariably described as ascetics possessed of the eight-fold attributes of Yōga (Yama, niyama, etc.). As for some of the religious exercises which appear absurd to us we must remember that they are different forms of religious ecstasy and to some extent the author of the Sarvadarŝanasangraha has caricatured them. Similar exercises where singing and dancing form an integral part are found associated with the worship of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā among Chaitanya's followers, or of Bhavāni in the Mahratta country.

(*To be Continued.*)

ON A SANTALI ÆTIOLOGICAL FOLKTALE OF THE "MANN UND FUCHS" TYPE.

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, Esq., M.A.,

Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University of Calcutta.

In the Panjāb, there is current a folk-tale entitled:—"The Tiger, the Brāhmaṇ, and the Jackal", of which the main incidents may be summarized as follows:—

(1) A tiger is let out of a cage by a Brāhman.

(2) Thereafter the tiger proceeds to eat the Brāhmaṇ.

(3) Being disgusted with the tiger's ingratitude, the Brāhmaṇ enquires of (*a*) *a pipal*-tree, (*b*) a she-buffalo, and (*c*) a road, if the tiger's conduct is not ungrateful and base.

(4) The tree, the buffalo, and the road opine that men, and not the beasts, are ungrateful and base.

(5) Thereafter the Brāhmaṇ appeals to a jackal who, by his cunning, makes the tiger re-enter the cage, and dexterously shuts it up as soon as the latter goes inside it again. Whereupon matters stand precisely as they did before.

In a note on this folk-tale, the well-known English folklorist Mr. Joseph Jacobs says:—"No less than 94 parallels are given by Prof. K. Krohn in his elaborate discussion of this fable in his dissertation, "*Mann Und Fuchs*", (Helsingfors, 1891), pp. 38—60; to which may be added three Indian variants, omitted by him, but mentioned by Captain R. C. Temple, in his notes to F. A. Steel's *Tales of Panjab*, p. 307, in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Gul-i-Bakāwati*, and the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p. 177; and a couple more in my *Æsop*, p. 253: add Smeaton, *Karens*, p. 126." *

To the aforementioned 100 variants of this popular Indian folk-tale, I added one more version thereof which I had collected from the district of Sāran in North Bihār and which I published for the first time. †

At the same time, I pointed out a Sāntāli variant of this story which had not been mentioned either by Mr. Joseph Jacobs or by Captain R. C.

---

* *Indian Fairy Tales*—Selected and edited by Joseph Jacobs, Editor of "Folk-lore". London. David Nutt. 1892. pp. 242-243.

† *Vide* my article on *Bihari Folktale of the "Mann und Fuchs" Type*, in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol VI, pp. 132-141

Temple. The leading incidents of this Sāntāli version may be briefly stated as follows:—

(1) A tiger gets stuck fast in a quagmire from which he is extricated by a crowd of on-lookers.

(2) Thereafter the tiger threatens to eat up his deliverers.

(3) Thereupon his deliverers enquire from (*a*) a *mahuwa*-tree (*Bassia latifolia*) and (*b*) a cow whether the tiger will be justified in eating them up.

(4) The tree and the cow decide that the tiger's threatened action will be just.

(5) Thereupon the tiger's deliverers appeal to a jackal who, by his cunning, induces the tiger to jump into the quagmire again, which having been done, the latter gets stuck fast in it again.

(6) Thereafter the tiger is pelted to death by his former deliverers. *

The total number of the variants of this popular and wide-spread folk-tale, therefore, amounts to 102.

To these 102 variants again, I shall add one more version, namely, a Sāntāli ætiological folk-tale of the "*Mann und Fuchs*" type which I have recently come across and of which the English translation does not appear to have been published as yet. I am, therefore, publishing below, for the first time, the English translation of this new variant which runs as follows:—

"Why the Jackals cry '*Hukā, Hukā*'? On the Tilasaṅkrānti Day, the Sāntāls partake of good food and, banding themselves together, go to the jungle to hunt. This is a festive occasion with them.

Once upon a time, on the occasion of the Tilasaṅkrānti Festival, a band of Sāntāls went to a large forest for the purpose of hunting therein.

Now, there lived in that forest a big tiger. Seeing that it was very dangerous for him to stay in that forest any longer, lest the Sāntāls should kill him with their bows and arrows, he began to think about the means of flying away from that forest.

Now, a road meandered through that forest. After cutting fuel from that jungle, a wood-cutter used to load his bullock-cart with the cut wood and to drive it, every day, by that road on his way homewards.

On that Tilasaṅkrānti Day, the wood-cutter was also driving his laden bullock-cart along that road on his way homewards. While he was driving along, the tiger came running fast and breathless and, addressing him, said:—

"O brother wood-cutter! Save my life to-day. If the Sāntāls catch a glimpse of me, they will soon make mincemeat of me. If, by any means, you can save my life to-day, I shall not only refrain from doing you any harm, but shall also be your bond-slave for the rest of my life."

* *Santal Folk-tales*. By A. Campbell. Pokhuria Santal Mission Press. Pages 40-41

Though the wood-cutter was a poor man, he was magnanimous in his heart of hearts, and was moved by the tiger's touching words Taking pity on him, he then and there concealed the tiger in a bag which he had in his cart, and said: "O brother tiger! don't be afraid of losing your life."

When, after hunting was over, the Sāṇtāls went off to their respective villages by that road, they had not the faintest idea that a tiger lay concealed in the wood-cutter's bag.

After the Sāntāls had gone away, the wood-cutter opened the bag and let out the tiger who, with blood-shot eyes, asked the farmer: "Which of you shall I eat first, whether you or the two bullocks?"

Trembling with fear, the wood-cutter replied: "All this is very strange. Is this the return for the good that I have done to you?"

Gnashing his teeth, the tiger rejoined: "Certainly, it is. Ask the banyan-tree if it is not so."

Close by, there grew a large banyan-tree which was watching the scene that was being enacted by the wood-cutter and the tiger. Addressing them both, the tree said:—

"Nobody returns good for good. Just see how people, who sit in my shade, break off my branches and take the same away."

The tiger replied: "O wood-cutter! have you heard the banyan-tree's remarks? Shall I now make a meal of you?"

Hearing these words, the wood-cutter was dumbfounded with fear and, trembling in every limb of his, could not say anything.

Just at that time, a jackal was passing by that way. Seeing him, the tiger further said: "Let us refer the matter to my maternal uncle—the jackal; and we must act up to what he will say."

The jackal then came there and heard all that had happened, and, shaking his head said: "I shan't be able to say anything, one way or the other, unless and until I see everything with my own eyes."

The tiger had, therefore, to enter the bag again. When the foolish tiger had re-entered the bag, the jackal quickly tied up its mouth very tightly and told the wood-cutter: "If you want a just decision from me, bring a large club."

Thereupon the wood-cutter mustered up courage again and, fetching a stout club, struck the tiger within the bag so many heavy blows with it, that the ferocious monster's body was reduced to a veritable pulp.

Thereafter, addressing the jackal, the wood-cutter said: "O brother jackal! I shall remember the benefit you have done to me, all my life. You are my great friend from to-day, and, as a token of our friendship, I shall present you with a *huqqā* or hubble-bubble to smoke with." Saying this, he went away.

From that day forth, the jackal has sat in that forest, waiting for the present of the *huqqā* from the wood-cutter. But up to the present day, he has not seen the latter again. It is for this reason that, whenever the jackal remembers the promised present, he cries out. "*Koi hukā, hukā, hukā,*" or "Where is the hubble-bubble? Where is the hubble-bubble? Where is the hubble-bubble?"*

On comparing Dr. Campbell's Sāntālī version with the new variant of which the English translation is published above, we find that both of them are didactic in character; that is to say, both of them point the moral that treachery and ingratitude are best outwitted by craftiness and cunning. But, over and above the foregoing characteristic, we also come across a novel feature in the new variant, namely, that of its being ætiological in character. That is to say, the new variant accounts for the origin of the jackal's weird and peculiar cry.

This peculiar cry of the jackal has attracted the attention even of peoples possessing a moderate amount of culture, as for instance, of the peoples of Northern India, Persia and Turkish Arabia, and has led them to fabricate fantastic myths accounting for its origin.

Take, for example, the people of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in Northern India. They narrate the following curious myth which explains how the jackal's weird and peculiar cry has originated. It is believed by them that each pack of jackals is led by a chief or leader and that their peculiar cry is nothing more or less than the words of the following conversation which takes place between the chief and his followers:—

The chief cries out: "*Supnā meṅ rājā huā*" or "I am the king in the night (*lit.*, in the sleep-time)."

The other jackals, then, reply:—"*Huā, huā, huā*" or "You are, you are, you are."

The European gentleman, who has collected this myth, says: "With a little imagining, the cry, if not heard too near, does really appear to fit the words."†

The people of Persia also recite the undermentioned ætiological myth to account for the origin of the jackal's cry:—

Once upon a time, the jackals used to live in the towns; while the dogs used to dwell in the desert where they were exposed to the inclemency of the weather and always suffered from shortage of food. The latter, therefore, thought that it would be very well for them if they could anyhow live in the

* *Vide* the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsī* (published from Calcutta) for Jyaishtha 1329 B.S (May-June 1922 A.D.), page 273.

† *Haunts and Hobbies of an Indian Official*, by Mark Thornhill. London. John Murray. 1899. Page 127.

town for, at least, three days, during which period they not only would have plenty of food to eat but would also get much-needed shelter from the stress of the weather. So these dogs sent some of their fellow-brethren to the jackals with the following message:—

"O brother jackals! Some members of our community are ill and have been advised by our doctors to live in the town for three days for a change of air. As it is impossible for us dogs and you jackals to live together in the same place at one and the same time, please exchange your place with us for, at least, three days, so that we may live in the town for that length of time, while you retire for the same period into the desert, the air of which will doubtless prove beneficial to your health."

To this proposal, the jackals agreed: and so the exchange of places was effected, the dogs going to live in the town, and the jackals in the desert.

After the third night, however, the jackals got tired of their desert-life and going to the gates of the city, waited for the dogs' evacuating it. But the dogs, being very comfortable in it, were in no hurry to quit the city.

After waiting for some time, the jackals cried out to the dogs:—*Nā khush-i-shumā khūb shudē-ē-ē-ē?*" or "Are your sick ones well yet?" ending up with a whine rising and falling into cadence.

But the dogs, who are believed to be Turks and to speak Turkish, only answered:—"Yokh! yokh!" or "No, no."

Thus the jackals were obliged to return to the desert. Ever since that time, they come back every night and hail the dogs with the same question, while the dogs in their turn, give the same reply, for they are not, in the least, desirous of going back to the desert.

It is for this reason that the jackals come and howl round the towns after nightfall, and that the dogs always answer them.*

Nearly the same version of the preceding ætiological folktale of "The Dispute between the Jackals and the Dogs" has been collected in Persia and related by Miss Ella C. Sykes, † and has been met with in Turkish Arabia by Mrs. M. E. Hume-Griffith and recorded by her in her fascinating book of travels entitled: "*Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia.*" ‡

The jackal's weird and peculiar cry has also attracted the attention and roused the imagination of Europeans in India who have fabricated various versions of the same. Bishop Heber, in the underquoted lines of his poem

* *A Year amongst the Persians* By E. G Browne, M.A., M.B. London Adam and Charles Black 1893 Pp 183-184

† *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle* By Miss Ella C. Sykes. London John Macqueen, 1901 Pp. 105-106

‡ *Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia.* By Mrs. M. E Hume-Griffith. London George Bell and Sons, 1909. Pp. 37-39.

"*An Evening Walk in Bengal*", has likened the jackal's cry to the sounds of village-revelry:—

"- ——— ——The jackal's cry
Resounds like sylvan revelry."

Another Anglo-Indian version of this beast's cry is: *"Dead Hindu, where, where, where?"* With regard to this, Dr. W. T. Blanford says:—

"The cry of the jackal is familiar to all who have ever resided in the countries inhabited by the animal, and consists of two parts—a long wailing howl three or four times repeated, each repetition in a note a little higher than the preceding, and then a succession of usually three quick yelps, also repeated two or three times. *The common Anglo-Indian version of "Dead Hindoo; where, where, where," gives some idea of the call.* In one African jackal, *c. variegatus* of Abyssinia, the second portion of the cry is entirely wailing." *

Another author says:—"Some of our ideas of the fox as type of cunning seem to be derived through ancient folklore, from the shy and sly jackal, here looked on as hardly worth hunting; but it may often be seen slinking off into cover, and still more often is heard at night raising that dismal howl interpreted *I-smell-a-dead-Hindoo!* to which the rest of the pack give back in sleep-banishing chorus, *Where-where-where?*"†

---

* *The Fauna of British India* Mammalia, By W. T. Blanford, F.R.S. London 1888. P. 141.

† *The World of To-day* By A. R. Hope Moncrieff. Vol. I. London The Gresham Publishing Company. 1912. Page 215.

PSYCHOLOGY OF EMOTIONS AS REPRESENTED IN THE BHAGAVADGITA.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY.

BY P. K. GODE, ESQ., M.A.

(Continued from last issue.)

(IV) EGOTISTIC EMOTIONS—

We now come to emotions which are more or less connected with the Ego. As the consciousness of the Ego comes late in the growth of the child this class claims our attention after fear, anger and affection.

Ribot observes * that these emotions are exclusively human, while fear, anger and affection and sexual emotion, of which we shall speak forthwith, are as much animal as human. If we adopt for the sake of convenience Prof. Ribot's division of egotistic emotions into (1) positive and (2) negative we shall have to group the forms of these emotions to be found in the B. G. in the following manner:—

I. Positive.	II. Negative.
(*a*) Ahaṅkāra	(*a*) Kārpaṇya, klaibya, hṛdaya-dourbalya, etc.
(*b*) Jijīviṣā, tṛṣṇā	
(*c*) Bala	
(*d*) Darpa, māna, abhimāna, mada, kīrti	
(*e*) Dambha	
(*f*) Lōbha	

We shall now examine these forms severally.

I. *(a) Ahaṅkāra.*—The term 'ahaṅkāra' has been sometimes rendered by the English words 'egoism', 'egotism', etc., but these words do not correctly convey the sense of the Sanskrit term. Perhaps it will be more near the truth to render it as 'self-feeling', an expression used by Sully † whose analysis of this feeling has many points in common with the characteristics of the 'ahaṅkāra' given in the B. G.

---

* Psychology of Emotions, p 240

† Human Mind, Vol. II, p 99—According to Sully the development of the feeling of self proceeds with the growth of self-consciousness The self-feeling which is in the beginning confined to the bodily self enlarges under the influence of experience and association. The area of our belongings now incorporates our surroundings including our home and other property and our friends and relatives. The growth of the higher and more representative self-consciousness extends the self-complacency to even the intellectual or moral worth of the individual and the feeling is further refined by the discrimination of a higher and a lower self Lastly, experience and social discipline tone down the feeling

The B. G. asks us to submerge our personality into that of God and in strict consonance with this oft-repeated doctrinal advice this feeling of 'ahaṅkāra', this consciousness of the Ego is to be discarded, as is clear from the following passages:—

'Ahaṅkāra' is one of the constituents of the eightfold 'prakṛti' or primordial matter (VII, 4). The principle of 'guṇas' of 'prakṛti' holds good in classifying the emotions according to the B. G. Accordingly we are told in XVIII, 26 that the person who is 'anahamvādī', *i.e.*, free from self-feeling, is the 'sāttvika kartā' or the righteous doer of an action. One who is free from the notion of the Ego though he slays people, he slays not, nor is bound (XVIII, 17). The Self deluded by 'ahaṅkāra' thinks 'I am the doer', while in fact all actions are wrought by the 'guṇas' of 'prakṛti' (III, 27). The doer of an action, who does an action through 'ahaṅkāra' is said to be 'rājasa' or passionate (XVIII, 24). In III, 30, Arjuna is asked to surrender all his actions to God and fight without any self-feeling. Among qualifications necessary for being an ideal 'bhakta', freedom from 'ahaṅkāra' is mentioned (XII,13). 'Ahaṅkāra' is also one of the constituents of the 'kṣetra' mentioned in XII, 6. Absence of 'ahaṅkāra' is one of the essentials of 'jnāna' described in detail in XIII, 8-12. In XVI, 19, it is said that God hates men who resort to 'ahaṅkāra' and throws them into the worst forms of existence as they are the vilest among men. Persons, who perform through 'ahaṅkāra' severe austerities are styled as 'āsura-niscayān', *i.e.*, of demoniacal bent of mind in XVII, 5. In XVIII, 58, Arjuna is threatened with destruction if he followed the dictates of 'ahaṅkāra' and further in verse 58 we learn that it is of no use for Arjuna to give up his duty of fighting under the influence of 'ahaṅkāra' for 'prakṛti' will constrain him to do so. Finally the Yogi of the B. G. who is free from 'ahaṅkāra' is said to be fit for being identified with the 'brahman'.

The foregoing passages give us a clear notion of the 'ahaṅkara' of the B. G. and we can now sum up the characteristics as follows :—

(1) The 'ahaṅkāra' of the B. G. originates from 'prakṛti' and is one of the 'vikāras' of 'kṣetra'.

(2) It originates in the quality of 'rajas', one of the three 'guṇas' of 'prakṛti'.

(3) It does not facilitate spiritual enlightenment but on the contrary is a veritable obstacle in the way, and degrades persons in the cycle of existence.

(4) Its absence is necessary for the fostering of the 'bhakti' towards God.

(5) As all actions are wrought by the 'guṇas' of 'prakṛti' it cannot be regarded as a spring of action proper.

(6) Fitness for being identified with the 'brahman' depends on the complete disappearance of 'ahaṅkāra'.

(7) It is a cause of the moral responsibility of the individual if free play is allowed to it; if, however, the action is done independently of the influence of self-feeling, the agent of the action is not responsible for the consequences, good or evil.

It has been remarked by Spinoza[1] that human lack of power in moderating and checking the emotions is servitude. To some extent this view of Spinoza is similar to that of the B. G. but whereas Spinoza would see some goodness in these emotions according as they serve a human end, the B. G. would insist upon a complete cessation of them. Spinoza regards the terms good and bad as relative, for they are, according to him, nothing else than modes of thought. From the metaphysical standpoint of the B. G., all emotions are equally good or bad. From the worldly point of view, the B. G. has divided the emotions into two classes, *viz.*, (1) the 'āsurī sampad' and (2) the 'daivī sampad', and this division corresponds to that of Spinoza. The 'ahaṅkāra' or self-feeling belongs to the latter class and is condemned by the B. G.

Sully [2] remarks that the love of self or the disposition to value self and its concerns is instinctive and is connected with the impulse of self-conservation. Psychologically this observation is true enough but the aim of the B. G. being 'self-surrender' it attaches no value to 'self-feeling'.

Self-feeling may be necessary for self-conservation but to identify self-conservation with pleasure is " surely an inversion of the order of nature". [3] In a developed form of self-feeling such as self-complacency there seems to be a mixture of instinct and reflection. There is also present an element of pleasure but pleasure may not be invariably associated with the operation of instinct. Now so far as the B. G. is concerned, it is obvious that the Yogi of the B. G. is to care more for the 'ātyantika sukha' or the infinite bliss than for mortal pleasures. Marshall's conclusion in this connection is worth noting. He remarks[4] : "All things considered, the notion must be abandoned that pleasure-getting in any sense can be made serviceable as an ethical end."

We cannot dilate more on this form of egotistic emotion as our study is un-ethical.

(*b*) *Jijīviṣā, Tṛṣṇā.*—Closely connected with the Ego we find what the B. G. calls 'jijīviṣā' or desire for life. 'Tṛṣṇā' is akin to it with difference in degree and it means 'love or thirst for life'. It originates in the quality of

1 Ethics, Boyle's Translation, p 141.
2 Outlines of Psychology, p. 502
3 Martineau Types of Ethical Theory, Vol. II, pp. 377-378.
4 Pleasure, Pain and Aesthetics, p 354.

'rajas' (XIV, 7). There is only a passing reference to this desire in II. 6, where Arjuna says that he has no desire to live, after having slain his relatives.

Marshall* quotes Bouillier's view that 'love of life' and the 'fear of death' are the greatest of pleasures and pains respectively and also refutes this view by remarking that this view is open to question. According to the B. G. perhaps the 'love of life' is the greatest of fears as it involves men in the cycle of 'samsāra' while 'fear of death' does not exist as the removal of the physical body may facilitate the identification of the 'bhakta' with the 'brahman'. Biologists tell us that the instinct for self-preservation in the organism is necessary for the preservation of the race. From this point of view 'jijīviṣā' becomes a matter of course and may be extended to all living beings. What we have to emphasize is the fact that 'jijīviṣā' is instinctive and exists not because it is pleasant but in the course of nature. 'Tṛṣṇā' of the B. G. seems to us to be a further developed form of 'jijīviṣā' and the element of pleasure seems to be present in it. We can call it an 'appetite' with Aristotle who defines 'appetite' as 'a desire for what is pleasant'.† As the element of 'saṅga' creeps in, the B. G. trying to lift up the Yogi above pleasure and pain looks down upon this 'tṛṣṇā' or the passion for life which plunges men into the misery of finite existence. If we accept Ribot's theory‡ that tendency is antecedent to pleasure and pain we may regard 'jijīviṣā' as an unconscious impulse or an innate tendency without antecedent experience of the pleasant or unpleasant consequences while 'tṛṣṇā' presupposes an antecedent experience of the element of pleasure

(c) *Bala*.—As 'bala' is classed with other feelings such as 'ahaṅkāra' 'darpa', etc., we must take it to mean 'consciousness of power or strength'. Ribot § remarks that the different varieties of 'self-feeling' are reducible to one primary fact, *viz.*, the feeling of personal strength or weakness, with a tendency to action or arrest of action. He further remarks in this connection that the feeling of superiority consequent on the feeling of strength soon leads to contempt, insolence, brutality and the exercise of strength under its aggressive form. This is true enough and it is perhaps on account of this likelihood of mischief which disturbs the mental equilibrium of the Yogi that the B. G. condemns it categorically. We do not know whether the complete absence of 'bala' would help or hinder the efficiency of 'karma' prescribed in the B. G. Perhaps the B. G. refers to superfluous strength, which, if allowed to accumulate, may be directed in mischievous channels. The B. G. seems to lay stress on the physical aspect of power.

---

* Pleasure, Pain and Aesthetics, p. 34.
† Rhetoric (Buckley's Trans.), p. 73.
‡ Psychology of Emotions, p. 199.
§ Do. do. p. 239.

In XVI, 18, we are told that men who resort to 'bala' are thrown by God into the demoniacal forms of existence. Again men who cast aside 'bala', etc., are fit for being identified with the 'brahman' (XVIII, 53). These two passages give us the punishment and the reward for the use or abandonment of 'bala' respectively.

Power may be utilized for good but there is in it a tendency for malevolence. Bain* remarks that the pleasure of power in its coarsest and brutal form is the pleasure of putting others to pain and as the Yogi of the B. G. is to be friendly towards all beings (maitra) it is natural that 'bala' should be condemned.

We have already remarked in treating of fear that the term 'dhṛti' as used by the B. G. in verses 33, 34 and 35 of Chapter XVIII, means a sort of mental energy which stabilizes any psychic state, intellectual or emotional. It appears to us that the 'dhṛti' which has been spoken of as 'sāttvikī', 'rājasī' and 'tāmasī' is a psychical counterpart of 'bala' which pertains more to the physical and physiological side of the individual. We may render the term 'dhṛti' into English by 'volitional energy' or 'power of the will' which is the very basis of human conduct. The B. G. determines its nature by the effects of its operation on the individual and accordingly gives us its three sorts mentioned above.

Though 'bala' is undesirable for the Yogi of the B. G. 'dhṛti' is not altogether so, for we learn from XVIII, 26 that even for an action which is pure or 'sāttvika' 'dhṛti' is necessary. It is the very basis of action and as action is necessary according to the B. G., the psychological basis of action cannot be ignored.

In XVIII, 26, we are also told that 'utsāha' is 'sāttvika'. The term means 'effort, exertion, etc.'. We may distinguish 'dhṛti' and 'utsāha' by remarking that the former is static while the latter is dynamic in character. 'Utsāha' is an immediate antecedent of action, and seems identical with the "natural vigour of the constitution" so closely analysed by Bain.† 'Utsāha' causes a spontaneous discharge of an accumulated store of inward energy which is the same as 'dhṛti' of the B. G.

The word 'dhīra' as used in B. G. II, 13 and 15 means 'self-possessed' and denotes strength of will which stabilizes the emotions, and prevents drain or sudden outburst of mental energy.

There is another aspect of 'power' which is not quite psychological. It is said that love of pleasure and aversion to pain may generate love of power‡ which, combined with thirst for fame, constitutes ambition which

* Emotions and the Will, p. 195.
† Do. Do. p. 310.
‡ James McCosh The Emotions, p. 15.

is a subject for the moralist to enlarge upon, as ambition soon degrades into love of dominion which in its turn engenders tyranny under all its forms.

That consciousness of power is attended with pleasure and that the powerful are likely to be overbearing and hence naturally inclined to commit injustice was long ago recognized by Aristotle.[1] The aim of the B. G. being complete stoicism towards pleasure and pain it is in the nature of things that consciousness of power should be considered demoniacal and destructive of spiritual life.

It may be of interest to note here that the Sāhityadarpaṇa[2] considers 'dhṛti' as one of the 33 subordinate feelings. The term as defined there means "satisfaction" and is quite distinct from the 'dhṛti' of the B. G. The element of pleasure is dominant in the definition of the Sāhityadarpaṇa which well illustrates the æsthetic law of the satisfaction of expectancies mentioned by Marshall.[3] The Sāhityadarpaṇa mentions 'utsāha' as the feeling which gives rise to 'vīra' or the heroic sentiment. We do not find any material difference between the 'utsāha' of the B. G. and 'utsāha' of the S. D.[4] We may regard the 'utsāha' of the B. G. as a sort of feeling of elation consequent on the natural vigour of the constitution.[5]

(*d*) *Darpa, etc.*—A person who is saturated with 'self-feeling' may be said to have 'mada', which is nothing but a plethora of self-feeling. 'Mada' is passive in character while 'darpa' is active. 'Darpa' may be rendered by 'insolence' which shews its external manifestations in a marked way. 'Mada' may be rendered by 'pride' in its wider sense of "isolated self-esteem" involving contemptuous indifference to the sentiments of others.[6] 'Darpa' is condemned in B. G. XVI, 18. Absence of 'darpa' is also helpful for the identification of the Yogi with the 'brahman' (XVIII, 53). 'Darpa' is one of the constituents of 'āsurī sampad' (XVI, 4). Men filled with 'mada' of wealth are thrown into demoniacal forms of existence (XVI, 17).

The adjective 'ātma-sambhāvitāḥ' as used in XVI, 17, means 'self-glorying' or 'self-conceited'. A person who is 'ātma-sambhāvita' does not depend upon the praise or good opinion of the world.

We now come to 'māna' which may be rendered by the word 'self-regard'. A person may have 'māna' without involving in it any contempt

1 Rhetoric (Buckley's Translation), pp 78, 159, 80.
2 Pleasure, Pain and Aesthetics, p. 342.
3 S. D. 168.
4 S D. 232.
5 *Cf.* the definition of 'utsāha' given by the Rasagangādhara:—
(K.M. No. 12) p 32—"para-parākrama-dānādi-smṛti-janmā aunnatyākhyaḥ utsāhaḥ"
6 Martineau: "Types of Ethical Theory", Vol. II, p. 238.

for others. It may be regarded as 'pride' but in a good sense. As the B. G. has no regard for 'self-feeling' in any of its forms 'māna' is also condemned. In XVI, 5, we learn that persons who are free from 'māna' reach the 'imperishable abode' (avyayam padam). In another passage, however, the term 'māna' has been used in the sense of 'pride'. In XVI, 17, it is said that persons who are not free from 'dhana-māna' or pride of wealth are thrown into demoniacal forms of existence. In this passage the terms 'māna' and 'mada' seem contrasted or at least distinguished.

The 'amānittva', *i.e.*, humility is said to be an essential of 'jnāna'(XIII, 8). Absence of too much self-regard (nātimānitā) is one of the components of 'daivī sampad' (XVI, 3). On the contrary 'abhimāna' or too much self-opinion is a component of 'āsurī sampad' (XVI, 4).

We have tried to record the several terms which the B. G. uses for self-feeling in various degrees. As no definite analysis of these forms is attempted by the B. G., it is difficult to infer the exact distinction between one form and another which the B. G. has in view. The ethical and metaphysical end which the B. G. had in view is apparent from passages mentioned above. Perhaps the B. G. took for granted that these distinctions were patent to everybody in view of the dominance of these forms in the daily life of the individual.

The special study of the above mentioned forms of self-feeling is a work for the writers on ethics and psychologists have very little to do with it. [1] We shall here mention some views of the Western writers on the subject. Spinoza defines 'pride' as "over-estimation of oneself by reason of self-love."[2] Hume in his treatise on 'Human Nature' devotes one part to the treatment of pride and humility.[3]

According to him, self is the object of pride as well as humility. When self enters not into consideration there is no room either for pride or humility. Perhaps the B. G. asks us to renounce 'ahankāra' on account of the fact pointed out by Hume that it is the cause of pride and humility (humiliation), which are in their turn the causes of pleasure and pain, while the main object of the B. G. is to take the 'sthitaprajna' beyond pleasure and pain. Hume mentions as objects of pride all qualities of body and mind as also objects that are in the least related to us.

Darwin, concerned with the expression of pride, remarks that a complex state of mind, *viz.*, pride, is not sufficiently distinct to be described or delineated.[4]

1 See article on Pride in Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 10 and the literature given at the end of that article.

2 Ethics (Boyle's Trans), p. 134.

3 Treatise on Human Nature (Everyman's Lib.), pp. 3-47.

4 Expression of Emotions, p. 274.

McCosh treats of 'pride and self-humiliation' and observes that in pride we cherish and entertain a high and self-satisfied opinion of ourselves, of our abilities, of our conduct or of certain qualities supposed to be possessed by us or of certain acts we have done. In self-humiliation we depreciate all these things. He further remarks that if self-humiliation is yielded to and not counteracted by a sense of duty it may become a "poorness of spirit" which prevents us from engaging in anything which requires courage or perseverance. Now let us turn to the B. G. This difficulty seems to have been felt by the author of the B. G. The doctrine of duty (Karma) propounded in the work is a sufficient testimony on this point. We have already remarked that 'kaśmalam' which is a consequence of this "poorness of spirit" is condemned by the B. G. where Arjuna is represented as being its victim on account of his indulging in self-humiliation to an inordinate degree. The B. G. wants not 'self-humiliation' but 'humility' (amānittva) which is nothing but a lowly attitude before God and our fellow-men.

The Western writers lay stress on "vanity" which is a form of self feeling regarded as a showing off of one's supposed superiority. It depends on the good opinion of others for its very nourishment. We do not think that the forms of self-feeling under reference, *viz.*, 'darpa' and others comprise the feeling of "vanity". Vanity is distinct from 'dambha' or hypocrisy mentioned in the B. G. What the Western writers call 'self-respect' arising from the reflection on one's good qualities seems to be identical with the 'māna' of the B. G. which we have rendered by the word 'self-regard'. The B. G. does not want even this much self-regard in the Yogi. It wants complete self-surrender, which may be regarded as the one simple condition of the union of the 'bhakta' with the 'brahman'. There is a good deal of parallelism between this doctrine of the B. G. and the doctrine of the Christian mystics.* We note here some points of similarity:—(1) Surrender of self as the condition of union with God; (2) Duty is to be sublimed into devotion; (3) God is to be regarded as the hierarchy of affections (*cf.* B. G. X, 4-6); (4) The self is to be regarded as the organ of a higher spirit; (5) The 'avyabhicāriṇī bhakti' is to be the absolute spring of our moral actions and consequently there is to be harmony between morals and religion. It will thus be seen that the B. G. regards 'bhakti' as the 'rule and method for the life of man' which is absolute and knows no prudential deflection, like the conscience of Christian mystics. Sully remarks † that self-feeling is as varied in respect of its presentative factor as the presentation or consciousness of self is varied. In his opinion this feeling

* Martineau Types of Ethical Theory, Vol. II, p. 79.

† Human Mind, Vol, II, p. 97.

is very difficult to demarcate. At least it is not so well marked and invariable as fear. Dealing with the relation of pride and power he remarks further that the feeling of power in its more intense forms is differentiated from a pure self-feeling, through a special element, the delight in superiority. The emotion of power is accounted for in the main as a compound of self-exaltation and malignity.

We have already observed in our discussion of 'bala' that the B. G. seems to lay stress on the physical and personal aspect of power. No doubt the elements of 'self-exaltation and malignity' are present in this aspect and that is exactly the reason why the B. G. looks down upon it. But Bain's idea of power seems to extend beyond the self proper. According to him "Power is the name for many things besides the pleasure of rampant cruelty. It has much in common with the aggregate named property or wealth".[1] But the B. G. condemns this sort of power in XVI, 17, where 'dhana-mada' is said to be the cause of demoniacal forms of existence.

Bhagavan Das[2] regards 'mada' as the opposite of benevolence. According to him benevolence is in operation when a greater gives himself away to a lesser through 'love'. He regards love to mean nothing else than benevolence in such cases. Pride is further a resultant of anger [3], and if we add compassion to pride we get what is known as majesty. [4] He gives us two senses of vanity and thinks that the second of these two senses is used when 'vanity' is used as a derivative of the adjective 'vain'. In this latter sense it means self-complacence which is only a modification of pride.[5] According to him the only way by which we can transmute other people's pride is by responding with humility, which is a counterpart of benevolence.[6]

We do not find in the B. G. any term which exactly conveys the sense of the English term "vanity". The adjective 'ātma-sambhāvitāḥ' used in XVI, 17, seems to us to describe a feeling which essentially differs from vanity. Persons who are the victims of vanity always get their nourishment from the good opinion of others while 'ātma-sambhāvita' people do not care for such good opinion.

To sum up our examination of the forms of 'self-feeling' *viz.*, 'darpa, mada, māna, abhimāna,' and the quality of being 'ātma-sambhāvita'. We find that all these forms are looked down upon by the B. G. It does not matter whether the self-feeling be of such an aggressive nature as 'darpa' or

---

1 Emotions and the Will, p. 195
2 The Science of the Emotions, p. 67
3 Do. p. 73.
4 Do. p. 86
5 Do. p. 139
6 Do. p. 232.

of a condensed nature as 'mada'; whether it is of a comparatively innocent type as 'māna' or 'abhimāna' or is self-sufficient in character as in the case of 'ātma-sambhāvita' people. Further as in the case of other emotions the contrary of these forms, *viz.*, 'amānittva' or absence of 'atimānitā' are said to be godly (daivī) in nature; while these forms are styled as demoniacal (āsurī). Next the suppression of these forms of self-feeling enables us to reach the 'avyayam padam', the imperishable abode, which is the same as 'brahman' mentioned in many other passages. We have further shown that the 'amānittva' of the B. G. is different from the 'self-humiliation' of the Western writers on the subject for the reason that whereas 'self-humiliation' produces pain the 'amānittva' of the B. G. does not produce either pleasure or pain in a marked manner and hence it may be regarded as more or less a neutral state not characterized by any strong tendencies either way. It, therefore, exactly serves the purpose of the B. G., *viz.*, to make the Yogi free from pleasure and pain. Another point of distinction is that 'self-humiliation brings on 'kaśmalam' or a mood of despondency which is categorically condemned in the B. G., because it runs counter to the doctrine of duty preached in the work. On the other hand 'amānittva' maintains a balanced state of mind which is conducive to the efficient performance of duty. We have also noticed the parallelism between the ideally perfect life of the Christian mystics and the union of God and man advocated in the B. G. with the only apparent distinction that whereas conscience is regarded as the divine element in the former, 'bhakti' may be regarded as the divine element in the latter case. Both these elements seem to be the cause of the harmony between morals and religion.

In B. G. X, 34, Śri Kṛishṇa identifies himself with 'kīrti' or fame. We may infer from this fact that the author of the B. G. did not condemn this feeling but gave it an honourable place in his estimate of all the best things in the universe. We have no other passages in the B. G. which can give us a detailed analysis of this feeling.

To turn now to psychology. According to Ribot the pursuit of 'kīrti or renown is one of the forms of ambition which he regards as the type of the higher form of egoism.[1] When all other tendencies are ruined ambition in its numerous forms persists. Except in the case of philosophers, Ribot continues, the disappearance of all ambition is the first symptom of decadence of the egotistic tendencies, which indicates want of faith in one's self, etc. According to Martineau[2] love of fame is not immediate and thirsty as vanity but can wait till later generations for its satisfaction. The resolve

1 Psychology of Emotions, p. 431.

2 Types of Ethical Theory, Vol. II, pp. 237, 238.

of the man who is swayed by ambition is not to *enjoy* public praise but to *earn* it. Martineau regards vanity, love of praise, and love of fame (or glory) as three different varieties of the sentiment of admiration. Spinoza [1] defines ambition as the "immoderate desire of glory or honour" and explains that ambition is the desire by which all the emotions are fostered and encouraged. Hume [2] traces love of fame to sympathy which is facilitated by the general resemblance of our natures and other circumstantial resemblances. His hypothesis is that the pleasure which we receive from praise arises from a communication of sentiments, because the praises of others never give us much pleasure unless they concur with our own opinion and extol us for those qualities in which we chiefly excel. Bain [3] regards fame and honour as forms of the feeling of being admired, which is according to him an "extension by sympathy, of the self-complacent feeling". He adds that posthumous fame, which has been treated as an absurdity and a paradox is nothing but one of the many forms of ideal satisfaction.

The 'kīrti' of the B. G. appears to us to include contemporary as also posthumous fame referred to by Bain.

(*e*) *Dambha*.—The term has the meaning of "religious hypocrisy" in the B. G. It is condemned in XVI, 4, where it is said to belong to "āsurī sampad". In XVIII, 12, it remarked that a sacrifice performed through 'dambha' *i.e.*, with a view to throw dust into the eyes of others is a 'rājasa yajna'. Men who practise penance through 'dambha' are characterized as 'āsura-niścayān' *i.e.*, of devilish tendencies. This is the only analysis of 'dambha' in the B. G.

The treatment of this form of self-feeling is properly a subject for the moralist. In every religion 'dambha' is considered as a vice and treated as such. The psychologist is concerned with the genesis of 'dambha'. Hypocrisy has been defined as 'a pretence or false assumption of a high character especially in regard to religious belief or practice'.[4] The term also means secondarily the practice of dissimulation. Dr. Murray[5] in his article on the subject in the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics traces the evolution of this form of self-feeling. According to him 'hypocrisy' was an idea outside the line of action of the primitive man for the reason that his society discouraged all independence of judgment. His tendency was to create "a cake of custom" and to conform to it. Referring to the arrested civilizations of the East and in particular to the Indian civilization he remarks that the

1 Ethics, p 138 (Boyle's Trans.).
2 Treatise on Human Nature, Sec. XI.
3 Emotions and the Will, pp. 209, 210.
4 Encyclo. Brita. XI Edition.
5 Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics by Hastings, 1914.

hardening of the cake of custom became too much for India. The cake had become so hard that those who differed could not break through it. They tried to soften it and pretended that they had changed nothing. Hypocrisy has its origin in the conflict between private belief and public conduct. Whenever private belief, which is psychologically the immediate antecedent of human conduct, has no free scope hypocrisy is the consequence, whether the belief is religious or social. A feigned compliance with the current code of public conduct is a characteristic of hypocrisy. In short hypocrisy is the "divorce of creed and life".

The distinction between hypocrisy and vanity lies in the fact that while in the case of the former an element of artificiality is present there is no such element in the latter. Vanity and hypocrisy both aim at the good opinion of others but their methods of achieving this aim are different. Vanity is based on an assumption that the good qualities or objects of which a person is vainly proud are really present. In hypocrisy the assumption is quite the opposite, *viz.*, that those qualities are not present and as the hypocrite must conform to the public standard he must show by word, gesture and deed that he really possesses the same. In vanity the vain person practises self-deception; in hypocrisy the hypocrite practises deception on others. Vanity becomes a subject for a comedy; hypocrisy that of satire.

(*f*) *Lobha.*—The term 'lobha' as used in the B. G. means avarice if we accept the definition of avarice, *viz.*, that it is "an absorbing passion for earthly possessions and a selfish gratification in their retention."* Love of pleasure and love of power breed an avaricious character. Avarice, however, may continue even when both the love of pleasure and the love of power are absent.

According to B. G. 'lobha' has its origin in the quality of 'rajas' (XIV, 12, 17). It is said to be one of the three component parts of the gate of Hell, the other two being 'kāma' and 'krōdha' (XVI, 21). In I, 38, we learn that the sons of Dhṛtarāṣtra are so much overpowered by 'lobha' that they have become blind to any sense of crime or sin. On the contrary Arjuna is shown as condemning 'rājya-sukha-lobha' or greed for the pleasures of kingship, which emboldens men to kill their own relatives (I, 45). In XVIII, 26, 27, 28, three classes of 'doers of action' are given and it is said that the doer who is 'lubdha' *i.e.*, greedy or avaricious is 'rājasa'. This remark is consistent with the genesis of 'lobha' given in XIV, 12, 17.

If the term 'lobha' can be rendered by the English term 'avarice' we may now render the term 'a-lolup-tva' by 'absence of covetousness' which has been included by the B.G. in "daivī sampad" (XVI, 2). What avarice

* Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics by Hastings, 1914, article on Avarice.

is to covetousness, 'lobha' is to 'loluptva'. Covetousness has been defined as "an eager desire to gain some possession on which the heart is set". [1] The desire may be associated not necessarily with good objects but with evil and unworthy objects. While in covetousness the desire is for things not possessed, in avarice it is for undue retention of actual possessions. The possessions in themselves are not evil but an undue desire for them constitutes the evil. The evil further lies not merely in the strength of desire but in the fact that the object of desire might be in the possession of some one else. Such desires expressed in acts are condemned as crimes by law. The spring of covetousness lies more or less in imagination which paints the blessings that are beyond reach in glowing colours, and as a result what is not possessed seems always most desirable. This passion for material possessions can be curbed by a nobler passion for the possessions of mind and spirit. True restraint consists in the recognition of the rights of others.

According to Spinoza[2] avarice is the "immoderate desire or love of riches". Apparently he restricts the term to the love of riches only, and not for other possessions.

McCosh[3] regards 'acquisitiveness' as springing from the love of power and always combined with the love of pleasure. He regards this love as one of the primary appetances which may even be handed down from father to son.

According to Ribot [4] the fundamental basis of avarice is an instinct of conservation which begins with the craving for food. With the progress of the human race this craving is transformed into a need of possession and finally this need becomes in itself a cause of desire and pleasure. The evolution of the original tendency in this case is so very heterogeneous that it becomes unrecognizable.

Darwin includes avarice among states of mind which according to him are not sufficiently distinct to be described and are not revealed by any fixed expression. [5] Mantegazza like Ribot links the joy of wealth with the pleasure of taste.[6]

Martineau thinks that though love of money constitutes an end in itself in an avaricious mind it may be doubted whether even there money does not charm the imagination as a symbol of security and power.[7]

Bain[8] treats of motives or ends of volition. The all-purchasing money is such an end and properly speaking the motive value of money should exactly correspond to an accurate estimate of the exact amount of

1 Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics by Hastings, 1914, article on Covetousness
2 Ethics (Boyle's Trans.), p 138
3 Emotions, p 15
4 Psychology of Emotions, pp. 263, 264.
5 Expression of Emotions, p 274
6 Physiognomy and Expression, p. 119.
7 Types of Ethical Theory, Vol. II, p 172
8 Emotions and the Will, pp. 389-90.

the ultimate pleasure likely to be realized. Further he treats of "impassioned, irrational ends" which produce activities, wherein it is impossible to trace any connection between pleasure enjoyed and pain averted and the energy manifested in pursuit. We think avarice must be included in this category, though Bain does not specifically do it himself.

The views mentioned above regarding avarice are sufficient to give us an idea of the origin and development of this form. The Westerners might justify it on the ground of self-conservation but of course their justification would not extend to the irrational degree of this form of self-feeling. The element of pleasure pointed out in the foregoing views cannot be denied but the aim of the B. G. is to be above pleasure and pain and hence 'lobha' and 'lolup-tva' must be kept at a distance because they are so many forms of desire. If 'sanga' which is the very root of desire must be discarded, it is clear that 'lobha' whether for paltry gain or the pleasures of kingship cannot be justified. The Yogi of the B. G. is to be 'guṇātīta' and as lobha originates in the quality of 'rajas' it is undesirable.

We now come to the second division of egotistic emotions which we have termed negative. If all those emotions included in the positive division and dealt with in detail so far are undesirable, according to the B. G., it is likely to be inferred that the opposite of them might be looked upon as desirable. Such is, however, not the case. 'Samatva' or a balanced state of mind is the ideal of the B. G. and consequently any extremity of the emotions, either positive or negative, is condemned in the work. Secondly, the doctrine of duty preached in the work requires strength of body and mind for an efficient performance of any action. The B. G. would not, therefore, tolerate a complete negation of the emotional strength which, if directed to the proper channel, would facilitate the attainment of 'brahma-nirvāṇa'.

II. (*a*) Under this negative division we include 'kārpaṇya', 'klaibya', 'hṛdaya-dourbalya' and the like. In II, 7, Arjuna is shown as the victim of this 'kārpaṇya' or imbecility. It appears to us to be nothing but a depressive emotional tone under the influence of which no coherent or sustained activity of thought or action is possible. In the passage under reference the spirit of depression is due to the moral dread which possesses Arjuna at the sight of slaughter of his kinsmen and even elders, which he must carry out with a stern sense of duty, unmindful of all reward, earthly or heavenly. The genesis of 'kārpaṇya' is given in II, 49, where it is said that persons who work with an eye to the fruit or reward of their action are 'kṛpaṇāh', *i.e.*, imbecile. Duty is a stern law-giver as Wordsworth says.

'Hṛdaya-dourbalya' or faint-heartedness mentioned in II, 3 is consequent upon 'kārpaṇya' and the 'klaibya' or impotence mentioned in II, 3 from which Arjuna is asked to desist, appears to us to be an extreme form of 'kārpanya'.

As against 'kārpaṇya' may be contrasted 'abhaya' mentioned in XVI, 1, as belonging to the class of divine qualities (daivī sampad). From the absolute view-point of the B.G. 'bhaya' and 'abhaya' may both disturb the mental equilibrium of the Yogi but speaking relatively the B.G. gives preference to 'abhaya'. In this connection we may compare the views regarding Christian "boldness"* which is considered as consistent with humility and reverence before God. The saying "perfect love casts out all fear" is correct so far as it goes but to consider that 'boldness' as characteristic of Christian religion alone is rather too dogmatic a statement for any student of comparative religions. We quite understand the view that fear and shrinking are concomitants of the natural man's approach to the unseen. Such "fear and shrinking" possessed Arjuna's mind when he saw the infinite forms of God's glory but Arjuna is asked to cast away this very fear in XI, 49. 'Abhaya' in fact seems to us to be an invariable concomitant of 'bhakti' as it removes the wall between the 'bhakta' and his God and thus becomes helpful to the former's identification with the latter. It is perhaps on this very account that the B. G. includes it in the 'daivī sampad'. 'Abhaya' may also be taken in the sense of courage or fearlessness, which is born of a stern sense of duty. We are inclined to think that real courage according to the B. G. consists in being 'sama-duḥkha-sukha', *i.e.*, equally affected by pleasure and pain. 'Bhaya' may cause pain while 'abhaya' may produce pleasure. Though from the relative point of view 'abhaya' is a divine quality it is not the ideal quality or virtue. Real virtue of courage lies in being 'sama-duḥkha-sukha' and 'abhaya' is a stepping stone to this ideal. At this ideal stage pleasure and pain cease to operate as springs of action. The sense of duty alone remains the only spring of action.

Aristotle's definition of courage † as "moderation in the feelings of fear and confidence" bears some resemblance to the idea of the B. G. regarding courage as explained above. Fear and confidence are causes of pleasure and pain respectively. Moderation in fear and confidence means moderation in pleasure and pain. Now this moderation is implied in the expression 'sama-duḥkha-sukha'. In spite of this resemblance between the two ideas regarding courage we notice some difference. Aristotle says that the end of courage is

* Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, article on Boldness.

† Ethics (trans. by Peters, 1906), p. 48.

AN INDIAN VIEW OF 'PRESENT TIME.'

By M. Hiriyanna, Esq., M.A., L.T.

In his recent works Prof. Whitehead has emphasized the importance of conceiving the present as a duration and not as an instant.* We propose to refer here to a striking parallel to this view in the history of Indian thought. It will be best to begin by translating into English, from an old Sanskrit work†, a passage bearing upon the subject :—

"In the matter (of the three-fold division of Time into the past, present and future) —

Objection—

Aphorism 39.—There is no present (time) since of a falling (body for instance), the time during which it has fallen and that during which it has yet to fall furnish a sufficient explanation.

Commentary.—When a fruit loosened from the stalk is nearing the ground, what is above (it, at any instant) is the path through which it has fallen and the time connected with it is past time ; what is below is the path through which it has yet to fall and the time connected with it is future time. Now there is no third (part of the) path with reference to which present time (supposed to be implied in "falls") might be understood. Hence there is no present time.

Reply—

Aphorism 40.—Those two (*i.e.*, past and future) also disappear if present (time) is not (admitted), they being dependent upon it.

Commentary.—Time is not indicated by space. How else then ? It is indicated by action as, for example, 'falling'. When the action of falling ceases, that is past time : when the action is yet to be, that is future time. When action is apprehended as existing in an object, it is present time. If one does not think of the action of falling characterising an object, whose cessation or future origination can one contemplate ? Past time is in reference to past action ; future time, to action that is yet to be. In both kinds of time, the object is without action ; when (an object) is 'falling', it is connected with action. (Thus) present time refers to the object as related to action. And if that is not (admitted), the two other kinds of time depending upon it would themselves cease to be.

* Cf. *e g.*, 'Principles of Natural Knowledge,' page 64.

† *Nyāya Aphorisms* of Gautama, with Vātsyāyana's Commentary II, 1, 39-43.

Again—

Aphorism 41.—Past and future are not mutually dependent.

Commentary.—If past and future could be conceived as dependent upon each other, we might agree to the repudiation of the present. (But) the future is not dependent on the past, nor the past on the future. Why (so)? Because it would be impossible to define from what standpoint it is past, how the future is dependent upon the past and from what standpoint it is future. The rejection of the present is (besides) opposed to the presuppositions of Grammar.* One might think that just as 'short' and 'long', 'hill' and 'hollow', 'light' and 'shade' depend upon each other, 'past' and 'future' also might do. That is not (however) necessarily so, for there is no differentiating circumstance. As there are illustrations, so there are counter-illustrations also—thus 'colour' and 'touch,' 'odour' and 'taste' are not mutually dependent; so also (may be) 'past' and 'future'. Mutual dependence, (we might, on the contrary, maintain) leads to the establishment of neither. For when one is not, the other also is not and both will thus cease to be. If the existence of the first is dependent upon the second, on what is the second (just then) dependent? If the existence of the second is dependent upon the first, on what is the first (just then) dependent? Thus when one is not, the other also is not; so both will disappear.

Present time is indicated also by the *being* of an object, *e.g.*, the *being* of a substance, of a quality, of an action. † To one that does not recognize this (*i.e.*, the indication of present time by *being*)—

Aphorism 42.—Nothing would be known, because there can be no perception in the absence of present time.

Commentary.—Perception arises from contact of senses with objects. What is not at the time, *i.e.*, the non-existent cannot come into relation with the senses. This (our opponent) does not admit that anything *is present*, (so that) the means of perception, the object of perception and perceptual knowledge—all become impossible. And if perception be impossible, there can be no inference or verbal testimony which have their bases in it. If all means of knowledge be cut off, nothing would be known.

Present time is (thus) indicated in two ways—first by the *being* of objects as for example in 'a substance is'; secondly, by a series of actions, as for example 'cooking' or 'cutting'. A series of actions may be (i) multiform and serving a single purpose, or (ii) repeated action. Multiform and serving a single purpose is the action of 'cooking', for instance, (which consists of) putting

---

* *I.e.* there is no linguistic support for it.

† The word 'object' as here used should be understood in this wide sense and not merely as meaning a *concrete* thing.

vessel on fire, pouring in of water, filling with rice, placing fuel, kindling fire, stirring with spoon, pouring out gruel and taking down (vessel). 'Cutting' is an instance of repeated action. A man is said to 'cut' when he frequently lifts up an axe and lays it, say, upon a log of wood. Both these, *viz.*, what is cooked and what is cut, may be described as what is acted upon. Since in an object acted upon—

Aphorism 43. —There may be the state of having been acted upon and the state of going to be acted upon, a two-fold apprehension (of present time results).

A series of actions not yet begun but intended to be, gives future time, *e.g.*, 'he will cook' ; the cessation of the series accompanied by its result gives past time, *e.g.*, 'he has cooked' and a series of actions begun, gives 'present time', *e.g.*, 'he cooks'. Here a completed (action) means (in the object) the state of *having been acted upon;* (an action) which is to come about, the state of *going to be acted upon* and (an action) which is going on, the state of *being acted upon.* Thus all the three kinds of time are involved in a series of actions, and are known by knowing the present, such as 'he cooks' or 'something is cooked'. Here the continuance of the series of actions is avowed ; neither its non-commencement, nor its completion. (Thus) the present is known in two ways—as dissociated from the past and future and as associated (with them)—(the first), that which is indicated by the *being* of an object as in 'a substance is' ; (the second), that which, as in 'cooking' or 'cutting', expresses a continuing series of actions and involves the three-fold time. Other forms of common usage where (the present tense) is meant to indicate nearness, etc. (to present time), should also be noted (in this connection). * Therefore present time does exist."

Here is represented a controversy between two schools of thought,—one, which denies the present and the other, which admits it. We are now concerned only with the latter. It is known as *Nyāya* and may be described as a realistic and pluralistic system. It separates substance from quality, universal from particular, etc., regarding each as an independent reality. So far as our present purpose is concerned, it recognizes, among other ultimate entities, absolute Time. The discussion here, however, is not in respect of it but relative or empirical time. The *Nyāya* does not admit the latter as such to be an objective fact and explains its notion as arising from the association of absolute Time with something else. The same absolute Time comes to be described as past, present and future through such association, as the same

* *E g.*, 'I go' for 'I shall go'. Here again is an appeal to linguistic usage in support of present time. The use of 'I go' for 'I shall go' is secondary and a secondary use always implies the primary See Vācaspati's Commentary, p. 284.

person might, for instance, be described as 'father', 'son', etc., from different points of view. * While some Indian thinkers maintain that objects involved in action *(kārakas)* serve as the index of relative time, † the *Nyāya* maintains that it is action itself. To take the illustration given in the extract, a falling body may be said to involve a reference to three things—what falls, *viz.*, the fruit here, the space through which it falls, and the action of falling. Of these, neither the space nor the fruit can be said to indicate time; for the space remains the same always and the fruit also at any two stages in the course of falling is in itself the same. They cannot thus be described as either 'past' or 'future'. It is only the action of falling that can so be described. ‡ This view of action being the index of time, implies the conception of the present as a duration for, according to the system, all action must last for at least four instants, § and there can be no instantaneous action. The duration of the present signified cannot accordingly be less than four instants but it may be more.

Now as regards the meaning which the system attaches to past and future. These are not significant without reference to a third factor. 'Before' and 'after' are meaningless unless they are referred to something different from either, *viz.*, the present which, as we have seen, is known through action. Thus past and future also refer to action though only through the present, and they mean respectively the time when some action or other we have in view is over or is yet to be. If we now consider the object involved in action we find that it is characterised by action in what is described as the present. but not in what is described as either the past or future. Hence we often apply epithets suggestive of past and future to objects, but we do so only secondarily. For instance, we distinguish a 'fallen' fruit from the same in the state of 'going to fall'; though the fruit in itself is the same if we think of it apart from action. It is this secondary use of past and future with reference to objects that accounts for the misconception, alluded to above, that objects and not action are the index of time.

Objects not associated with action also may indicate time, but it can be *only* present time. This is what was described above as the present known through the *being* of objects. An object like a fruit, it is believed, arises from

* See *Nyāya Vārtika*, p 253 (Benares Edition)

† See Vācaspati's Commentary, p. 281.

‡ *Cf. Nyāya-Vārtika*, II, 1, 40

§ See *Dinakarīya* on *Muktāvalī*, 1, 46 *prathama-karmanah kṣaṇa-catuṣṭayāvasthāyinah.* According to the atomism of the system, 'action' is supposed to operate through 'disjunction' and 'conjunction' each of which occupies two instants. See A B Keith *Indian Logic and Atomism*, pp 190 and 223.

a certain concourse of atoms which continues only for a time. In other words produced objects come into relation with Time[1] and their *being* may therefore be a sign of it. There is however this important difference between time as thus indicated and the same as indicated by action. While both equally signify the present, the latter involves in addition a reference to past and future within itself. 'Cooking', for instance, comprehends various minor actions; and, at any stage some of them may have been over and others may have yet to make their appearance.[2] Thus though the whole series of actions when regarded as one *viz.*, 'cooking' indicates only present time, each member of the series may give rise to the conception of the three-fold time. The fire, for instance, may have been kindled; it may be in the process of being kindled or it may be going to be kindled. In the case of *being*, on the other hand, no such internal distinction is possible, and an object, so long as it *is*, signifies only present time.[3] This view also implies that the present is a duration; for an object, according to the system, should last for at least two instants[4] though, of course, it may last longer.

It will be seen, even from the few references which we have found necessary to make to the *Nyāya* philosophy, that there are several points in its conception of Nature (*e.g.*, recognition of absolute Time) wherein it differs from modern science. Yet there is a clear resemblance between the two as regards the view they take of 'present time'. This view may be summarized as follows :—The present is always a duration, though its breadth may vary and need not necessarily be the same wherever present time is apprehended.

---

1. Ultimate entities which are eternal are not *in* Time
2. See *Nyāya-Vārtika* II, 1, 43
3. Commonly, no doubt, we talk of an object as *having been* or *going to be*; but there exists nothing then whose states these expressions may be taken to describe. (See Vācaspati's Com. p.284) For the *Nyāya* does not believe in the unity of Nature and, further, explains objects like the fruit as coming into existence *anew* and passing out of it *finally*.
4. *I e.*, the moments of origination and abidance. The earliest instant when an object can perish is the third. Some among the followers of the *Nyāya* admit instantaneous objects as a mere theoretic possibility (compare *e g*, *Tarka-Sangraha-Dīpikā* · Bombay Sanskrit Series · Section 10) but, generally speaking, it is recognized that objects, especially perceivable objects and therefore all such as indicate present time, must last longer than an instant See *Nyāya-Mañjarī*, pp. 458 and 463.

NOTES.

Derivation of the name "Bangalore".

SOME years ago, in a paper on "Place Names in Mysore State" read by me before the Mythic Society and subsequently published in this *Journal*, I gave some space to certain possible derivations of the name "Bangalore". Since then I have given further attention to this subject. May the name be another form of "Vengaluru", "Vengalur" *i.e.* "Vengadur" or "Venkatur"? A village named "Vengalapuram", close to Tirupattur, in the present North Arcot District, is an instance of this popular form of the name. "Vengalapuram" is more correctly "Venkatapuram". This being so, our "Bangalore" is possibly "Vengaluru" or "Vengalur" *i.e.*, really "Venkaturu" or "Venkatur" or "Venkata's town". Even now the Mahomedans pronounce the name of the city as "Vengalur", while those speaking Kannada call it "Bengalur". The change of "Va" into "Ba", "Ka" into "Ga" and "Ta" into "La" being grammatically capable of explanation, it is at least open to one to conjecture that the name of the City is identical with or has something to do with "Venkata". Who this Venkata was or when he lived, there is no evidence to speak about. Perhaps, the place was only named after the deity "Venkata" or "Venkatachala", of the famous Tirupati Hill in North Arcot District. It is common for emigrants to name the cities they found or the settlements they form after the old cities or settlements from which they emigrated in search of new abodes. It is possible Kempe Gowda, the builder of Modern Bangalore, bore this in mind and founded a temple in the new city he founded. He dedicated it to "Venkata" or "Venkataramana" of the sacred Tirupati Hill. That this view is not wholly unsupported will be evident when I say that local inquiries made show that the temple in the City Fort is actually dedicated to the deity "Venkatachala" or "Venkataramana" *i.e.*, the deity worshipped on the Tirupati Hill. This is confirmed by Rice in his *Gazetteer of Mysore* (II. 21). It would appear that the images in the two places are exactly alike. This temple dates from the time of Kempe Gowda (16th century—the Fort being erected in 1537 A.D.) who built it and dedicated it to "Venkatachala", not only out of regard to the most renowned temple in all Southern India but also because the name was closely allied to the name of the existing village "Vengaluru" or "Bengaluru", which was the name of a village now called old Bangalore, the site of which is pointed out near Kodigehalli, north-west of Hebbal Tank. The early settlers in the place were partly Telugu and partly Tamil in their origins and the forms "Vengalapura" and "Vengalur", and "Bengaluru" and "Bengalur" would be perfectly correct in their mouths. That the name of the place is much older than Kempe Gowda, there is no doubt whatever; and any derivation which suggests any connection

with the name "Venkata" has to take note of this fact and put forth a hypothesis which will satisfy not only the derivation of the name of the city but also the name of its presiding deity since the time of Kempe Gowda.

One other suggestion before I close this brief note. Kempe Gowda and his forbears were feudatories of the Vijayanagar Kings. Kempe Gowda built in 1537 A.D. the Bangalore Fort with the permission of Achyuta Raya, the then ruling Vijayanagar King. Whatever might have been the religion of the earlier Vijayanagar kings, there is hardly any doubt whatever that Krishna Raya (1509-1530) and his successors Achyuta Raya (1530-1542), Sadasiva Raya (1542-1547), etc., were staunch Vaishnavas and their devotion to God Venkataramana of the Tirupati Hill, as evidenced by their benefactions to its temple, etc., was well-known even in those days. The copper images of Krishna Raya and other Vijayanagar worthies are still prominent objects of regard in the Tirupati Temple. Two of the successors of Achyuta went by the name of Venkata or Venkatapati (Venkatapati I, 1585-1614 and Venkatapati II, 1626-1639). Kempe Gowda, the builder of the Mysore Fort and founder of the temple in it, might have intended his dedication of the temple to "Venkataramana" as also a compliment to Achyuta, his Sovereign Lord, whose devotion to the Tirupati temple and its presiding deity was famous in his time.

A few words about grammatical changes may be added :

The forms are or may be as follows :—

Venkata = Vengada = Vengala = Bengala.

ವ often changes places with ಬ.

See *Sabdamani Darpana*. (B. M. P. Edn. 1872) Pages 82, 121-123, 81, 134, 211, 212, 218, 220, 223, 251, 275.

ಕ often changes into ಗ

See *Sabdamani Darpana*. (B. M. P. Edn. 1872) Pages 77, 78, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 205, 206, 210-216, 218, 221-224, 381, 386, 387.

ಳ takes the place of ಟ and ಡ.

See *Sabdamani Darpana*. (B. M. P. Edn. 1872) Pages 31 (for ಟ) and 29, 397 (for ವ).

Adding the termination *ŪRU* to the above forms, the names will be as follows :–

Venkaturu = Vengaduru = Vengaluru = Bengaluru (= *Anglicê*, Bangalore).

As regards the name *Vengada*, it is necessary to refer, in passing, to the Tamil place and personal names *Vengadam* (=the name of the Venkata Hill; also name of a person); *Tiruvengadam* (=the holy Venkata Hill; also name of a person). Similarly, *Vengala*, is found as a personal name in *Vengalayya* and *Vengali*. *Cf.* Telugu *Tiruvengalayya*. *Vengali* is also the name of a village; and *Veṅgalapuram*, name of another village. I would finally refer to Mr. Puttaiya's paper on Kempe Gowda and his successors (*M. S. J.* XIII, 4, Page 739) for the strong Vaishnavite leanings that the family of Kempe Gowda showed in later days. Apparently from Immadi Kempe Gowda (1569-1658), this respect for Vaishnavism took a strong turn and ended in the founding of Mutts and building of shrines

dedicated to Vishnu, under the direction and guidance of Vaishnavite teachers of note, at Magadi (the family seat of the family), Cheluvarayapete (close to Magadi), Baichapura, etc.

If the grounds adduced above are worthy of consideration, the only inference possible is that the name "Bangalore" is derived from "Bengalur", which is another form of "Vengadur", "Venkatur" or "Venkata's town", probably after the Holy Hill at Tirupati and presiding deity on it, in whose honor the temple in the Bangalore Fort was built.* C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

The Date of the 11th Paripadal.

THE 11th *Paripādal* is of peculiar value and importance in fixing the Sangham age. Alone among the Sangham works the earliest extant Tamil literature, it gives, if not actually its date of composition, at least ample astronomical data which enable us to fix its date. The poem begins with a statement of the positions of the planets, at or shortly before the commencement of a rainy season, actually observed by the poet. Venus is said to have been in the Rshabha *rāśi*. Mars was in Mēsha, and Mercury was in Mithuna. The time was at dawn. Krttikā was high up in the heavens, if not actually at the zenith, as the expression அங்கிஉயர் நிறப may be interpreted either way. Jupiter was in Mīna, beyond Saturn's two houses Makara and Kumbha. Saturn himself was in Makara, beyond Dhanu. Then we have the expression பாம் பொல்லை மதிய மறைப வருநாளில This may mean either that the moon was eclipsed, or that the moon had disappeared in the region of Āślēsha. Agastya had reached Mithuna. The rains began to pour, as if the rainy season had actually commenced.

I may note at the outset that the positions of the planets given here must be their true, and not mean ones, as the poet evidently wrote from actual observation, and as there is no date between 1 A.C. and 700 A.C. to suit the positions given, if calculated by the mean motions of the planets. Besides, all the planets were evidently above the horizon, and the time was before sunrise, when the stars and planets were visible. So there was nothing to prevent the poet from observing them himself, if he wanted to do so. We may, therefore, rightly infer that the positions given are the true ones.

It will be noticed that the sun's position is not given. But, as the sky between the end of Makara (300°), and the beginning of Mithuna (60°) was visible, the sun must have been between 60° and 120°. Also, as Mercury and Venus, whose maximum distances from the sun are 26° and 48°, were in Mithuna and Ṛshabha respectively, the sun's longitude cannot be greater than 108°. The sun was thus between 60° and 108°, and the solar month must, therefore, have been Āni or Āḍi. So the statement of Parimēlalahar, the commentator, that the sun was in Simha cannot be correct. No doubt some astronomers before Varāhamihira

*[*Note*—Mr C. H. Rao apparently overlooks the fact that a Begur inscription of the 9th century A.D. refers to the existence of Bangalore.—*Ed*]

mention astrological combinations, apparently placing the distances of Mercury and Venus from the sun at a little more than 26° and 48°. But evidently, in their times, the calculation of the motions of Mercury and Venus had not yet been perfected. Anyhow, the same reason cannot apply to the case of the *Paripādal*, as the positions given in it were arrived at by direct observation, and not calculation. As between Āni and Āḍi, we cannot say which is to be preferred. From the wording of the text, it is possible to infer that the rainy season need not have actually begun. The rainy months are the lunar months Śrāvana and Bhādrapada, and the statement of the *Manimēkhalai* that the *first* fortnight of Ṛshabha fell in spring (ch. 11, ll 40-41, ch. 15, ll 23-24) is not inconsistent with this, and it is possible that the *pūrṇimānta* system was the one used in the text The positions given in the text may, therefore, be referred to the *pūrnimānta* Āshāḍha, shortly before the rainy season began.

I may now tabulate the data of the text as follows :—(1) Month Āni or Āḍi = Āshāḍha, before sunrise, (2) Moon—Eclipsed, or in Āślēsha ; (3) Saturn-Makara = 270° to 300° ; (4) Jupiter-Mīna = 330° to 360°, (5) Mars-Mēsha = 0° to 30° ; (6) Venus-Rshabha = 30° to 60° ; (7) Mercury-Mithuna = 60° to 90°, (8) Krttikā—high up in the heavens, (9) Agastya-Mithuna = 60° to 90°. But, as to Agastya, we have no means of calculating its position, as the Hindu authorities give no rules on the subject.

I have now to fix the general period for which the calculations have to be made On the one hand, no critical writer has suggested a date before the Christian era for the Sangham age. On the other hand, it could not have been later than 700 A.C. as, according to the bigger Cinnamanūr plates, the hero of Talai-ālankānam, Neduñcelyan, was an ancestor of Neḍumāran, the hero of Nelvēli, who lived in the 7th century A.C. So the 11th *Paripāḍal* must date between 1 A.C. and 700 A.C

Between these limits, only two dates, 372 A.C. and 634 A.C., have hitherto been suggested as satisfying the given data. Mr. Sōmasundara Dēśikar has already proved that the former is untenable, and Mr. R. S. Nārāyaṇasvāmi Ayyar, who suggested it, has not met the criticisms urged against his view. The date 17th June 634 A.C. was put forward by Mr. L. D Svāmikaṇṇu Pillai, who admits that on that day Saturn was in 257°, *i.e*, 13° from the required position. Even allowing for the errors due to unaided observation, the difference is too great for a planet which takes a year to traverse 13°. So he suggests that விலலிற் கடை மகரமேவ may mean that Saturn was actually in Dhanu and only nearing Makara. But there is no possible way of arriving at such a meaning So his date fails to satisfy.

I may now state the results of my own calculations, with the invaluable aid of Mr. Svāmikaṇṇu Pillai's *Indian Chronology*. Between 1 A.C. and 700 A.C. only two dates satisfy the given data. I may tabulate them as follows :—

15th June 17 A.C.	*6th June 254 A.C.*	*Required position.*
(1) 31st Āni = bright half of Āshāḍha ;	(1) 20th Āni = bright half of Āshāḍha,	(1) Āni or Āḍi = bright half of Āshāḍha ;
(2) Āślēsha till 9 gh.,	(2) Āślēsha till 20 gh.;	(2) Āślēsha before sunrise.

15th June 17 A.C.	*6th June 254 A.C.*	*Required position.*
(3) Saturn 277°;	(3) Saturn 294°;	(3) Saturn 270° to 300°;
(4) Jupiter 335°,	(4) Jupiter 326°;	(4) Jupiter 330° to 360°;
(5) Mars 3°;	(5) Mars 359°;	(5) Mars 0° to 30°;
(6) Venus 44°;	(6) Venus 59°;	(6) Venus 30° to 60°;
(7) Mercury 90°;	(7) Mercury 72°;	(7) Mercury 60° to 90°;
(8) Krttikā 57° above the horizon.	(8) Kṛttikā 45° above the horizon.	(8) Kṛttikā—high up.

The only discrepancies are that, on the 6th June 254 A.C. Jupiter and Mars were respectively 4° and 1° from the required positions. But they are immaterial, if we allow for the errors of unaided observation. So both dates may be taken to satisfy the given data. As between them, choice has to be made in conformity with all other available evidence as to the Sangham age. But, as only astronomical calculations can give us exact dates, all theories assigning to the Sangham age a date later than the 3rd century A.C. must now be given up.

K. G. SANKARA.

An Interesting Grant from Girnar of V. S. 1330.

ON the famous Girnār hill in Kathiawad is found the following stone inscription at the entrance to the mandapa of Ganadhara situated in the west of the main temple of Nemināthа. The engraved portion, measuring 9 inches in length and 3¾ inches in breadth, is in a good state of preservation.

The inscription is in small but beautiful Nāgarī characters usually found in the inscriptions of the Chaulukya rulers of Anahīlapātana. The writing is generally free from grammatical mistakes. The language is Sanskrit prose.

The inscription is very interesting as it records an unusual grant of the right of engraving inscriptions (सूत्रधारत्वं) at the religious places on the sacred hill Girnār to one Haripāla, son of Sūtradhara Goga, belonging to the Mevāḍā community. The grant was given by the Jain priests including Udayaprabhasūri and by the Panchas (who managed the Jain institutions on the hill), headed by Mehetā Dhāndhā. It refers itself to the reign of the Chaulukya (Vāghelā) sovereign Arjunadēva of Aṇahīlapātana in North Gujarat, whose viceroy over the Saurāstra was Pālha.

The present inscription is later by two years than the Cutch* inscription of the same king dated V. S. 1328 so long known to be his latest one. The earliest inscription of the next ruler, Sārangadēva, is of V. S. 1332 also from Cutch.†

Pālha seems to have been appointed viceroy over Saurāṣtra (Kathiawad) some time after V. S. 1320, for from an inscription‡ of Arjunadēva from the village

* Antiquarian Remains of the Province of Kachha, p 89
† Ind. Ant., XXI, p. 277.
‡ Published in Gujarāti in the Buddhi Prakasha, Jan. 1914.

Kāntelā in the Porbandar State in Kathiawad of that year we know that Sāmantasimha was appointed viceroy over Saurāstra after the transfer of his brother Salaksa over Lāta. Pālha seems to be in the same post at least up to V. S. 1333 as an inscription of that year found in the town Āmarana[1] in the Navānagar State in Kathiawad and belonging to the reign of Arjunadēva's successor Sārangadēva denotes.

With a view to see how far the privilege of engraving inscriptions on the Girnār hill was enjoyed by the grantee I examined a number of inscriptions on the hill engraved after this. But in almost all of them the name of the mason is not given. I found only one inscription[2] on Girnār bearing the name of Haripāla as engraver, but unfortunately its date is lost.

TEXT.

1 [3]भ्रातृ० नरसिंह सूत्र० गोगसुत सू० हरिपाल: ॥ तद्भार्या सू० रुपिणि:[4] ॥ सू० पदमल:
2 स० १३३० वैशाख शु० १५ श्रीमदर्जुनदेवराज्ये सुराष्ट्रायां तन्नियुक्त उ० श्रीपाल्हे[5]
3 श्रीमदुदयप्रभसूरिप्रभृत्याचार्यैर्महं० धांधाप्रमुख पंचकुलेन समस्तश्रीसंघे
4 नाथ मेवाडाज्ञातीय सू० गोगसुत सू० हारिपालस्य[6] श्रीउज्जयतमहातीर्थ[7]
5 श्रीनेमिनाथप्रासादादिधर्म्मस्थानेषु सूत्रधारत्वं सप्रसादं प्रदत्त ॥ इद० ॥[8]
6 सूंत्रधारत्व सू० हरिपालेन पुत्रपौत्रपरंपरया आचंद्रार्कं यावद्भोक्त०[9]
7 व्यं ॥ अन्यसूत्रधारस्य कस्यापि संबंधो न हि ॥ शुभंभवतु सूत्रधारेभ्य: ॥

D. B. DISKALKAR,
Curator, Watson Museum,
Rajkot.

---

1 Published in Gujarāti in the Puratattva, Vol I, Part I.
2 Revised list of Antiquarian Remains in Bombay Presidency, p. 351.
3 This line which ought to be at the end of the inscription is engraved here perhaps for want of space at the end
4 Read रूपिणी.
5 Supply व्यापारं कुर्वति or some such expression
6 Read हरिपालाय.
7 Read ० महातीर्थे.
8 Read इदं.
9 The sign of zero is unnecessary.

REVIEWS.

The History and Institutions of the Pallavas.

BY C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, ESQ., M.A.

THIS is a brochure of 24 royal 8vo pages giving a brief history of the Pallavas gleaned from all available sources and knit together in the form of a connected account. The subject matter is treated under four heads, *viz*, (1) The Origin of the Pallavas, (2) Their Early History, (3) The Great Pallavas and (4) Social and Political Institutions.

The author has taken much pains in focussing all the essential details falling under each head and presenting the various theories extant in a nutshell, so that one gets a fairly vivid picture of the history and culture of this ancient dynasty who had evidently attained a high degree of civilization and who had become politically important over twelve centuries ago.

The author quotes or refers in brief to all the known authorities—authors, inscriptions, grants, etc.—in dealing with the history of the Pallavas under the different headings given above without obtruding his own opinion and leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions. Under the heading 'The Origin of the Pallavas,' the author mentions the theories whether the Pallavas were a body of foreigners who entered India from outside or whether they were indigenous and quotes the final authority of Dr. S K. Aiyangar that "so far as the available evidence goes, they were a dynasty of the Andhras, probably related to or even springing out of the clan of the Satavahanas."

As regards their early history, the Pallavas were the contemporaries of the semi-royal families of Naga origin and succeeded to their power. There were two dynasties of Pallavas, one of which issued its grants written in Prakrit and the other in Sanskrit. The Prakrit grants prove that the Pallava dynasty was ruling in the third century A.D.; that during the reigns of its kings the Pallava dominions were extensive including not only Kanchi and its surrounding territory but also the Telugu country as far north as the river Krishna; and that the Pallava administration was elaborate showing a distinct Asokan character in the organization of its government

The history of the Sanskrit dynasty of the Pallavas contains many debatable points. They probably held sway in the fifth and sixth centuries and comprised two dynasties ruling simultaneously at Palakkada and at Kanchi, the former subjugating the latter later on. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar thinks that their dominion was broken up into three divisions and three rulers were governing the territory which was under the early Pallavas. But Rai Bahadur Mr. Venkayya opines that the Pallavas were driven out of Conjeevaram by one of the indigenous tribes of the Tamil

country, *viz.*, the Karikala or Ilam Tiraiyan, which theory Dr. Aiyangar opposes. But whichever theory is true, there is no doubt that at the beginning of the period of the Sanskrit dynasty, the Pallava dominions comprised probably all the territory from Kanchi to Vengi and the districts of Kurnool and perhaps also Anantapur, Cuddapah and Bellary.

Among the great Pallavas Simhavishnu was the earliest. He claims to have vanquished the Malaya, Kalabhra, Chola and Pandya rulers, the Simhala king and the Keralas. Mahendravarman, his son, vanquished Pulakesin II. He was a Jain but was converted to Saivism by Saint Appar. "He was the author of the earliest rock-cut temples at Trichinopoly, Pallavaram, Mamandur and other places." Professor Dubreuil considers Mahendra as the greatest figure in the history of Tamil civilization. "He gave a new impulse to Saivism, glorified music and poetry; transported the taste for rock-cut temples from the banks of the Krishna to the Tamil country; and built the great tanks at Mahendravadi, Mamandur, etc." Narasimhavarman, the son of Mahendra, surpassed his father in his conquest and was surnamed Narasimha the Great He repeatedly defeated the Cholas, Keralas, Kalabhras and Pandyas. He captured the Chalukya capital Vatapi and destroyed it. He surpassed the glory of Rama by his conquest of Lanka. Narasimha II is credited with having built the Kailasanatha and Airavatisvara temples at Kanchi and the stone temples at Mamallapuram and Panamalai. The next king Paramesvaravarman was the probable builder of the Vaikuntanathaperumal temple at Kanchi as well as the Siva temple at Tiruvadi in South Arcot district. The next ruler was Nandi of Tellaru in whose reign flourished a large number of poets. His son was, according to Professor Dubreuil, Nripatunga who conquered the Pandyas and captured Madura about 862 A.D. Both Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. Venkayya think that Nripatunga was not a Pallava but was a descendant of Western Gangas but Mr. Gopinatha Rao and Professor Dubreuil maintain he was a Pallava. The last king of the Pallavas was Aparajita who was conquered by Aditya Chola. His rule lasted till 900 A.D.

Kanchi was associated with Pallava power from the days of Samudragupta. Sanskrit literature came in for a large amount of encouragement in their time. Kanchi rose to be a great literary centre and a gathering place of all religious disputants of all creeds.

The Pallavas appear to have been Saivas at first while some of the kings were probably Vaishnavas. Jainism also flourished along with these creeds. Buddhism also prevailed and had its own votaries.

There was a good deal of literary activity during the Pallava period. Kanchi was the centre of Sanskrit culture. Bharavi, the author of *Kiratarjuniya*, was a contemporary of Simhavishnu of Kanchi. *Kiratarjuniya* became very popular soon after it was written and scenes from it are sculptured on the whole side of the hill at Mamallapura. Dandin, the celebrated author of *Kavyadarsa*, refers in his work to Rajavarma of the Pallava family of Kanchi. Bhamaha and Mahidatta were friends of Dandin and resided at the Pallava court. Mahendravarma I is

supposed to have been the author of the Sanskrit work *Mattavilasa Prahasana* and he also seems to be the king who inscribed a musical treatise on the whole side of the hill at Kudimiyāmalai. Abridged editions of the works of Bhasa and Sudraka recently published at Trivandrum appear to have been issued for being staged at the court of the Pallava king, Rajasimha, while in some editions of *Mudrarakshasa* the name of the Pallava king, Dantivarman, is mentioned in the last benedictory verse.

The Pallava history discloses a good organization of administrative institutions, the plates and grants of the Pallavas revealing their tax system, village assemblies and tank and irrigation committees. The Pallavas started a number of huge irrigation works among which may be mentioned Mahendra Tataka, Parameswara Tataka, etc. In temple building, the Pallavas attained glorious eminence. Great solicitude was shown in the matter of endowments and of temple services. The temples often served as the meeting places of the village Sabha, as the theatre, and the forum of the village. In almost every temple a free school was maintained while colleges for Vedic and higher studies were located in some temples supported by liberal royal grants.

Such are the main features of Pallava history and achievement which Mr. Srinivasachari has brought together to give us an impressive and graphic idea of the glories of Pallava rule. After the disappearance of the dynasty, the later Pallava chiefs sank into the position of mere feudatory nobles and officials in the service of the territorial kingdoms. The Pallavas are believed to be identical with the Kurumbas of whom the Kurumbars of the Tamil country and the Kurubas of the Kannada country and Mysore are representatives.

B. P.

Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions for 1920—21.

THE matters dealt with in the Report are very interesting. The work of preservation of the paintings at Ajanta needs special mention. There can be no two opinions that the conservation of these paintings is of national importance forming as they do one of the most ancient and greatest relics of Indian Art. H. E. H. the Nizam's Government have not been slow to recognize it and the liberal grant of Rs. 60,125 made by them towards their restoration bespeaks their parental solicitude for preserving the monument. Our thanks are also due to Sir John Marshall who is stated to have been greatly instrumental in procuring the expert staff requisite for performing this delicate and difficult task. We would, in this connection, invite the attention of all interested in, or having to do with, the conservation of ancient monuments to the Director's account of the processes employed by the experts in restoring the paintings, given at pages 15 and 16 of the Report.

Considerable work has also been done under Epigraphy. It is stated that two monographs, one on the inscriptions of Nagai by Mr. Krishnamacharlu of the Epigraphic Survey of the Government of India and the other on the inscription of Shitab Khan at Warangal Fort by Mr. K V. Lakshmana Rao, Editor of the Telugu Encyclopædia, were under preparation during the year under report. The editing of the latter inscription, which, we expect, will throw a good deal of light on Warangal for long the cock-pit of contending parties in the struggles between the Vijayanagar and the Bhamini Kingdoms, could not have fallen into abler hands than that of the late Mr. Lakshmana Rao. It is a great pity that he was snatched away from us before the work was finished

A charge generally made against archæological reports is that they are dry and uninteresting to the layman But we are happy to observe that this Report may well claim to be free from such an attack and the plates printed in it add very much to its interest.

Our task is not equally happy in having to refer to the work of the Hyderabad Archæological Society. It is said that there was a paucity of papers to be read before the Society. This, as observed by the Government, is really unfortunate and we trust that the Director's appeal to members for greater assistance and co-operation will not go in vain.

T. S.

The Light of Ancient Persia.

By MANECK PITHAWALA, B.A., B.Sc.

Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Rs 2-8-0.

WE have read this book with much delight. Mr. Pithawala is a Parsi patriot. He writes in the true spirit of a scholar and his book, accurate, up-to-date and handy as it is, ought to go through many editions. The interest of the book is great. It treats of Persia, its great people the Parsis, its renowned kings and its greatest religious reformer, Zoroaster. The author sketches the course of Parsi culture and the manner in which it has influenced civilization, East and West. It is impossible not to be impressed with the patient reading of well-known authorities Mr. Pithawala has brought to bear on his work. It is patent on every page of it. The reader has a pleasant run of it but every one who is accustomed to anything like systematic writing will appreciate the painstaking labour that the author must have employed in producing a book of this size packed so full with information, at once useful and handy. There will be no excuse hereafter for Indians not knowing more of Parsis, their religion, their ancient habitats and their glorious past history.

In view of the fact that this book is likely to be issued again and again to meet the demand for it, I would add a few suggestions and improvements, there

being little really in which to differ from the author or criticise—in the hackneyed sense—his writing. We should like to see a better map than the one facing page 152. This map is extremely defective. If possible, a map showing the extent of the influence exerted by Persia, both East and West, should be added. It would enable the reader to follow the author more closely. An index to the book is a desideratum.

We would, before closing this brief review, invite the attention of the Indian reader to the many points in which Hindu customs agree with those of the Parsis. Mr. Pithawala's chapter in "Modern Science in Ancient Persia" will clearly bring home these to him. In the chapter on "The Parsees and New India" is summed up the recent history of Parsis in India. Besides, in it we have Mr. Pithawala's suggestions for the general improvement of Parsis as a community. These are eminently practical and we have no doubt they will attract the attention they deserve at the hands of the leaders of the Parsi Community.

C. H. R.

The Ramayana and the Vaidika Kosha.

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, D.A.V. COLLEGE, LAHORE.

WE are indebted to the research section of the above College for two serial publications; one being the first eighteen chapters of Ayodhyakanda according to twelve recensions prevailing in the North-Western part of India. The various readings in each stanza are given in footnotes. It is useful to students of the Ramayana, who are interested in scrutinizing how the great ancient classic branched off into various readings in its attempt to reach down to the masses. The work is from the hands of Mr. Pandit Ram Labhaya, M.A., some time Professor of Sanskrit, in the University of the Punjab.

The Vaidika Kosha, 1st volume, is a concordance of the etymologies, meanings of Vedic words, and scientific and moral passages, contained in the fifteen printed Brahmanas of all the Vedas. It must be of great interest to students of the Vedas, English-knowing as well as orthodox.

Both volumes are priced at Rs. 1/8 each, and are indicative of patient and scholarly research.

G. R. J.

List of Subscriptions and Donations received during the quarter ending 31st March 1924.

Names.	Volume.	Amount.		
Messrs.		RS.	A.	P.
K. Chandy, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
P. Subbarama Chetty, Bangalore ..	XIV	5	0	0
C. S. Kuppusami Iyengar, Bangalore ..	XIII & XIV	10	0	0
Rajasabhabhushana Dewan Bahadur K. P. Puttanna Chetty, Bangalore ..	XIV	5	0	0
H. Lubeck, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
Y. A. Yates, Bangalore..	XIV	5	0	0
Miss A. E. Nash, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
Dr. H. B. Mylvaghanam Bangalore ..	XIV	5	0	0
B. Vasudevamurthy, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
Mrs. N. Lalitabai, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
Dr. Leslie C. Coleman, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
K. V. Ramaswami Iyengar, Bangalore ..	XIV	5	0	0
Rev. H. Bailleau, Mayavaram	XIII & XIV	6	0	0
Rev. Lenas A. Olson, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
Col. P. A. Skipwith, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
Rev. M. B. Taylor, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
N. Devrao Shivaram, Bangalore	Life membership donation	100	0	0
Rev. F. Van Peene, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
K. A. Krishnaswami Iyer, Bangalore ..	XIII	5	0	0
Dr. H. E. Watson, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
Dr. J. J. Sudborough, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
R. B. Plumer, Bangalore	XIII & XIV	10	0	0
Pandit Baladeva Upadhyaya, Benares ..	XIV	3	0	0
B. Ramakrishna Rao, Mysore	XIV	3	0	0
B. T. Keshaviengar, Bangalore	XIII	5	0	0
A. Madhava Iyengar, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
T. S. Nanjappa, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
P. G. D'Souza, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
T. S. Venkanniah, Bangalore	XIII	5	0	0
Dr. C. Amritaraj, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
P. M. Somasundaram Pillay, Bangalore ..	XIV	5	0	0
K. Devanathan, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
S. Gundu Rao, Mysore	XIV	3	4	0

Names.	Volume.	Amount.		
Messrs.		RS.	A.	P.
Rev. H. Heras, Bombay ..	.. XIV	3	0	0
P. P. S. Sastri, Madras ..	.. XIV	3	0	0
Sir M. Visvesvaraya, Bhadravati ..	.. Life membership donation	100	0	0
V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer, Bangalore ..	.. XV	5	0	0
R. Gopalachari, Madras ..	.. XIV	3	0	0
N. Raghavachar, Kumbakonam ..	.. XIV	3	0	0
G. M. Taylor, K. G. F. ..	.. XIV	3	0	0
B. Rama Rao, Madras	.. XIV	3	0	0
C Raitt, Baragiri Post ..	.. XIV	3	0	0
P. S. Lakshminarasu, Bangalore ..	.. Part payment of Vol. XIV	2	8	0
Col. P. A. Barton, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5	0	0
E. P. Metcalfe, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5	0	0
K. S. Gundappa, Bangalore ..	.. XII	5	0	0
Dr. J. C. Kann, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5	0	0
M. Gopalakrishnaswami Naik, Bangalore	.. XIV	5	0	0
K. Matthan, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5	0	0
W. H. Thomson, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5	0	0
M. Sreenivasamurthy, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5	0	0
C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, Bangalore	.. Towards life membership donation	25	0	0
A. M. T. Acharya, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5	0	0
S. Cadambi, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5	0	0
M. P. Somasekhara Rao, Bangalore	.. XIV	5	0	0
B. Venkoba Rao, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5	0	0
M. B. Varada Iyengar, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5	0	0
N. Shama Iyengar, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5	0	0
B. Puttaiya, Bangalore ..	.. XIV	5	0	0
C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar, Coimbatore	.. XIV	3	0	0
P. Parthasarathy Iyengar, Parvatipur	.. XIV	3	0	0
Rao Bahadur P. Narayana Menon, Ernakulam ..	XIV	3	0	0
K. G. Sankara, Trivandrum ..	.. XIV	3	0	0

List of Books presented or purchased during the quarter ending 31st March 1924.

By presentation—

Superintendent, Government Printing, India—

Census of India, Vol. I, Parts 1 and 2, by J. T Marten.

Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras—

Madras Epigraphic Report for the year 1921-22.

Superintendent of Archæology, Trivandrum—

Stone and Copper-plate Inscriptions of Travancore, Travancore Archæological Series Vol. IV, Part 1, by K. V. Subramanya Iyer.

Director of Archæology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Govt.—

Archæological Report of the Hyderabad State for 1920-21.

Research Department, D. A. V. College, Lahore—

"The Ramayana of Valmiki" (Parts 1-3). Edited by Pandit Ramalabhaya.

"The Vedic Kosa" Vol. I. Published by the Research Department of the D. A. V. College.

The Association Press, Y. M. C. A., Madras—

The History and Institutions of the Pallavas, by Professor C. S. Srinivasa Chari.

Professor Felix Lacote, Lyons University, (Translator).—

Bṛhathkatha Çlokasamgraha, chapters I—IX, text and translation in two volumes.

Brhathkatha Çlokasamgraha, chapters X—XVII, text and translation in two volumes.

V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer, Esq., M.A.—

Journal of the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat. Vol. VIII. Parts 1—3.

EXCHANGES.

I. The Editors of :—

1. " HINDUSTAN REVIEW," *Bankipore.*
2. " INDIAN ANTIQUARY, "
   British India Press, Mazagaon, Bombay.
3. "CEYLON ANTIQUARY," *The " Times of Ceylon", Colombo.*
4. " MODERN REVIEW, " *Calcutta.*
5. " THE HINDU MESSAGE, " *Srirangam.*
6. " WEDNESDAY REVIEW, " *Teppakulam, Trichinopoly.*
7. " THE SOUTH INDIAN RESEARCH, "
   Vepery, Madras.
8. " THE EASTERN BUDDHIST ", *The Library, Sinshu Otani University, Kyoto.*
9. " THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE," *Madras.*
10. " THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW," *Mount Road, Madras.*
11. " THE VEDIC MAGAZINE," *Lahore.*
12. " ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT," *Halle, Germany.*
13. " THE SANSKRIT BHARATHI," *Burdwan, Bengal.*
14. " THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY," *New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. A.*
15. " THE KALPAKA," *Tinnevelly.*
16. " EVERYMAN'S REVIEW," *Madras.*
17. " MAN," *The Royal Anthropological Institute, London.*
18. " DJAWA," *Kanarillaan, 13, te Weltevreden, Java.*
19. " MAN IN INDIA," *Ranchi B.N.Ry. (India)*
20. " THE KARNATAKA GRANTHAMALA," *Mysore.*
21. " THE MYSORE CHRONICLE," *Tumkur.*
22. " THE JAIN GAZETTE ", *Parish Venkatachala Iyer Street, George Town, Madras.*
23. " THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER," *Bombay.*
24. " PRABUDDHA BHARATA, ADWAITA ASRAMA,"
   Mayavati P.O., Almora Dist.
25. " THE SHAMA'A" *Aghore Mandir, San Thome, Madras.*
26. " VISHVA-BHARATHI ", *10, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*
27. " NAVASHAKTI ", *Dharwar.*
28. " THE SHRINE OF WISDOM ", *The Hermetic Truth Society, Lincoln House, Acacia Road, Acton, London (21-3)*

Publications from :—

II. THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, *Poona.*
III. THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY, *Simla.*
IV. THE GENERAL SECRETARY, BIHAR & ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, *Patna.*
V. Do. "THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY", *Bombay Branch, Bombay.*
VI. Do. ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, *1, Park Street, Calcutta.*
VII. Do. THE INDO-FRENCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Pondicherry.*
VIII. Do. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*
IX. THE REGISTRAR, *Chief Secretariat, Fort St. George, Madras.*
X. THE REGISTRAR, MYSORE UNIVERSITY, *Mysore.*
XI. THE REGISTRAR, MADRAS UNIVERSITY, *Madras.*
XII. THE SECRETARY OF—
(*a*) THE CONNEMARA PUBLIC LIBRARY, *Madras.*
(*b*) THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, *Hyderabad (Deccan).*
(*c*) THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, *74, Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.*
(*d*) THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, *Poona.*
(*e*) LE BIBLIOTHECAIRE, SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE, *1, Rue de Seine, Paris.*
(*f*) THE PUNJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Lahore.*
(*g*) THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, *Washington, D. C. (U.S.A.)*
(*h*) THE BANGIYA SAHITYA PARISHAD, *243/1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
(*i*) THE PURRA TATTWA MANDIR, *Ahmadabad.*
(*j*) THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY, *Town Hall, Fort, Bombay.*
(*k*) THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, *172, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.*
(*l*) ASSOCIATION FRANCAISE DES AMIS DE L'ORIENT, *Musée Guimet, Place d'iena, Paris (XVI).*
XIII. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF—
(*a*) ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, *Southern Circle, Madras.*
(*b*) RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, *Kashmir State, Srinagar.*
(*c*) ARCHÆOLOGY, *Trivandrum, Travancore.*
XIV. THE CURATOR, *Oriental Library, Mysore.*
XV. ASSISTANT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SUPERINTENDENT FOR EPIGRAPHY, *Madras.*

The Mythic Society

COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1923-24

PATRON.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.S.I., G.B.E.

Vice-Patrons.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA GAIKWAR OF BARODA, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

HIS HIGHNESS THE YUVARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.I.E.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF COCHIN, G.C.S.I.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Honorary Presidents.

THE HON'BLE COL. SIR HUGH DALY, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

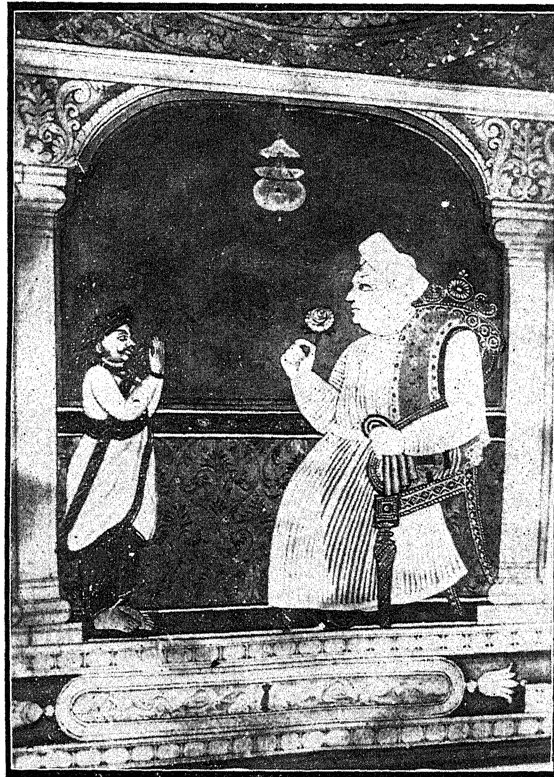
THE HON'BLE MR. H. V. COBB, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.B.E.

THE HON'BLE MR. W. P. BARTON, C.S.I., C.I.E.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

V. P. MADHAVA RAO, ESQ., C.I.E.

SIR DORABJI TATA, Kt.



DEWAN PURNIAH

(from a print presented to the Mythic Society by the late Mr. Narasinga Rao Purnaiya, Jaghirdar of Yelandur and sixth in descent from the great Purnaiya)

The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XIV] JULY 1924 [No. 4

DEWAN PURNIAH.

BY V. RAGHAVENDRA RAO BELATHUR, ESQ., M.A.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

MANY papers have been read before the Mythic Society on Haider Ali Khan and Tippu Sultan and it is perhaps appropriate that a short account of a leading Hindu minister of the period should be given to the members of the Society. Dewan Purniah was a trusted minister under Mussalman rule in Mysore and on the restoration of the Hindu Prince to the Gadi, Purniah continued as Dewan during the minority of Krishnaraja Wodeyar.

The guiding principle of Purniah's illustrious career may be stated at the outset. "If those to whom God had given power always acted on the principle that the path of *public virtue* would be the only path to wealth and fame, upon that day the world would be well governed, and vice would lose its motive."* It is thus small wonder that the name of Purniah conjures up visions of a great and beneficent administrator who, during the most stormy period in Mysore history, strove to preserve ancient landmarks in the country. In our State he is still remembered and his memory kept green in Hindu temples renovated, in the institution of chatrams and caravanserais for the benefit of wearied and needy travellers and pilgrims.

It is a remarkable circumstance that Purniah was great as a statesman, a soldier and a financier, a very rare combination indeed! Haider Ali Khan, Tippu Sultan and later the world-famous duke of Wellington and his brother, the marquess, have borne testimony to the organizing genius of Purniah.

* Mysore State Papers, Vol. II, pp. 296-7.

Properly to estimate the work of this great minister, it is necessary to have in mind the condition of South India of his day. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the several dynasties in the South were fighting for power. The Nabob of Arcot, the Nizam, the Mahrattas, the English and the French, these were shuffling themselves into various contending parties, of course the English and the French being arrayed always against each other and claiming to support one or the other of the rest. Mysore and her rulers had their due share in this trouble and turmoil and the French were her allies against the English. The latter cleverly managed to render the Nizam harmless; Lord Wellesley, ably seconded by his brother 'who fought with his fiery few and won', defeated the Mahrattas in the battles of Assaye and Argaum; Mysore and her Mussalman usurpers were conquered after four famous wars and the fall of Seringapatam in 1799 closed the most famous episode in South Indian history. It has been said that the strongest fight the English had to put up in the course of empire-building in India, particularly in the South, was against the Mysore rulers. It may be said that that was in no small measure due to the sustained efforts of Purniah to provide the sinews of war for the lightning campaigns of Haider and Tippu. Later, the same Purniah helped the English and earned the gratitude and admiration of the Wellesleys by rendering prompt assistance to them in their wars against the Mahrattas.*

Dewan Purniah was born of a Brahmin family in Coimbatore, then a part of Mysore. The date of his birth is not known. He first came into prominence as the trusted Finance Minister of Haider Ali Khan. In appreciation of the work of Purniah and of his rare abilities, Haider bestowed on his talented minister the Jaghir of Maruvally near Mysore. †

The loyalty of Purniah to Haider and his son Tippu and his considerable influence in the country for that end admit of no doubt. As an example of his devout loyalty to his master and his throne, the following instance may be recalled. When Haider died in the midst of his daring campaigns, away from the capital, his son Tippu was hundreds of miles away, near about Mangalore, fighting his father's battles and ignorant of his father's fate.‡ Within the royal camp at Seringapatam there was treachery and scheming; it was a very critical time for the Mussalman dynasty in Mysore. It must be remembered that, after all, Haider was an usurper and exploited his position in the army to the disadvantage and ruin of his chief, the Hindu Raja; now that Haider was fallen, every one tried to seize the opportunity for the restoration of the old and ancient Raja. Purniah's own position was very peculiar and must have been indeed very difficult. He was on the horns of a

* Wellington's Despatches, (Selections) No. 173, p. 155. [Ed. Col. Gurwood, 1851]

† Travels of Francis Buchanan, Vol. I, p. 391

‡ Wilke's Historical Sketches, Vol. II, p. 35.

dilemma. He was well aware Haider was an usurper and had risen on the ashes of the Hindu Raja; but Purniah had come to prominence under Haider and had gained his confidence. The Sultan had implicit faith in the integrity of his minister. Could he now prove disloyal to the salt he ate and prove traitorous? Under the circumstances, Purniah took the only course open to him. He rose equal to the momentous occasion and took the thread of affairs in the State into his own hands. The news of the king's death was not broken anywhere; hourly bulletins recording the illness and slow recovery of the Nawab were issued to the army. In the meantime, fleetest couriers were despatched to Tippu, desiring his instant return. *

While affairs stood thus, disloyalty and treachery were rampant in the Nabob's camp. A set of conspirators, led by a cousin-german of Tippu and aided by a French General, chose Abdul Kareem, the second son of Hyder Shah, and a convenient *roi fainéant* as the next Sultan of Mysore. Purniah, however, quickly detected this, put the ringleaders of the conspiracy in irons, and threw them into prison. At the same time, he despatched the dead body of Haider to Kolar, disguising it as a treasure-box, with the usual convoys accompanying the spoils of war. † The army was made to feel that Haider was yet alive; at any rate, the army did not appreciate any difference owing to the absence of their leader and king. The king's government went on as usual. "The whole of the arrangement of the army, the weekly relief of 2,000 horses which constantly hung round Madras, the issue of pay, adjustment of military accounts, answers to letters of state from envoys of the different courts, and all the business of the State went on as usual.

* * * Although suspicions were whispered abroad, it soon became evident that the Government was in vigorous hands and obedience was the safest course." ‡ To the credit of Tippu Sultan it must be stated that loyalty so noble and so rare was generously appreciated by the new sovereign 'who made ample acknowledgments to all who helped him to the throne, and especially to Purniah'. §

It was but natural and only to be expected that such a devoted minister and faithful public servant as Purniah had been to Haider was indispensable to Tippu Sultan. The latter continued him in office as Finance Minister and frequently entrusted him with the command of fortresses and armies—a remarkable testimony to the devotion and many-sided activities of Dewan Purniah. Purniah was also one of the four or five members of the Sultan's 'inner cabinet' and was always consulted on all the momentous policies of

* Wilke's Historical Sketches, Vol. II, p. 33.
† Wilke's Historical Sketches, Vol. II, p. 34.
‡ Wilke's Historical Sketches, Vol II, p. 35.
§ Wilke's Historical Sketches of South India, Vol. II, p. 36.

the State. It was besides customary with Tippu to converse with his councillors about the affairs of his kingdom at the breakfast table*—not an uncommon occurrence in these days! "On such occasions of particular business, the Sultan shut himself up with his councillors—even his children were not sent for as usual. His favourites whom he was fond of consulting were Meer Saduck, the Binky Nabob, Muhamud Syed Assuf, Purniah, Gollam Ali, Ahamad Khan and the confidential scribe, Haboob Ali." † It will thus be seen that Purniah was a solitary Hindu minister of Cabinet rank trusted by the zealous Mussalman sovereign we know Tippu to have been!

It is, further, worthy of note that Tippu, when he was suffering under a series of reverses and adverse fortune and was chafing under the humiliation and defeat inflicted on the Mysore armies by Lord Cornwallis, turned to Purniah for guidance and counsel. On the advice tendered to him by Purniah, his Finance Minister, Tippu reduced the establishments in all the departments of the State, excepting of course the Palace and enhanced the taxes and duties on all sources of income. Purniah doubtless was not responsible if the anticipated income from these sources was not realized. For, if the returns to the exchequer fell short of the royal expectations, it was because most of the 'Asoofs' or the district Revenue Officers defrauded the State of more than a moiety of its income and impartially fleeced the peasants with a ready-made excuse.‡

A story is told in Dr. Francis Buchanan's Travels§ relating to the Sultan's attempt to convert Purniah. When the Sultan launched on his purblind policy of compulsory proselytism to recruit his ranks by forced circumcision and administration of beef, the Brahmin minister ran very nearly within an ace of a similar fate; fortunately, however, for Purniah, the shrewd entreaties of the Queen Mother saved him from an unwilling apostasy. The compulsory conversion of Purniah to Islam would have robbed the Sultan of a very powerful minister and an intellectual prop of his kingdom. It was quite probable that it would have resulted in a loyal public servant turning into an implacable enemy. In connection with this story it has to be observed that there does not appear to be much warrant for belief, though no doubt Dr. Buchanan travelled over the country just a couple of years after Tippu's downfall and collected the current stories of the time. It is sad to contemplate how scanty is the material even about the eighteenth century in India for constructing a history in true perspective!

* History of the Origin and Conduct of the War with Mysore [Ed 1800 A.D.], by Col. Alex. Beatson, p. 159.

† *Ibid.*, p. 159 and Memoirs of Tippu Sultan, by an Officer of the E. I Co [1819 A.D.], p. 6.

‡ History of Haider Shah and Tippu Sultan [Ed. 1851], by Prince Gulam Muhamud (son of Tippu Sultan), pp. 294, 378.

§ Vol. II, p. 41

Purniah's greatness, and skill and dash as a soldier may also be appropriately referred to. Purniah was a trusted commander with 4,600 men and horse,—a big cavalry officer. During the 'twilight' of Tippu Sultan's days, he exhibited coolness and fortitude in the presence of war, a patient and cheerful temper under suffering and turmoil, and ability to lead men in battle.

In 1792, shrapnel shells were pouring from Lord Cornwallis' battery upon the camp of Tippu Sultan, while Purniah was distributing wages amongst the army. The fire gradually increased in its intensity and Purniah was obliged reluctantly to pack off all the gold to a distant and secure place. As he was engaged in the task of sealing the money-bags and loading them on camels, a shot struck him and he was severely wounded. Uncomplaining and undaunted, Purniah continued his task and marched the camels boldly in the face of the flying fireballs of the enemy and safely landed all the treasure in Nanjangud, without the loss of a single coin! *

Again, when Seringapatam was besieged by the allied armies in 1799, Sirdar Purniah was near the Karighat Hill,† at the head of 4,600 warriors and cannonading General Stuart's camp. Before the final capitulation of the beleagured city, in the negotiations that were passing between the opposing parties, Purniah was one of the four Sirdars demanded by General Harris,‡ the others being Cummer-ud-din, Meer Saduck and Syed Gaffoor,—a splendid and eloquent testimony to the military capabilities of the Hindu General. After the fall of Seringapatam, Purniah was one of the very last to lay down his arms before the conqueror, while the first to yield were the sons and Sirdars of the fallen Tippu.

In his public career as a trusted servant of the Crown, loyalty to his duty and probity of character were the marked and distinguishing features. They have already been referred to. When the British took over the administration of the State and decided to restore the ancient Hindu Raja, they had no small difficulty in selecting a proper and capable minister to steer the ship of State during the minority of the Hindu Raja. The disappointed and the disaffected Mussalman population had to be placated; the State, for long in the throes of civil war within and a series of costly military campaigns for over half a century, had to be given rest and quiet; the finances of the State had to be carefully husbanded; and its resources properly developed. The sterling character of Purniah, his immense organizing genius, his wide and deep knowledge of men and affairs, his rare ability to inspire men to deeds of daring and courage, his capacity to pacify and placate all the turbulent and troublesome elements in the State and above all his capacity displayed as a

* Col. Wilke's Historical Sketches, Vol. II, p. 248.

† Origin and Conduct of the War with Mysore, by Col. Alex. Beatson (1800 A.D.), p. 125.

‡ *Ibid.* App· LXXXIII.

finance minister under Haider and Tippu could not fail to attract the notice of the Wellesleys. They soon realized that, given the opportunity, Purniah was the one man possessed of commanding abilities to consolidate and conserve properly the new kingdom of Mysore. They may also have thought it prudent not to make an enemy of Purniah. Whatever it was, Purniah was appointed Dewan to assist the British in their noble and generous task of reviving the Hindu Raj in Mysore. Thus declares a State paper * : —"There can be little doubt that but for his (Purniah's) prompt accession, a harassing and desultory warfare would have been carried on for a considerable time. This good service, together with his pre-eminent experience and ability, pointed him out as the proper person to be made the Dewan of the newly formed State." Col. Beatson writes:—" It was *deemed advisable* to appoint Purniah as the Dewan to the young Rajah of Mysore." †

On his appointment as Dewan, Purniah had a new role to play. Hitherto he was a trusted and loyal servant of Tippu and a deadly enemy of the English; but now he had to assist in consolidating the Hindu Raj under the ægis of the British. The fortunes of the Haider family had been settled once for all; the Mahrattas and the English had decided to re-establish Hindu culture and Hindu government in Mysore.‡ There was thus nothing left for Purniah but to throw himself heart and soul into the task of re-establishing Hindu society in the State.§ That he did this task nobly and well is too well known to need recapitulation. A well-deserved and a very handsome tribute to his work is paid by the great historian of Mysore, Mr. Lewis Rice; others can but tread the path so well laid down by him!

Preceding the coronation of the boy raja, Krishnaraja Wodeyar, a general pacification of the country was essential. To this end, the late Sultan's army had to be disbanded, and the chief forts in the country had to be taken possession of. General Harris carried out these preliminary measures for the restoration of peace "through the agency of Purniah". ||

The Regency of Purniah continued from 1800 A.D. to 1811 A.D. A general feeling of insecurity was manifest everywhere. The country had been in the hands of usurpers for over thirty years and the religion of the country had come into conflict with the proselytizing zeal of sovereigns of a different faith. The general effects of the aftermath of war were in evidence everywhere. A spirit of rebellion was abroad and everybody was trying to assert himself over his neighbour. The polygars, in addition, were giving no

* Mysore State Papers, Vol. IV, p. 289.

† Origin and Conduct of the War with Mysore, by Col Alex. Beatson, p. 226.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp 263-4 , 220

§ *Ibid.*, pp. „ „ , State Papers, Vol. II., pp. 241-2.

|| Origin and Conduct of the War with Mysore, by Col. Alex. Beatson, p. 199.

small amount of trouble. The British were in the middle of their great campaigns against the Mahrattas. It needed very careful vigilance to steer clear of these difficulties and dispel the dread that the heirs of the fallen foe might come again and throw the country into war once more.

Purniah proclaimed a 'general amnesty', to pacify all by persuasion if possible, or by repression if necessary. He laid down rules to develop the natural resources of the State by an equitable distribution of taxation and by encouragement of the staple industries. He endeavoured to introduce organization and method into the administration of the country and to reform the judiciary, its mainstay, on modern lines. Before he laid down his office, weighed down by age, he had amply succeeded in his endeavours. The efforts of Purniah were ably supported by Gen. Wellesley and Col. Close. The refractory Polygars of Chickballapur, Manjarabad and Nagar were firmly dealt with. The malcontents were everywhere subdued and reconciled to the new order of things by just and generous treatment and liberal stipends. Purniah, unaided, even put down a mutiny in the British garrisons stationed at Chitaldroog and Seringapatam, for which the British were very grateful to him. *

Purniah recognized that Mysore no longer required a large standing army; in time of need, she could always rely on the invincible arm of the British. Retrenchment could also be effected in the civil departments. The strength of the army was reduced from a hundred thousand, always on a war footing, to three thousand and the horse from 51,000 in the time of Tippu to 3,290. The army was officered by 'children of the soil' but furnished, to be effective, with British equipments. The Mysore army though numerically small was made national, efficient and up-to-date.† That the tradition of the Mysore army being an efficient fighting force is still maintained unsullied is known to all and it was only in the recent war that the heroism and bravery of our officers and men, both infantry and cavalry, was recognized and mentioned in despatches in many a hard-fought campaign.

In all the ancient village communities the duty of policing the village for the protection of communal life and property rested with the hereditary village officers, usually subject to the control and guidance of the village assemblies. These village officers, *viz.*, the Thoti, Talari, Patel, etc., were generally assisted by other young men of the village in times of common danger. This system had been slightly disorganized but never given up during Muhammadan rule. Dewan Purniah in his turn enjoined on the villagers the duty of patrolling their homes.

---

* Mysore State Papers, Vol. II, pp. 298—308.

† Annals of the Royal Family, Vol. II, pp. 17—18, by B. R. Rao.

Purniah attempted at devolution in the administration of justice and in the Revenue department. Kazis were appointed in big towns to try and decide disputes of a purely social nature among the Mussalmans. In cases of disputes between Hindus and Mussalmans, the Amildar decided them, assisted thereto by a jury of five, two belonging to each community and the fifth to that of the defendant, so as to give the defendant the twofold advantages of a majority of jurymen and the benefit of the doubt. The aggrieved party had a right of appeal to the Dewan in person. In 1805, a supreme court of appeal —Adālāt Court—was created for hearing and disposing of appeals from subordinate courts. This court, consisting of a Hindu and a Mussalman, tried all kinds of cases, civil, criminal and revenue. In cases of murder and arson, the extreme penalty was rarely imposed or confirmed by the Government of Dewan Purniah, perhaps in consonance with the generous system of Hindu Government described by Fa Hien, 1500 years ago,* where 'the king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishment'.

Purniah reintroduced the system of taxation as it obtained previous to Muslim rule, to the great relief of the patient millions. Several of the *emigrés* returned home. The Dewan's periodical tours of inspection put heart into the people and terror to the wicked. In his tours in the interior, petitions were heard and disposed of, thus satisfying the wants and aspirations of the people of the locality. Public confidence in the government of the country became completely restored. The taxes payable were about one-third of the average net produce, payable in kind or in cash, according to the desire of the ryot. The house tax, plough tax and other taxes payable by the ryot were all included in this 'one-third'. Takavi loans were freely granted and officers were appointed to see to their proper utilization and to report.

There were 120 taluks, each under an Amildar; several of these constituted a district under a Subedar, also a collector of revenue, assisted by a treasurer and a sheristedar to maintain treasury accounts. At the time of opening and closing the treasury, all these three officers had to be present on the spot and they were collectively responsible for the treasury balances and accounts. In the first year of Purniah's Dewanship the gross receipts were 59·75 lakhs; on the eve of his retirement it had steadily risen to 86·75 lakhs, after meeting all the extraordinary demands † of the cost of the capital expenditure of the State and of the British Government for their war with the Mahrattas.

Dewan Purniah spent large sums of money on repairing Hindu temples which had fallen into disrepair or on evil days. Even Prince Gulam Mohamad admits that Tippu had ordered demolition of all Hindu temples except

* Annals of Mysore, Vol. II, p. 30; Travels of Fa Hien (Tr. Legge), p. 43.
† Mysore State Papers, Vol. II, p. 233; Annals of Mysore, pp. 32—33.

those of Melkote and Seringapatam. 'Purniah's chatrams' were constructed all over the country and are gratefully remembered to this day and used by the traveller and the pilgrim. Irrigation canals were dug, and tanks were repaired and restored for cultivation and for conservation and protection. Costly bridges and viaducts were undertaken to facilitate travel and communication. For these laudable objects, particularly when railways were unknown, Purniah spent over 57·4 lakhs of pagodas, nearly a crore of rupees. As referred to above, Purniah had besides to find five lakhs of pagodas to assist the British to dispel the onrush of the Mahrattas into Mysore. "All these supplies were furnished with a celerity and facility, hitherto unknown in this part of India" wrote Col. Arthur Wellesley, the famous Duke; * and he wrote later on to Sir Barry Close: "Purniah's abilities astonished me; he is so different from any other man of the same kind." †

What was most remarkable in Dewan Purniah in his financial administration of Mysore was that, like Rudradaman of old, he expended on public works "a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and of the country, by exactions of special taxes, forced labour and gifts." ‡ On the ninth of March 1801, so soon after Purniah had become Dewan of Mysore, the British Resident wrote of Purniah as follows:—"In consequence of the regularity of the system of government established by the Dewan and improvement in the country, its resources were so much increased as to provide for all calls made upon him." The farewell letter of Marquess Wellesley to Purniah is also very characteristic. He says:—

"I part with you with the greatest respect . . . Experience has proved the wisdom of the arrangement which was first made for the government of Mysore.......... .As a testimony of my sense of benefits which the *public have derived from your administration*, of my sincere regard and of my gratitude, I request your acceptance of my picture." § Need it be said, that this is but an illustration of the strong practical business sense of the Britisher in his affairs of the world?

It is only fair to Dewan-Regent Purniah to add that he never forgot what was due to his allegiance to the throne of Mysore. His services and devotion to the Maharaja of Mysore were equally great. To invite Col. Malcolm's evidence on this point,—Col. Malcolm is no mean authority on the history of the period and he was personally conversant with the details of Mysore administration of the time—"That officer (Purniah) placed at the creation of this government in the possession of all its authority and the charge of the infant

* Wellington's Despatches, No. 173, p. 155.

† Mysore State Papers, Vol. II, p. 222.

‡ Bom Gaz, Vol. I, Pt. I, p 39.

§ Wellington's Despatches, Selections 1851, No 222, p. 196.

2

Prince has not only exercised his great power in such a manner that he has promoted the prosperity and increased the revenues of the State he ruled, but by his unabating attention to the happiness of the inhabitants of Mysore, and *the education of the young Prince*, and his undeviating adherence to the principles of alliance with the English, has merited the Jaghir."*

Obviously, from the foregoing, Dewan Purniah had to serve two masters. Consistently with his loyalty to the principles of alliance with the English, he was able to display a rare and sturdy independence in his dealings with them. Ever ready and willing to receive the co-operation of the British Resident whenever called for, he never tolerated any correspondence between his own subordinates and the English officers, except through the Dewan as the head of the administration. Purniah's resentment at such interference, whenever that occurred, and that occurred not seldom in those days, was so great and so strongly expressed as to call forth from the Governor-General of India to the British Resident a stern rebuke advising the latter to respect the feelings of the Dewan and to allow no correspondence or interference by the English into the internal administration of the country except through 'the proper channel', *viz.*, the Dewan of Mysore. †

When the cares of State multiplied and old age made it difficult, if not impossible, for Dewan Purniah any longer to continue at the helm of affairs on the advice of the British Government, the generous Maharaja assembled a full durbar and there in appreciation of the Dewan's splendid services to the State of Mysore, granted to the old and veteran statesman and his trusted Dewan, the Jaghir of Yelandur Taluk and his full salary for his pension. ‡ Dewan Purniah took advantage of this opportunity to explain why he accepted service at the hands of the Hindu ruler having been a trusted minister of Haider and Tippu. "It was", he said, "to do justice to the wise and great policy of Lord Wellesley by whom the *Hindu Government of Mysore had been re-established.*" § Purniah retired from office full of honour and renown, worn out by age and hard work in the service of his country, in 1811. Not long did he survive the retirement. He was not privileged to enjoy the well-earned rest. Death overtook him very soon after.

We now bid good-bye to a remarkable personality in Mysore. The noble works he has left behind, however, are imperishable monuments of his greatness. May I re-echo the sentiments of the President of this Society and implore the members of the Mythic Society to give some attention to the life and work of Purniah and bring to light the hidden pages of his history?

---

* Mysore State Papers, Vol II, pp. 291—292

† Mysore State Papers, Vol. II, pp. 240—241.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp 291—292.

§ *Ibid*, pp. 291—292.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE KALINGA UNDER THE EASTERN GANGAS.

BY G. RAMADAS, ESQ., B.A., M.R.A.S.

As the history of Kalinga has not yet been divulged, its extent has been a matter of speculation. In my article on 'Samapa or Asokan Kalinga', it has been proved that the region called Kalinga did not extend, in the centuries preceding the Christian era, beyond Sompeta in the South. Sompeta is a small town in the Ganjam district.

After the Christian era, for about four centuries the history of this region is obscure and no means have yet been found to throw light upon this period. The Allahabad pillar inscription gives us a glimpse into the history of this region about the middle of the fourth century A.D. The two kingdoms of Kaurālaka and Mahākāntāra are named in the region called Kalinga; the region of which Mahendragiri-Kouttūra was the chief town is said to be under the sway of the ruler of Pishthapura Kingdom. The latter fact is corroborated by the Pishthapuram plates of Māgadhi 'Vāsishthīputra' Saktivarma, which say that Kalinga was a district, of course of the kingdom of the King. Both the Allahabad prasasti and Raghuvamsa tell us that the conqueror, whoever he might have been, restored the Kingdom of Kalinga to its prince.

From these statements it appears that the region between the mount Mahendra and the river Nāgāvali was the Kalinga at the time of Samudragupta's invasion, and that it became an independent kingdom after his invasion. It is established that Samudragupta spent from about A.D. 347 to A.D. 350 in conquering the several kingdoms of India. It must be about this time that an independent kingdom called Kalinga was established to the north of the river Nāgāvali.

Palæographically the era of the Gangas of Kalinga appears to begin from about the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era. From the astronomical data supplied by the documents of the kings of the Ganga family, it is established that the Kalinga era began from A.D. 349. (Chronology of the Early Ganga Kings of Kalinga J.B. & O.R.S.)

About thirty-two documents of these kings have been brought to light and enough material can be culled from them to build a geographical account of the region over which these kings held sovereignty. The thirty-two documents together with their respective dates and the places mentioned in each are published as an appendix.

era appears to have been the son and successor of Hastivarma. It was, perhaps, the subjugation of the Mahendra hill, the chief landmark of Kalinga, that made Hastivarma give the name of Indra to his son. That this Hastivarma was a warrior is intimated from the verse found engraved on the back of the document. The verse runs as follows:—

मण्डलाग्राग्रीनष्पेष निष्पिष्टा रातिम्मन्हतः ।
श्रमितो प्रतिघाङ्गस्य रणाभीतस्य शासनम् ॥

His son also was equally brave and powerful. If Hastivarma was Rājasimha and Raṇābhīta, his son Indravarma, in his grant dated in the ninety-first year, was Rājasimha.

From the time of Hastivarma, the second period in the history of the Gangas begins. Since they became the masters of Mahendra hill, they were the devout worshippers of the feet of the god Gokarṇa established on the top of the hill. It has already been shown that the era signified other things; it may, further, be observed that the country of Kalinga was divided into districts (vishayas) from the time of these kings.

Hastivarma mentions the village of Hondolika in Kroshtukavartini Vishaya. Maharajah Anantavarma, son of Mahārājādhirajah Devendravarma, in his grant dated in 204th year, states that the village of Talathere was in Kroshtukavartini district. Tallatreya (83°50′ E. Long. and 18°32′ N. Lat.) is a village in the Narasannapeta taluk of the Ganjam district lying to the north of the Vamsadhāra river. It was this river that was called Kroshtukavartini and the country to the north of the river was called the Kroshtukavartini Vishaya. Now, Hondolika being in Kroshtukavartini, it should lie to the north of the Vamsadhāra river. The Hastivarma plates state that a piece of land was bought from the inhabitants of Hondolika and was given to a Brahmin who was a resident of Urmela. The donee must have built a small village on that land and called it after the village from which he had come. So the new village got the name Urmelā-grama which in course of time became Urmelā-gām and then into Ur-lām. There is still a tradition in those parts that the lands of the proprietory of Urlām once belonged to the village of Lukulām. So it appears that the name Hondolika-grama became Lukulām.

Both Urlām (84°3′ E. Long. and 18°25′ N. Lat.) and Lukulām, which is only three miles of Urlām, lie to the north of the Vamsadhāra river and Kroshtukavartini must have been its old name.

The country lying to the north of the river Vamsadhāra is unbroken by any big river until we come to Teekaly. So it had to be sub-divided into smaller jurisdictions. Such was Saraumaṭaṁba mentioned in the Chicacole plates of Devendravarma, son of Guṇārnava, dated 183rd year of the Kalinga era. Poppangika was the village mentioned in this sub-division.

Two miles from Parlakimidi the village Poppangi. Though not found in the Indian Atlas this is mentioned in the Census Report of 1901.

In the Atchyutāpuram plates of Indravarma dated eighty-seventh year is mentioned Siddhārthaka-grama in Varāhavartini Vishaya. The same village and the same district are also mentioned in the Siddhāntam plates of Devendravarma dated 195th year. This Siddhārthaka-grama is the modern Siddhāntam (84°1′ E. Long. and 18°24′ N. Lat.). Tāmaracheruva with Chikkāli Vātaka in Varāhavartini vishaya is mentioned in the grant of Indravarma dated 128th year; in the grant of Devendravarma, son of Anantavarma Deva dated 251st year; and also in the Madras Museum plates dated Saka Samvat 984. In the last document is mentioned the god Kotēsvara in the village of Tāmaracheruva. The temple of Kotēsvara on the bank of the Nāgāvali is very much reputed in and around Chicacole; all the Brahmins of the place live around the temple and that part of the town still forms the chief abode of the priestly class. What was called Tāmaracheruva in the Ganga plates is this part of the modern Chicacole and the Chikkālivātaka has subsequently developed into Srikākulam by which name is now meant the whole locality. The present name seems to have come into use from before the time of Kapilēsvara Deva of Orissa (A.D. 1435—1470). The change of Chikkāli to Srikākulam and the change of Siddhārthaka-grama to Siddhāntam clearly show that the people from the country between the Godavary and the Krishna had come and settled in the Kalinga; for the names Srikākulam and Siddhāntam are there found from historic times. One of the Ganga grants (Purle plates dated 143rd year) tells us that a Brahmin of Tirilinga came and settled in the Kalinga country; and the Tirilinga was the region between the Godavary and the Krishna (Sàrada, Vol. I, April 1924).

As we have seen Siddhāntam and Chicacole lie between the two rivers of Nāgāvali and Vamsadhāra; this region was called the Varāhavartini Vishaya. In this district another village Bruhat-Kōdila is also mentioned; but it is difficult to identify it with any of the places given in the Indian Atlas. It may be Pedda-Podilām (84° E. Long. and 18°29′ N. Lat.) about six miles from the Chicacole Railway Station.

In the document issued by Indravarma from Dantapura in the 143rd year it is stated that Bukku-kura-grama was in Kūraka-rāshtra. The region was called a Rāshtra, *i.e.*, a kingdom. It appears to have been an independent kingdom before its conquest by the Gangas. Having conquered this region the Kalinga kings made Dantapura its centre of administration. The conquest and subjugation of this Rāshtra might have occurred in the time of Indravarma of the charter dated 128th year. All the places mentioned in the document have been identified.

Another charter issued from Dantipura is the Narasipatam plates of Vajrahasta III. The district Gōrasatta comprising the thirteen villages outside Tampava village was given to Irugana Sri Mānāditya Chotta. The boundaries of this district also were given. It is not possible to identify any of them. The river Vamsadhāra was said to lie on the west and we know that the river which is now called Vamsadhāra was, in the Kalinga days, called the Kroshtukavartini. Moreover, the country to which the modern Vamsadhāra lies to the west could not naturally have been under the jurisdiction of Dantipura which existed near Siddhāntam. The Vamsadhāra of the Narasipatam plates must have been therefore some other river in the region to the south of the Nāgāvali.

The zamindar of Oongarāda and Siripuram belongs to the family of Inugantis ; this name appears to be a modification of Irugana, the family name of the donee of the grant. Oongarāda 83°47′ E. Long. and 18°31′ N. Lat. lies four miles to the north of Talatampara, which was, perhaps, the village of Tampava mentioned in the plates.

From these two plates it appears that the region now occupied by the taluks of Palakonda, Chipurupalli, Gajapatinagaram and Salur, formed the Kūrakarāshtra of which the administrative centre under the Gangas was Dantapura or Dantipura, which is still found in the mālukdari of Danta in Ganjam district.

Amongst the grants of the Gangas, there are three which were issued from Svetakādhishthāna, which means the chief town of the region of Svetaka. These grants bear no date and we can only assign them to their proper ages on palæographical grounds.

Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarma may be assigned to the period between Indravarma, son of Dānārnava ruling in 149th year and Devendravarma, son of Guṇārnava ruling in the years 183 and 195, because the Dhanantara plates resemble letter for letter the Siddhāntam plates of Devendravarma ; but the क of the former set is like that of the Chicacole plates of the latter king. About a century and a half after the founding of the Ganga throne, the region of Svetaka seems to have been subdued by the Kalinga kings. The object of this grant was Vatagrāma in Hamanibhoga. In the Chinna-kimidi zamindari of Ganjam district, there is the village Bothapoor on 83°34′ E. Long. and 19°34′ N. Lat. There is no means of identifying Hamanibhoga. Dhanantara where the plates have been discovered is about ten miles east of this Bothapoor.

The second set of plates are the Ganjam plates of Prithivivarma Deva. These on palæographical basis may be assigned to the time of Vajrahasta Deva III *alias* Anantavarma. Perhaps Prithivivarma is Anantavarma himself, for

Prithivi and Ananta are synonyms. The reading of the place names, especially of the name of the district, was incorrect. It was read as Janora in *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, No. 26.* But from the estampages of the plates kindly supplied to me by the Superintendent, Madras Museum, the name clearly appears to be Jan-thau-vara and this name is corroborated by Jantāvura mentioned as the capital of Kāmārnava I (Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, June 1889, No. 179). The object of the grant was the double village of Dola (grāma-dvayam-dōla). Janthauvara or Jantāvura appears modified in Jallantra (84°36′ E. Long. and 18°57′ N. Lat.) in Sompeta taluk of Ganjam district. This was the headquarters of an ancient zamindari. "Jallantra cottāh" contains "an old image of a village goddess" (Sewell). There are several relics in and around Jallantra to show its antiquity. In this zamindari is a village Dola-Govindapuram (117, Census Report, 1901) situated about five miles north of Jalantracoota.

The third set is that of Indravarma Deva reviewed in the Epigraphical Report of 1918. The plates have not yet been published and so I am not able to examine the characters to assign any approximate date to them. The object of the grant is the village Amēra-singa in Jalamvora Vishaya. In Chinnakimidi zamindari is a village by name Jallamurra, 84°36′ E. Long. and 19°25′ N. Lat., and as its name signifies, it is situated on the southern tributary of the Rushicoolya river. There is no village now bearing the name of Amēra-singa. But Vishama-giri where the plates have been discovered may be that Amēra-singa; for 'singa' and 'giri' mean the same thing. Vishama-giri (Bisamgiri of the Indian Atlas) is about ten miles south-west of Jallamurra.

These places now identified lie in a region of which Chikati forms the centre. Chikati is not a modern town; it is found mentioned in the inscriptions in the Mukhalingam temple. In No. 335 of the Epigraphical Report of 1896 it is mentioned as Chikati and it is dated in S.S. 1212 or A.D. 1290; No. 338 which is dated in S.S. 1283 or 1361, mentions it as Śikati; No. 358 which is dated S.S. 1267 or A.D. 1345, has it as Chikati again.

The Svetaka or Svetka of the Ganga plates is only Chikati changed by metathesis. In old Dravidian, as in modern Tamil, there was only one sign to represent the two sounds of श and च. श्वेतक or च्वेतक easily becomes चेकत or चेकट which in rapid pronunciation becomes चीकट or चीकटि. This चीकट or श्वेतक region lying immediately to the north of Mahendra, must have been the Mahākāntara mentioned immediately before Mahendragiri-Kottura in the Allahabad Pillar inscription.

Before we take up the identification of the places mentioned in the other plates, it is but necessary to identify Kalinganagara from which every grant is said to have been issued. This was the capital of Kalinga. M.R.Ry. Rao

Saheb G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu Garu, B.A., has identified it with the city that extended from Mukhalingam to Nagarikatakam. But this could not have been the Kalinganagara of the kings that gave their charters in the years of the victorious and prosperous Kalinga era; for, the copperplate grant dated S.S. 1040 of Anantavarma-Chodagangadeva clearly states that Kāmārnava II had "his city in Nagara in which he built a lofty temple for an emblem of the God Iśa in the linga-form, to which he had given the name of Madhukēśa, because it was produced from a madhūka tree." It also tells us that Kāmārnava I had his capital in Jantāvura. The Kalinga kings from Hastivarma to Kāmārnava I mention Kalinganagara to have been their capital. Where was this?

We have seen that from the time of Hastivarma, the kings of the Ganga family became the devout worshippers of god Gokarṇa on the Mahendra hill. From this we understand that the Mahendra hill was subdued only about eighty years after the founding of the dynasty. Kālidāsa, in his Raghuvamsa, canto IV, tells that the king Raghu went and captured Mahendra hill. So the Mahendra hill was the chief landmark of Kalinga. The Allahabad prasasti of Samudragupta mentions the country of Kalinga by Mahendragiri-Koutturaka. The capital of Kalinga at the time of Samudragupta appears to have been Kottura near Mahendragiri. This is identified by Prof. Vincent A. Smith with Cothoor 84°89′ E. Long. and 18°53′ N. Lat. This is on the sea coast. In Raghuvamsa, canto VI, it is said that the capital of the Kalinga king was on the sea side.

यमात्मनः सद्मनि संनिकृष्टो मन्द्रध्वनि त्याजित यामतूर्यः ।
प्रासादवातायनदृश्यवीचिः प्रबाधयत्यर्णव एव सुप्तम् ॥

The waves of the ocean are seen from the palace of the king of Kalinga and the roar of the ocean surpasses the sound of his watch drum. From this it clearly appears that the palace and so the capital of Kalinga was on the coast.

The same fact is also intimated by the Kalinga grant of Indravarma dated 146th year of the Kalinga era, which states that the city of Kalinga was 'embraced by the fingers of the waves of the water of the ocean'. Here the original editor of the plates interpreted in another way. What is stated in the plates is 'Jaladhi-jala-taraṅga-karapallav-āliṅgita—sakala-kaliṅg-āvanī-tala-tilakāyamānād=vijaya-kaliṅga-nagarāt'= This is the only Kalinga grant that describes the Kalinga-nagara in this way. In giving the meaning of this, the first phrase from 'Jaladhi' to 'ālingita' was understood to be adjectival to 'sakala-kaling-āvanī'. But from what is said in other grants this construction appears to be wrong. The first phrase is translated into 'Sarv-artu-sukha-ramanīyād' and the second into 'Sakala-vasumatī-tilakāyamānād'. A

place cannot be 'pleasant (on account of the simultaneous existence) of the comforts of all seasons' unless it is 'embraced by the fingers of the waves of the water of the ocean'. This interpretation is supported by Raghuvamsa. So the Kalinganagara of these Ganga kings was Kottur (Cotoor of the Indian Atlas) and this was so till the time of Kāmārnava I who changed his seat to 'Janovura'. Kāmārnava II changed it to 'Nagara'. By the time of Vajrahasta Deva III *alias* Anantavarma there were three regions, Dantapura, Kalinga-nagara and Svetaka, merged into the kingdom of Kalinga and so he bore the title of 'Trikaling-ādhipatih'.

In Kalinga proper which extended from Langulya or Nāgāvali in the south to a line drawn from Mahendragiri to Kottur in the north, we have already identified the districts of Varāhavartini and Kroshtuka-vartini and the villages thereof.

The other parts of the kingdom also have to be discovered from the places mentioned in the grants other than those that have been referred to above. Tālamūla in Korosataka-Pānchali, the name of this district exists in Korasada 84°7′ E. Long. and 84°44′ N. Lat. situated on the southern bank of the eastern tributary of the Vamsadhāra river. Tālamūla may be Malloowa about nine miles south-east of Korasada.

Devenna-Pānchāli is the second pānchāli we are told of in the Kalinga plates. The village Khettata is said to be in this division. Devapoorum (84°24′ E. Long. and 18°40′ N. Lat.) and Chetapooram about five miles east of Devapoorum, perhaps represent the two respectively. Pushyagiri-Pānchāli with the town of Huduvaka is the third division of this name. Pushya means 'kali' and 'giri' means 'metta'. Kalimetta or Kanimetta is the translation of Pushyagiri. Kalimetta, Kalimeraka are other forms of the name. Villages with these names are found near Sigadām in Chipurupalli taluk of Vizagapatam district. Eduva and Enduva are villages in the same region. Perhaps this was the region indicated by the name Pushyagiri-Pānchāli.

These three tracts were called Pānchālis. A country where men of the five trades, the carpenter, weaver, barber, washerman and shoemaker, live is a Pānchāli (M. Williams). It is a well-known fact that Sigadām and the surrounding tract is the home of weavers, Salis and Devangis, who even now make the finest cloths. As for Korasada and Devapoorum nothing is known. They might have been the abode of craftsmen.

Vajrahasta Deva III mentions Erāda Vishaya (Ep. Rep. 1919, App. A, No. 3). The village Sattivāda was given to some Ganapatināyaka. This is dated in S.S. 971. The same monarch in his grant dated S.S. 979 separates twelve villages with Velpura from Erāda-Vishaya and formed the

Vēlpura-Vishaya. Sattivāda (83°36′ E. Long. and 18°25′ N. Lat.) is a village in Bobbili taluk. Of the villages said to have been grouped into the Vēlpura-Vishaya only some could be identified. Vēlpurah is on 83°35′ E. Long. and 18°13′ N. Lat. and is about fifteen miles south of Sattivāda. Vappadam is Boppadam about five miles east of Vēlpurah. Chikidim is Sigadam, about four miles east of Boppadam ; a mile and a half to the north of Sigadam lies Devarapalli which is Devarema. Muringam is Mulagam about three miles north-west of Devarapalli. Pōdūru is perhaps Pondur which is about eighteen miles north-east of Vēlpurah. Five miles west of Vēlpurah lies Gundredu which is Gudra. The other places cannot be identified.

Parlakimidi plates of the time of Vajrahasta mention that Dāraparāja was the regent of Pancha-Vishaya. Lankakona was a part of the district ; its boundaries were given, but none of them can be identified now. Mandasa plates of Anantavarma Deva dated S.S. 976 mention Pancha-Patra-Vishaya ; a part of this district was Mahendra-bhōga and Madhipatharakhanda was a village in the Bhōga. These two plates help us to identify the places.

Dharmakhedi, the donor of the latter grant was a Mahāmandalēsvara and seems to have been a descendant of Ugrakhedi, the donor of the former. These two charters belong to the same region which is called Pancha-Vishaya in one and Panchapātra-Vishaya in another. Where was this vishaya ?

Madhipatharakhanda, the village mentioned in the second set of plates, is now represented by the two villages, Madhia (84°34′ E. Long. and 18°54′ N. Lat.) and Patrakhanda (84°34′ E. Long. and 18°54′ N. Lat.). Both these are in Mandasa zamindari which includes the famous Mahendra hill. Mahendrabhōga is represented by the village Bhogaband (No. 171, Mandasa Zamindari, Sompeta taluk, Census Report, 1901). Since all these villages are found in this zamindari which circumscribes the Mahendra hill, the original name of this country must have been Mahendrabhōga.

Mahendrabhōga was a sub-division of the Panchapātra-Vishaya which must have been from the river Mahendratanaya which forms the southern boundary of the Mandasa estate. Lankakona is said to have been in Pancha Vishaya. So we have to search for this place to the north of the Mandasa estate.

In Juradah estate there is a village of the name of Lankah (84°38′ E. Long. and 19°3′ N. Lat.). Hossandi may have been that village ; but it cannot be identified; much less, any of the places mentioned as its boundaries. Anyhow it is clear that the Juradah estate was the Lankah-cona division and Mandasa estate was the Mahendrabhōga division of the Pancha-Vishaya of Kalinga.

Similarly, the three Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarma-Chodaganga-deva help us to discover the Sambava-Vishaya of Kalinga. In the grant dated S.S. 1003 Chākivāda in Samvā-Vishaya was granted to the god Siva

under the name of Rājarājeśvara in the village of Rēngujēd. The charter of S.S. 1040 grants the village of Tāmarakhandi in the Samvā-Vishaya to a person named Mādhava. The village of Sumuda, in the Sammag or Sammaga-Vishaya in the Kalingadēsa, was granted by the gift of S.S. 1057. All these grants refer to the same tract of the country called the Samvā district (Sammag must be a wrong spelling of Samvā).

In Sālur taluk of the Vizagapatam district is the village Chemudū (83°18′ E. Long. and 18°38′ N. Lat.) which is only another form of Sumuda. Six miles to the east of this village is Rejeru, where, I am told, there is a temple built of polished black granite. This must be the Rēngujēd of the document. Tāmarakhandi is three miles north-east of Rejeru. All the villages are beautifully situated on rivers that form the tributary of the Nāgāvali. About a mile and a half to the north-west of Chemudū lies, beautifully situated on a stream, Sambara, the village that gave the name to the district. Chākivāda is not found either in the Indian Atlas or in the Census lists.

Tārugrama in Galela-Vishaya was the object of grant in the document dated 351 of the Kalinga era of Mahārājah Satyavarma Deva. Galela is Galāvelli (83°20′ E. Long. and 18°32′ N. Lat.) a village in Bobbili taluk. This village is mentioned in Sewell's Lists. It is said that in this village is the temple of Kāmēśvaraswami said to be of considerable antiquity, and that near the gate are some 'illegible' inscriptions. Tārugrama is perhaps Tārāpuram which is about four miles east of Sālur. This region, in which Galāvelli and Tārāpuram are located lies to the south of the river Vegāvati which flows into the Nāgāvali. In this region also lies Nārayanapuram mentioned as a place of encampment of Narasimha Deva IV on 24th February 1397 A.D. This village contains two temples; on a pillar of the larger temple are inscriptions in old Telugu characters. I saw these and read one or two of them. Both of them were gifts by Chodagangadeva. In this region lies also the village Gangāda about three miles west of Galāvelli. Here are also some ruined temples and tradition says that, in ancient times, a big city extended from Gangāda to Galāvelli; and it is also said that big bricks and pieces of pottery are very generally seen between these two villages. Since Gangāda is a corruption of Gangavādi, the vishaya in which Kolhālapura, the place from which Kāmārnava I is said to have come with his four brothers, was said to exist, the ruins between Gangāda and Galāvelli may perhaps mark the site of Kolhālapura.

Pudila, Muḍuda, Māsina, Sōliga and some other villages of Dēvadāmadavam-Vishaya are said to have been given to Bhattāraka Dharmēsvara. Devadāmadavam is Devadam (83°42′ E. Long. and 18°41′ N. Lat.) in Pālakonda taluk. Sōliga may be Chillakam about twelve miles west of Devadam; the other places cannot be identified. Dharmēsvara Bhattāraka is, perhaps, the

linga at the village of Sangam situated at the confluence of Nāgāvali and its western tributaries.

Mandasa plates of Rājendravarma Deva dated 342nd year of the Kalinga era mentions Tāmvaddi in Sailāda-Vishaya. In Parlakimidi zamindari there is the village Sailāda (No. 150, Census Report, 1901), Cheehlapooram of Indian Atlas (84°12′ E. Long. and 18°42′ N. Lat.) ; about two miles north-west of this village lies Tamara which may be a contraction of Tāmvaddi.

Virintaka in Pushkarani-Vishaya is mentioned in the grant of Devendravarma, son of Rājendravarma Deva. Pushkarini means an elephant. In Gumsoor forests of the Ganjam district elephants are found in herds even now. It is no wonder if the modern Rushikoolya river which rises in the Gumsoor hills was given, in ancient days, the name of Pushkarini. It is a great problem for the research students how Pushkarini became converted into Rushicoolya.

Rushicoolya may be a modification of the Savara name. From the place names in this part of the district, it can be clearly seen that Savaras, who now form the inhabitants of the hills, originally occupied both the littoral and the hills. They must have given a name, significant of some striking feature, to every object in their surroundings. The Gangas that had conquered the country from the Savaras, translated the names of objects into Sanskrit. That the Savaras gave this river a name significant of its being the abode of elephants is proved by the very fact that the name Pushkarini was applied to it by the Gangas. Rà, in Savara language, means 'an elephant', Rāji is the plural. 'Kandya' means a river. So Rāji-kandya means 'elephants river'. This can be very easily transformed into Rushi-koolya.

Pushkarini-Vishaya must have been the country to the north of this river. Virintaka may be Biridi, the head-quarters of a very ancient zamindari.

There is only one more village that can be identified. Sellāda in Rūpāvartini-Vishaya is mentioned in the grant of Anantavarma Chodaganga, son of Rājarāja Deva. Sellāda is in Tekkali taluk. Three miles to the south of this village flows a river, the name of which is not known. It appears that the village Sellāda was given to an inhabitant of Tālagrama for the worship of the goddess Bhagavati in Sellāda. It is not known if the goddess still exists there. But Tàlagrama (Talagam of Indian Atlas) is about five miles south-west of Sellāda. In the light of these evidences it appears that Rūpāvartini was the name of the river that flows to the south of Sellāda.

From the above it becomes clear that the kingdom of Kalinga originally extended from the Nāgāvali river to the Mahendra hill. Then in course of time, the countries to the south and the north were conquered and by the time of Anantavarma-Chodagangadeva the Kalinga kingdom extended from Sālur in the south to the Chilka lake in the north.

LIST OF COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE GANGA KINGS OF KALINGA BROUGHT TO LIGHT TILL NOW.

Serial No.	Where noticed and number	Name	Donor	Year	Vishaya	Village	Place of Issue	Remarks
1	Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, No 16	Comerti plates	Chandavarma	6th year of the Victorious era	.	Kohētura	Simhapura	
2	Do Vol XII, No. 2	Bruhat prosh-ta plates	Umāvarma	30 do	..	Bruhatprosh-tha	Do	
3	Archæol Sur of S India, Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions, old series	No. 16	Nandaprabhanjana-varma	. .	...	Dēyavāta	Sārepalli	
4	Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII, No 1	Ragolu plates	Saktivarma	13th year (era not known)	Kalinga	Ragolu	Pishthapur-am	
5	Epigraphical Report (Madras) 1920, App. A, No. 3	Urlam plates	Hastivarma	80th year (Kalinga era)	Kroshtuka-vartini	Hondolaka	Kalinga-nagara	The king's epithets 'Rājasimha' and 'Ranabhīta'
6	Do. 1921, App. A, No 2	Parlakimidi plates	Anantavarma, son of Devendravarma	204th year	Do.	Talathere	Do.	
7	Epigraphia Indica, Vol III, No 21	Chicacole plates	Devendravarma, son of Gunārnava	183rd year	Do. Saraumatam-ba	Poppangika	Do.	
8	Do do No. 20	Achyutapuram plates	Indravarma	87th year	Varāhavar-tini	Siddhārtha-ka grama	Do	The king's epithet 'Rājasimha'
9	Do. Vol. XIII, No. 19	Siddhāntam plates	Devendravarma, son of Gunārnava	195th year	Do	Do.	Do.	
10	Archæol. Sur of S India, Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions, old series	No 17	Indravarma	187th year	Do.	Tāmarache-ruva, Chik-kali vātaka	Do	
11	Do do	No 20	Devendravarma, son of Anantavarma Deva	251st year	Do.	Do.	Do	
12	Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, No 11	Madras Muse-um plates	Vajrahasta Deva III	S S 984	Do.	Do.	Do.	The god Koteśvara is mentioned

13	Epigraphical Report (Madras) 1919	App. A, No. 3	Vajrahasta III	S.S. 971	Do.	Vrihat Kōdila	Do	
14	Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIV, No. 27	Purle plates	Indravarma, son of Dānārnava	143rd year (Kalinga era)	Kūraka-rāsh-tra	Bhukkukura grama	Dantapura	
15	Do Vol. XI, No. 14	Narasipatam plates	Vajrahasta III	S.S. 967	Gorasatta	District beyond the Tampava Village	Dantipura	
16	Do Vol. XV, No. 14	Dhanantara plates	Sāmantavarma	...	Homani Bhoga	Vatagrama	Svetakādhish-thāna	
17	Do. Vol. IX, No. 14	Ganjam plates	PrithivivarmaDeva, son of Mahendra-varma	..	Janthouvara	Grāma-dvayam-Dola	Do.	
18	Epigraphical Report (Madras) 1918, App A, No 9	Vishamagiri plates	Sri Indravarma Deva	...	Jalamvora	Amera Singa	Do	
19	Archæol. Sur. of S. India, Tamil and Sanskrit, old series	No. 18	Indravarma	146th year (Kalinga era)	Korosataka pānchāli	Tālamūla	Kalinga-nagara	
20	Indian Antiquary, Vol XVI, 1889, No 169	Parlakimidi plates	Indravarma	91st year	Devanna pānchāli	Khettata	Do.	The king's epithet 'Rājasimha'
21	Ep. Report (Madras) 1921, App. A, No. 1	Parlakimidi plates	Devendravarma, son of Gunārnava	184th year	Pushyagiri pānchāli	Huduvaka	Do	
22	Do 1919, App A, No. 3	...	Vajrahasta III	S S 971	Ērāda	Sattivāda	Do.	
23	Ep. Ind Vol. IV, No 24	Nadagam plates	Do.	S.S 979	Do	Vēlpura, Poduru Vādām, Muringam Devarima, Chikidima, Gudia, etc	Do.	These villages were formed into Vēlpura district
24	Ep Ind, Vol. III, No. 31	Parlakimidi plates	Vajrahasta Deva's time, Dāraparāja	...	Pancha Vishaya, Lanka-kōna	Hossandi	Kalinga nagara	
25	Ep. Report (Madras) 1918, App. A, No. 12	Mandasa plates	Anantavarma Deva	S.S. 976	Pancha-Vishaya, Mahendra bhōga	Madhipat-thera konda	Do.	

LIST OF COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE GANGA KINGS OF KALINGA BROUGHT TO LIGHT TILL NOW *(Concluded).*

Serial No.	Where noticed and number	Name	Donor	Year	Vishaya	Village	Place of Issue	Remarks
26	Ind Ant, Vol. XVIII, No 178	Vizagapatam plates	Anantavarma-Choda-gangadeva	S S. 1003	Samvā	Chākivāda	..	The village was given to the god Rājarājēśvara at Rēngujed
27	Do do. No 179	Do.	Do	S.S 1040	Do.	Tāmara-khandi	..	
28	Do do. No. 180	Do	Do	S S 1057	Sammag	Samuda	..	
29	Do. Vol. XIV, No. 152	Chicacole plates	Satyavarma Deva	351st year (Kalinga era)	Galela	Tāru-grāma	Kalinga-nagara	
30	Do Vol. XVIII, No 177	Vizagapatam plates	Devēndravarma, son of Anantavarma Deva	254th year	Dēvadāma-davam	Tāduva, Māsina Pud-ila, Sōliga, Mududa	Do.	
31	Ep Report (Madras) 1918, App A, No 13	Mandasa plates	Rājendradeva, son of Anantavarma Deva	342nd year	Sailāda	Tāmvaddi	Do	
32	Do. 1919, App. A, No. 7	Chicacole plates	Devendravarma, son of Rajendravarma	.	Pushkarini	Virintika	..	
33	Ep Report (Madras) 1919, App. A, No 6	...	Anantavarma Choda ganga deva, son of Rājarāja and Rāja-sundari	S S 1006	Rūpāvartini	Sellāda	.	This village was given to an inhabitant of Tālagrāma for the worship of the goddess Bhagavati at Sellāda
34	Ep Ind., Vol. III, No. 3	Alamanda plates	Anantavarma Deva, son of Rājendravarma Deva	304th year (Kalinga era)	Trikatu	Medelāka	...	
35	Ep. Report (Madras) 1919, App A, No 5	..	Madhukāmārnava Deva, son of Ananta-varma	526th year	.	Patugrama Hondoro-bādo Morakhini	..	
36	Do do No. 8	...	Anantavarma Deva, son of Devendra-varma	...	Kantaka-vartini	.	.	

THE KOSAR AND THE VAMBA MORIYAR.

BY K. G. SESHA AIYAR, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

\T p. 596 of the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Dr. Barnett, vriting about the Kōśar, says:—"From the references of the poets to them t would seem that they once made an unsuccessful attack on Mōgūr, and ound allies in the Vamba Mōriyar or 'Bastard Mauryas,' possibly a branch of he Konkani Mauryas." The statement is apparently based on lyric No. 251 f the Ahanānūṛu collection, and possibly also on some passages in Chapter I of Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Beginnings of South Indian History*, vhere he considers the question of the Mauryan invasion of South India. The learned professor has stated there that the Kōśar formed the advance uard of the Mauryan army of invasion, and administered a crushing defeat pon their enemies near Potiyil hill, in the south-western corner of Madura; ut as the Chief of Mōgūr declined to submit to them, the Mauryas advanced outh to subjugate him. He has quite recently reiterated that view in his rticle on *The Kōśar of Tamil Literature*, which appeared in the issue of the ournal of the Royal Asiatic Society for October last. The names of Dr. Barnett and Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar justly carry so much weight that ne would feel inclined to accept their statements without reservation. Nevertheless, in this instance, I venture to doubt if their conclusions are upported by ancient Tamil literature, on which alone they profess to rely.

The questions that arise are:— (i) Did the Kōśar form the advance arty of a foreign army that invaded the Tamil country? (ii) Did they gain a ictory at Potiyil hill? (iii) Were they the enemies of the Mōgūr chieftain? v) Who were the Vamba Mōriyar, and did they invade South India? I am iclined to think that, on all these questions, both Dr. Barnett and Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar have probably erred. They seem to have proceeded n a wrong interpretation of Ahanānūṛu 251, which is the most important oem in this connection. That lyric tells us of the attempt of a faithful naid-servant to console her mistress who is in distress on account of her usband's long absence in a distant land. The attendant says that several nessengers have already been sent to him, and if he receives the news of her ondition from any one of them, he will not stay away even for all the abulous riches of Nanda. The maid then reminds her mistress that the land o which he has gone is far, far away, beyond the distant mountain. It is ere that the passage relating to the Kōśar, Mōgūr and the Vamba 'Mōriyar'

occurs; and everything depends upon the correct interpretation of the passage. The original is as follows:—

Vel kodi-t-
tunai kālanna punai tēr-k-kōśar
ton mūtālat-tarum paṇai-p potiyil
innisai muraśam kadip-pigut-tiranga-t-
temmunai citaitta ñānṛai Mōgūr
paṇiyāmaiyiṛ pakaitalai vanta
mākeṛu tānai vampa mōriyar
punaitēr nēmi yruliya kuṛaitta
vilanku vel laṛuviya vaṛaivā yumpar.

The English rendering would be: Beyond the mountain pass shining with cascades, which the Vamba Mōriyar lowered for the wheels of their ornamented cars to roll along, when with a large army they came intent on war, because Mōgūr would not submit in the days when the Kōśar, possessed of the victorious flag and swift decorated cars, destroyed the enemies in the battle field and (thus) enabled the sweet music of their drums to resound in the assembly ground underneath the ancient banian tree with its mighty spreading branches. This passage shows that the Kōśar were regarded as invincible in war; and relying on the well-known prowess of the Kōśar, the Mōgūr chief treated with disdain the Vamba Mōriyar, a foreign people who made a hostile march towards the Tamil country. It will be noticed that to the ears of the Tamil poet the sound of the Kōśar's war-drum as it resounded in the assembly ground was 'sweet music' (in-isai); and this it could not be unless the Kōśar were a friendly people. That the Kōśar were the friends and allies of the Mōgūr chief is also seen from *Madurai-Kanci*, another Śangam work like Ahanānūṛu, where the poet tells us that the presence of the Kōśar brought fame and lustre to Mōgūr's kingdom (*Madurai-Kanci* vl. 508-9). It was the consciousness that he had the help of the Kōśar that made the Mōgūr chief so bold. The Vamba Mōriyar were an enemy people, who apparently came on an expedition of conquest; but there is no warrant in Tamil literature so far as I know for holding that the Kōśar formed their advance guard or were in alliance with them in their expedition. On the other hand, the oldest Tamil works like Ahanānūṛu invariably refer to the Kōśar in eulogistic terms as a trustworthy and truthful people, celebrated for their valour (*Cf.* Ahanānūṛu 15; 196; 205; 251; 262). They inhabited Tuḷu-Nādu (Aha. 15) and, perhaps at a later period, also Kongu-Nādu (Śilappadhikāram), within the limits of the Tamil country. Of course they had their occasional fights with some chiefs of the Tamil land, who were their neighbours (*Cf.* Aha. 196; Kuruntokai 73); as, indeed, all the Tamil kings and

chiefs had in those remote days; but nowhere is found any statement or indication that the Kōšar were a new arrival in the land, or that they were a non-Tamil people in alliance with hostile foreigners

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is responsible for the statement that the Kōšar 'administered a crushing defeat on their enemies near Potiyil hill : and for this he relies on the Ahanānūṛu lyric above quoted. He has, I am afraid, misunderstood the meaning of *potiyil* which occurs there. The word has no reference to Potiyil Hill at all; but it means 'the place of assembly,' the tract of open land outside the town used by the inhabitants for common purposes. In this instance, the poet says that the assembly ground was marked by an ancient, spreading banian tree. (Ton-mūtu-ālattu-aium-paṇai-potiyil.) This identical line occurs also in Kuruntokai 15 in connection with the Kōšar. The very description shows it was not the mountain Potiyil that the poet intended; there is absolutely no attribute of a mountain mentioned, and so the alleged victory of the Kōšar at Potiyil Hill should be rejected as a myth.

A word now about the 'Vamba Mōriyar'. Who were they? Pandit Rāghava Aiyangar of the Tamil Lexicon Committee, Madras, says that the poet's reference is to the Guptas; Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar maintains that the expression refers to the imperial Mauryas of Magadha; and Dr. Barnett, and perhaps Mr. T. N. Subramaniam also, understand it to refer to the Konkani Mauryas of the South. They are not all agreed about the meaning of the term *Vampa* in this connection; but whether we assign to it its original meaning of 'unstable' or the secondary or derived meaning of 'new' or 'useless', it seems to me we can hardly take the expression *Vamba mōriyar* to refer to the Konkani Mauryas. The Konkani Mauryas were apparently an insignificant people. 'Petty Mauryan dynasties,' says Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India* (3rd Edition, p. 195), 'apparently connected in some unknown way with the imperial line, ruled in the Konkan, between the Western Ghats and the sea, and in some other parts of Western India, during the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, and are frequently mentioned in inscriptions.' The inscriptions mention them with such small tribes as the Nalas and the Kadambas; and besides, the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II refers to the Konkani Mauryas in terms not flattering to their military prowess. They were not a formidable people, renowned in war; and so far as I know, they do not seem to have ever attempted any daring conquest. The description of the 'Mōriyar' that is found in the Ahanānūru lyrics leaves no room for doubt that they were a powerful, venturesome people, whose army crossed a distant mountain on an expedition to the south; and that description cannot suit the Konkani Mauryas, or the unsettled freebooters, as

Mr. Subramaniam says, on the border of the Tuḷu land. There are three lyrics in the Ahanānūṛu collection where the expression 'Mōriyar' occurs; they are Nos. 69, 251, and 281. In all the three poems, the passage of their war chariots through the mountain pass, which they are said to have cut low *(kuṛaitta)* for the purpose, receives prominent mention. Apparently the mountain had been thought to be impassable; and the daring feat of these foreigners who crossed it with their huge cars so excited the imagination of the Tamil poets that they explained it by saying that the invaders had cut a pass through the mountain. What is certain is that a warlike people, whose country lay beyond a distant mountain had crossed it on a hostile expedition with the full equipment of war. It is almost impossible that these people could be the Konkani Mauryas.

Were they the Guptas? Pandit M. Rāghava Aiyangar, a Tamil scholar of acknowledged ability, entertains the view that the expression *Vamba Mōriyar* denotes the army of Samudragupta that invaded South India; and in this view he is supported by Prof. Ramaswami Aiyangar (*vide Śeran Śenkuṭṭuvan*, and *Studies in South Indian Jainism*). I had taken the liberty on a former occasion to doubt whether the generally accepted or orthodox estimate of Samudragupta's military achievements was not considerably exaggerated, and referred to the view of Dr. Dubreuil in support. However that be, there is no evidence, so far as I know, that Samudragupta invaded South India; and the suggestion of Mr. Ramaswami Aiyangar that 'small expeditions might have been sent by him to effect an entry into the Tamilakam' does not appeal to me. It seems to me that both the learned Pandit and the learned Professor have sought to assign a forced meaning to '*Mōriyar*'. Their suggestion is that the poet, who was contemporary or nearly so with the incident he narrated referred to them as *Vamba* Mōriyar or *new* Mauriyar in contradistinction to the *old* Mauryas, the imperial Mauryas of Magadha; and Prof. Ramaswami Aiyangar makes the further suggestion that Māmūlanār, the author of the Tamil poem, gives us, perhaps, a bit of the history of the origin of the Gupta dynasty by calling the Guptas, new Mauryas (p. 139, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*), though in a previous page (p. 137) he says: 'Our point is that there has been a confusion in the mind of Māmūlanār himself in regard to Gupta ancestry.' However, he recognizes that 'the difficulty of identifying the Mauryas of Māmūlanār with the forces of Samudragupta is no doubt very great.' (p. 136.) Pandit Rāghava Aiyangar's identification was based on an incorrect reading and a wrong interpretation of Samudragupta's pillar inscription; and the halting support that Mr. Ramaswami Aiyangar extends to that identification is based on several suppositions or assumptions and not one proved or accepted fact of history.

Were they the imperial Mauryas? Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says they were. He seems to think that his view derives support from the mention by the same poet in another lyric (Atah. 265) of the hiding in the Ganges of the wealth which the Nandas had accumulated in Pātalipura. 'Hence' he says, 'the expression *Vamba Mōriyar*, the Maurya *novi homines*, is justified in respect of this author and his contemporaries' (*Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 89). In spite of the natural temptation to equate the 'Mōriyar' of the Ahanānūṛu lyrics—supposing that is the correct reading—with the imperial Mauryas, I feel considerable difficulty in doing so. Having regard to Tamil literary usage, it seems to me that before the word Mōriyar comes into literary use, the term *Mauryar* of which the other is a corruption, must have been well-known to Tamil literature; but there does not seem to be any instance in classical Tamil literature where the word *Mauriyar* appears. Obviously the ancient Tamil poets did not know that word, and it could not, therefore, have been subjected to any process of phonetic alteration by them, with a view to easier pronunciation or otherwise. The use of a word in its normal form must be familiar before a modified form springs up in use as the result of phonetic tendencies. Thus we have in Tamil works both *Kausikan* and *Kōsikan*, *Gautaman* and *Gōtaman*; but nowhere in Tamil literature are the *Kauriyar* spoken of as *Koriyar*, or the *Kauniyar* referred to as *Kōniyar*. I know that, according to the old Pāli works, the Buddhist republic of *Mōriyas* existed at Pipphalivana, long before the imperial Mauryas of the Magadha kingdom; but they do not appear to have been a warrior clan, and it is not suggested that they are the people referred to in *Ahanānūṛu*.

However, I am not satisfied that *Mōriyar* is the correct reading. The Ahanānūṛu collection has just recently been printed; but it cannot be said that it has been critically edited. In a manuscript copy that I have seen, ***pōliyar*** occurs instead of *Mōriyar* in poem 69, and *Moṛiyā* (மொறியா) instead of *Mōriyar* in poem 281. In poem 251, *Vampa Mōriyar* is found in the manuscript also, but otherwise the reading there is in several respects different from what we find in the printed copy. However, there is a poem in the Puṛa-nānūṛu collection from which assistance may be derived. In Puṛam 175, we have

viṇ poru nedunkudai yiyarēr ōriyar
tin katir-t-tikari tiritara-k. kuṛaitta
. . . . aṛaivāi.

With this we may compare Ahanānūṛu 69, where almost the identical lines occur. We have in the printed edition,

viṇ poru nedu varai yiyaṛēr mōriyar
pon punai tikari tiritara-k-kuṛaitta
varai.

and, as quoted in Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Beginnings of South Indian History*,

vin poru nedunkudai yiyarer mōriyar
pon punai tikari tiritara-k-kuraitta
varai.

We have in Ahanānūru 251,

vampa mōriyar
punai ter nēmi yuruḷiya kuraitta
. . . . araivāi.

and in Ahanānūru 281,

mōriyar
oḷ katir tikari yuruḷiya kuraitta
varai.

In all these passages, the reference is to the same event, as the language of the extracts shows. It is, however, significant, that while in the Ahanānūru poems the deed is ascribed to the *Mōriyar*, the Puranānūru lyric ascribes it to the *ōriyar*. Which of these two readings is incorrect, *Ōriyar* or *Mōriyar?* While one cannot yet be certain of the text of the Ahanānūru poems, which have not been critically examined and edited, the Puranānūru collection has been carefully edited by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar, with its old invaluable commentary; and the ancient scholiast, who takes care to notice the existence of different readings in his commentary under each poem, and has noticed under lyric No. 175 itself several textual variations from those he has himself adopted, as actually known to exist, does not say that there existed for *ōriyar* an alternative reading *mōriyar*. We cannot possibly impute to him ignorance of the passages in Ahanānūru; and if, as a matter of fact, the reading *mōriyar* in the passages from Ahanānūru be the correct one, it is strange that having regard to the striking similarity of language and the manifest allusion to the same event in both the works, the commentator of Puranānūru not only adopted a misreading like *ōriyar*, but totally ignored the existence of even a possible alternative reading like *mōriyar*. There is no mention of mōriyar at all in the commentary; and from this it may not unreasonably be inferred that not only was *ōriyar* the only reading current in his day and traditionally accepted as the correct reading in the Puranānūru passage, but also that *mōriyar* was not the current reading in the Ahanānūru passages even in his day. The conclusion, then, seems to be irresistible that *mōriyar* is a mistaken reading for *ōriyar*. The Commentator says that the term *ōriyar* denotes the *nāgar* or *viccātarar*. The country of the Nāgar lies beyond the north-eastern corner of India *(Manimēkalai; Mahaparinibhanasutta)*, perhaps about Assam; and the land of the Vidhyatarar

or Chakravālam is also said to lie there, beyond the Himalayas. I take it that the reference in all the passages quoted is, perhaps, to a southerly march into India, through a north-eastern pass of the Himalayas, of a trans-Himalayan martial tribe at some remote period of antiquity, and that there is no allusion to a Maurya or Gupta invasion of the South. Writing in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* in 1917 on the *Date of Chilappadikaram*, I said while reviewing the view expressed by Pandit Rāghava Aiyangar—Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had not then published his view which he has since done with characteristic learning and fulness in his *Beginnings of South Indian History*—: "In the verses from Ahanānūṟu relied on by Sriman Rāghava Aiyangar, there is no mention, either by name or by necessary implication, of any Gupta conqueror of South India . . . . . We know from history that Bindusara Maurya, the successor of Chandragupta Maurya, conquered and brought under his sway a considerable portion of Dakhinapātha or the Dakhan, . . . and may not Māmūlar, even admitting the reading given by Pandit Rāghava Aiyangar of the passage from Ahanānūṟu to be correct, be regarded as referring to one of Bindusara's expeditions? I say, even admitting the reading to be correct; for in the passage from Puṟanānūṟu the expression that is read by Pandit Rāghava Aiyangar as *mōriyar* appears in Mahāmahōpādhyāya Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar's edition as *ōriyar*, which is also the reading adopted by the ancient scholiast in his commentary on Puṟanānūṟu." The doubt I there expressed about the reading I still retain.

Did these people, whether Ōriyar or Mōriyar, actually come to South India? It is clear their objective was South India; but whether as a matter of fact they reached South India, we cannot definitely say from the materials available. The relevant poem in this connection is Ahanānūṟu 281. For their southward march, the poem says the mōriyar crossed the mountain, sending the Vaḍukar as an advance guard, or, perhaps, opposed by the Vaḍukar. *Vaḍukar munnuṟa* which is the expression occurring in the poem, may bear either of these two meanings; but, perhaps, the former is preferable. Like the 'Mōriyar', the Vaḍukar too are described as *vampa* Vaḍukar (Aha. 375); and they were obviously a ferocious people, as their frequent description *Katanāi vaḍūkar*, Vaḍukar fierce as dogs, would show (*vide* Aha. 107; 381). If they came as the vanguard of the Mōriyar army, they sustained an ignominious and crushing defeat at the hands of the Chola Perum-cenni (Aha. 375); and we do not hear of any conquest or occupation of the Tamil land by the 'Mōriyar'. Perhaps, for some reason or other, the 'Mōriyar' never entered South India, though the language of Aha. 281, (tenriśai mātira munniya varaviṟku) undoubtedly shows that was the point towards which their advance was originally directed.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SIVA-WORSHIP WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VIRASAIVISM.

BY R. RAMA RAO, ESQ., B.A.

(Continued from last issue.)

Pratyabhijna School: Kashmir Saivism.

ANOTHER school of Śaivism which is dealt with in Sarvadarśanasangraha is the Pratyabhijña school prevalent in Kashmir. The founder of this school was Sōmānanda and its principal text-book is the Pratyabhijñāna sūtras by his disciple Udayākara and commentaries thereon by Abhinavagupta, the last of whom flourished at the end of the tenth century (Bhandarkar's Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, etc., p. 130). According to this, God illumines the whole world by the glory of His luminous intelligence, and the diversity or plurality of the object world whereby the light which irradiates objects is a blue, a yellow light and the like, arises from diversity of tint cast upon the light by the objects, through the efficacy of His will: this activity is creativeness. With what materials did God construct this universe? He painted this world-picture without materials, without appliances, without a wall to paint it on. With regard to the soul and its re-births, etc., this school says: The soul does not feel his oneness with God, because he is blinded by illusion and therefore undergoes transmigration. But when he is led by his preceptor to realize His divine nature he attains salvation.

Another school of Śaivism in Kashmir is the Spanda school whose chief sacred authority is the Śivasūtras which are believed to have been revealed to Vasugupta by Śiva. His period is believed to be the beginning of the ninth century and the doctrines that are inculcated by him are similar to those of the Pratyabhijña system or Śaiva-Siddhānta.

Saivism in the Tamil Land or Saiva-Siddhanta.

Śaivism had a large following in the Drāvida or Tamil country and an extensive literature has been produced in Tamil language pertaining to that religion. A large number of hymns known as the Dēvaram were composed by three Śaiva saints, Tiruñānasambandhar, Appar and Sundarar. These are held to be as sacred as the Brahmanical Vedas and are recited in religious processions along with them. We find that as early as the reign of the Chōla king Rājarāja who ascended the throne in 985 A.D., a grant was made in the Rājarājēśvari temple at Tanjore for the support of the reciters of the Tiruppadiyam of Tiruñānasambandhar (S. I. I., II, p. 252). In addition to the

Dēvaram hymns there are also other sacred works in Tamil connected with Śaivism, chief among these being the writings of Māṇikkavāsāgar, a philosopher, Kaṇḍarādītya, a king, and Tirumūlar, a yogin. Śaivism of the Tamil land differs from that of North India in the following respects: It is free from the bloody sacrifices and revolting practices of the Kāpālikas. It regards the Vedas and Āgamas as its scriptures. Śiva is regarded as the author of both. The Vedas are intended for the twice-born while the Āgamas are intended for all. The Āgamas like the Suprabhēda, Kāraṇa, Kiraṇa, etc., are all in Sanskrit and deal with the philosophy and ritual of Śaivism. In addition to these the Dēvaram hymns and other sacred Tamil works are all held in high esteem.

Certain devotees of Śiva, sixty-three in number, known as Nāyanārs, some of whom are the authors of Dēvāram hymns, are held by the Southern Śaivas in as much reverence as the Brahman *rishis*. Their lives are written in a work called Periyapurāṇam. Their images are set up in most of the important Śaiva temples of the south and worshipped on all ceremonial occasions. These *Nāyanārs* or devotees of Śiva belonged to different castes. Among them may be mentioned: (1) Tiruñānasambandhar who probably lived in the first half of the seventh century A.D. and sang the praise of Śiva in all the Śaivite shrines in the South which he visited. He next went to Madura, where the queen-consort and her prime minister were the only followers of Śiva and the rest Jainas. The saint boldly met the Jainas in argument, conquered them and converted the king. With his consent 8000 of the Jainas who refused to change their faith were impaled. (2) Tirunāvukkarasu commonly called Appar, who belonged to Vellāḷa caste. Although brought up by a loving elder sister as a devotee of Śiva he changed his faith for Jainism. But after some time he was tormented by severe pain throughout the body and finding that all the remedies the Jainas could think of were of no avail went to his sister and was re-converted to Śaivism. At once the pain disappeared. The Jainas regarded him as a renegade and persecuted him by throwing him into a lime-kiln but he was unhurt. Pictures show him holding in his hand a little tool for scraping grass, with which he used to scrape the stones of the temple courts. (3) Sundaramūrti, a Brahman, who probably lived in the early part of the ninth century and who however did not adhere to his caste rules but married a dancing-girl and also a Vellāḷa girl and when overcome by family troubles composed fervent hymns in praise of Śiva. (4) Kaṇṇappa of Bēḍar caste who offered to *linga* the meat which he got from hunting and when, to test him, blood issued from an eye of the linga, he at once, without any further ado, scooped out his own eye and put it on the linga in the place of the eye from which blood was flowing.

Later when blood flowed from the other eye of the linga, Kaṇṇappa was about to pluck out his other eye also joyfully but the god stopped him and allowed him to remain permanently to his right at Kāḷahasti, a place some miles off from Conjeevaram. (5) Nandanār, a pariah who frequently tried to go to Chidambaram but would not enter its sacred precincts on account of his low caste. (6) Siruttoṇḍa Nāyanār, a Brahman who, in order to satisfy a Śaiva devotee of the North, killed his own son Śiriyāḷa and cooked his flesh. But the pretended devotee who was none other than Śiva miraculously revived the boy.

The philosophy of Southern Śaivism is explained in the Sarvadarśanasangraha under the heading Śaivadarśana. Some of the works relating to this sect being in Tamil were not easily understood by scholars for a long time but many of them have been since translated into English and published mostly in the Journal, Siddhānta Dīpika. According to this system Soul is different from God. It is formless and all-pervasive but unlike that of *achit* or matter. Its *Vyāpaka* (or pervading power) consists in becoming one with the thing it dwells in for the time being (body or God). Its eternal intelligence and power is eternally concealed by the *Pāśa* (bondage), *Ānavamala* and hence called Paśu (Śivajñāna Siddhiar of Aruṇandi Śivāchārya: III, 2-20). There are three subtle *avasthas* (states) of the soul. In the *Kēvalāvasthā* the soul is non-intelligent, not united to Rāgam and other Gunas, is actionless; but it is united to Ānava. In the *Sakalā* the soul gets a body, and becomes clothed with the various organs and senses, internal and external, and the desire to enjoy the objects of the senses and re-incarnates in different births. In the *Śuddhāvasthā* the soul becomes balanced in good and evil. The grace of the lord descends on him. He gets his Guru's blessing. He attains to Jñāna Yōga Samādhi and is freed from the triple mala (impurities, *viz.*, Āṇava-mala, Karma-mala and Māyā-mala). He ceases to be finite in intelligence and becoming omniscient he is united to the feet of the Lord (*Ibid.*, III, 3,38). The Lord like the potter, creates the worlds from Māyā as the material cause with the aid of His Śakti as the instrumental cause. As the Soul is attached to its forms and organs and is yet separate from the body, so also is God attached to the souls. However, the souls cannot become God and God cannot become the souls. God is one and different from the souls (*Ibid.*, III, 2, 2).

The four ways of reaching God are *Sanmārga*, *Sahamārga*, *Satputrāmārga* and *Dāsamārga*. These four are also called Jñāna and Yōga, Kriyā and Charyā-pādas. They will respectively lead one to *Sāyujya*, *Sārūpya*, *Sāmīpya* and *Sālōka* kinds of Mukti. The first kind of Mukti attained by Jñāna-mārga is the final bliss (*Para-mukti*); the rest are called *Pada-mukti*

or way to Mukti (*Ibid.*, III, 2, 18). From this it is evident that the religion of this sect is a kind of qualified monism in which stress is laid on Jñāna or knowledge of God.

The Birth of Virasaiva or Lingayat Sect.

We have seen before that from the ninth century to the fifteenth century the Kālāmukha sect flourished throughout the Karṇātaka country. Its priests controlled the leading educational institutions and Śaiva temples. But the teachings of this sect were in Sanskrit, the language of the Pandits and based on an elaborate study of the Vedas, Smṛitis, Purāṇas, etc. Their gurus or priests were generally Brahmans who alone could find the leisure to master the learned works of the sect. Their teachings therefore failed to appeal to the masses. From about the eighth century A.D., the teachings and the achievements of the Tamil Śaiva saints spread to Karṇātaka also. Frequent wars between the Chōḷa and Chalukya kings in the eleventh century and the conquest of a portion of Mysore by the Chōḷas furthered the intercourse between the Kannaḍigars and the Tamils. As a result of the spread of Tamil Śaivism in the Karnātaka, several devotees of Śiva rose in the Karṇātaka country also, their deeds emulating those of the sixty-three saints. The names of a few such teachers can be found in Vīraśaiva works where they are treated with the same respect as the sixty-three Nāyanārs or Purātanars, as they are called in Kannaḍa. But the new movement lacked organization and political support, and was led mostly by ignorant men. It fell to the lot of an Ārādhya Brāhmaṇa named Basava to give a definite shape to its teachings, organize it on a strong and popular basis, and attract all classes of people, learned and ignorant, Brahman and Non-Brahman, to join it, and bring it political support. The Śaiva movement as shaped and reformed by him is known as the Vīraśaiva or Lingāyat religion.

The Aradhyas and Aradhya Brahmanas.

Basava however never claimed to have established a new religion. His followers, the Vīraśaivas or Lingāyats, acknowledge as their original gurus five saints called Pancha Ārādhyas, who are believed to have been born from the five faces of Śiva and as such are considered to be holy beings who give dīkshā or initiation to all the Śaiva devotees on earth. Their names are Rēvaṇasiddha, Maruḷasiddha, Ēkōrāma, Paṇḍitārādhya and Viśvārādhya. Their names are invoked even to-day when the Lingāyat guru ties the *linga* to the child or gives him dīkshā. During this ceremony five metallic vessels are placed before the person to be initiated, four in the cardinal directions and the last in the middle to represent them. Certain Lingāyat mutts trace their spiritual descent from them. But very little is known about their history. According to a Kannaḍa poem called Rēvaṇasāngatya by

Channabasavakavi, one of these gurus called Rēvaṇa or Rēṇuka was born at Kollipāka and lived for seven hundred years. He is said to have taught to sage Agastya the eight-fold Yōga, worship of Linga, and to have helped Vibhīshana, brother of Rāvaṇa to set up four crores of lingas. Though his naked figure caused a great deal of scorn still the miracles he worked brought him great fame and several kings are said to have given their daughters in marriage to the ascetic. He is reputed to have gone to king Bijjaḷa at Kalyāṇa, dissuaded him from his nefarious project of sacrificing twelve thousand virgins in order to attain some *siddhi* (supernatural power), married his daughter and constructed a tank at which he and his wives worked with the spade. Finally he departed for Kollipāka leaving a child named Rudramuni behind him and disappeared in the Sōmēśvara-linga at that place. In spite of the legends in which the work abounds it furnishes a clue to his time by the mention of king Bijjaḷa at Kalyāṇa. Further he is also stated to have gone to Sonnalige and there foretold the birth of Basava's associate Siddharāma to his parents. From this we may infer that Rēvaṇa and the other Ārādhyas were Śaiva teachers of great distinction in the Karṇātaka country who preceded Basava by some years and that their methods of initiation and to some extent their teaching were adopted by him and his associates.

In this connection we must also notice the features of the Ārādhya Brāhmaṇa sect to which Basava belonged by birth and from which he seceded later. Members of this sect are found mostly in the four Northern Districts of the Madras Presidency and to a smaller extent in the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts and Mysore State. They revere the Ārādhyas previously mentioned. In all their social and religious functions, birth, marriage, initiation and funeral, four vases of water are solemnly placed in their name and they are invoked to preside over them. They are staunch Śaivites worshipping no god but Śiva, but wear the Brahmanical sacred thread and linga and offer their food as *naivēdyam* to the linga. Like the other Brahmanas they observe caste and the Vedic ceremonies and accept the Vedas and Smṛitis as their sacred scriptures. But like the Lingāyats they bury the dead in the sitting posture. They observe death-pollution for ten days though they do not give up linga-worship during the period and perform the ēkōddshta and a few other Brahmanical ceremonies for their progenitors. From a Telugu work published by the Āndhrasahityaparishad at Madras recently entitled *Śivatatvasāramu* by Mallikārjunapaṇḍitārādhya, a contemporary of Basava and an Ārādhya Brāhmaṇa, we learn that they accept the definitions of Paśu, Pāśa and Paśupati of the Southern Śaiva school and are like them followers of a qualified monism and opposed to the Advaita of Śankara (see stanzas 21-80 of that work). We also find in the same work reverence paid to the

Brahmanas, Vedas and Vedic ceremonies (Verses 20, 28, 33, 101). But all the oblations, and the karmas laid down in the Vedas, Purāṇas, etc., are considered useless if they are done without devotion to Śiva (Verse 113). In other respects such as the worship of linga, Jangamas, dīkshā and the forbidding of intercourse with the non-Śaivas, etc., they resemble the Lingāyats. At present there is however very little social intercourse between the Ārādhya Brāhmanas and the ordinary Lingāyats.

Life and Work of Basava.

We shall now study the life of Basava who was chiefly instrumental in giving the present shape to the Vīraśaiva religion and spreading it and who in a restricted sense may even be called its founder. We have several works dealing with his life. There are three poetry works in Kannaḍa language treating of his life written by the Vīraśaivas: (1) Basavapurāṇa (of 1369 A.D.) based upon a Sanskrit work Vṛishabhāvatarana of Pālkuriki Sōmanātha, (2) Chennabasavapurāṇa (of 1585 A.D.) by Virūpāksha, (3) Prabhudēvacharite (of 1606 A.D.) by Harīśvara. We have also a Jaina book in Kannaḍa poetry called Bijjaḷarājacharitre by Dharaṇīndra which gives a view of the history of Bijjaḷa and Basava from the standpoint of the Jainas.* Another work called Bijjaḷānkakāvya is referred to in Mr. Rice's Mysore Gazetteer of 1897 (Vol. I, p. 332).

His Birth and Early Life.

The Jaina book says very little about the early life of Basava. According to the Vīraśaiva accounts Basava is an incarnation of Śiva's Bull or Nandī sent on earth to revive the Vīraśaiva faith. His father was a Śaiva or Ārādhya Brāhmaṇa named Maṇḍige Mādirāja at Ingalēśvara Bāgavāḍi. His mother's name was Mādāmbike. For a long time the parents had no male issue. They therefore prayed to Nandi, or Bull-god, the vehicle of Śiva, to bless them with a good son who would be a true devotee of Śiva. As a result of their prayer a son was born to them, whom they named Basavā in honour of Vṛishabha or the bull-god (Basava is a Kannaḍa form of the Sanskrit word *Vṛishabha*). Soon after the child was born Śiva appeared in the guise of a Jangama (priest) and tying a linga to it disappeared suddenly. As years passed by, the child Basava grew into a boy of extraordinary precocious intellect and at the early age of eight was well-versed in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, poetry, music, Purāṇas, Āgamas and Vedas. His father now proposed to invest him with the sacred thread agreeable to his Brahman custom. But Basava stoutly refused to undergo the ceremony. He said " Where is the necessity for *Upanayanam* to me when the god Śiva

* This work has not yet been published. I have made use of a MS. copy of this book available in the Oriental Library, Mysore, for this article

himself has initiated me in the true faith at my birth ? Upanayanam is the gate-way to Brahmanism with its elaborate and useless rites and ceremonies and the worship of inferior gods like the Sun, Fire, etc. Śaivism into which one gets initiated through the hands of a guru is of a different type altogether. It is free from the complex ritual which ties the soul more and more to this world. On the other hand it consists of exclusive devotion to the one true god Śiva and leads to salvation." With these words he left his parental home taking with him his sister Nāgalāmbe. But his firm determination brought him several friends and devotees in the neighbourhood and he soon laid the foundation of his reformed religion. As years went on the Brahmans living in the locality found Basava and his followers so irreconcilable to their religion that they excommunicated them all. Basava who had by this time been reconciled to his parents was now sent away by his mother to her brother Baladēva at Kalyāṇa, the capital of the Kalachurya king Bijjaḷa under whom he was serving as minister (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 3; Prabhudēvacharitre, chapter 6).

His Rise to Power under King Bijjala.

Basava's uncle soon gave his daughter Gangāmbe in marriage to Basava and this marriage brought considerable wealth and influence to Basava. In course of time Baladēva died and Basava was installed in his place by the king. An incident is now said to have occurred which made him highly popular with Bijjaḷa. One day while the king was holding his court a letter fell miraculously from above in the midst of the assembly and none could decipher its contents. The king thereupon declared that in case any person was found able to read it he would make him the chief minister. No one came forward for some time but in the end Basava took the letter, read it and interpreted it as stating to be a communication from Śiva revealing the existence of a large treasure buried under the king's throne. At once the throne was removed and excavation carried on underneath it. The treasure was found there as Basava had stated. The king was struck with admiration at the intelligence and skill of Basava and entrusted him with the office of the chief treasurer and prime minister under him (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 5). He also gave his younger sister Nīlāmbā to him in marriage and thus bound him closely to him (Prabhudēvacharitre, chapter 7). But the Jaina work attributes Basava's sudden rise to quite a different cause. According to it, Bijjaḷa one day saw the handsome sister of Basava standing before her house and was so smitten with her charms as to send for her father and straightway marry her. He now left all the administration of the kingdom to her brother Basava and became absorbed in voluptuous pleasures with the newly married bride (Bijjaḷarājacharitre, chapter 2). Probably

there is an element of truth in both the versions. It must however be noted that Basava only held the post of a treasurer (*bhandāri*) under the king and merely carried on the affairs of the kingdom in the king's name, while the old ministers of the kingdom still remained in office though they were not so powerful. Basava does not seem to have been invested with any high title or office and could only have exercised his power as the king's favourite. This explains the absence of his name in the numerous inscriptions of king Bijjala.

His Missionary Zeal.

Basava used the newly obtained power and wealth for the furtherance of his religious cause. All classes of people were induced to join his religion or become Śivabhaktas (devotees of Śiva). No distinction of caste was made among them and all were treated as equals. They had to give up all caste scruples about ceremonial uncleanliness, constantly wear a linga given by the priest at the time of initiation on their body, and worship it, put on marks of sacred ashes and take only food first offered before the *linga* or a Vīraśaiva guru. He showed great favour to all such as thus became his followers. The Jangamas or the priests who gave initiation or *dīkshā* in the new religion were treated with special liberality. Houses were built for them, they were sumptuously fed thrice a day and presents of cloth and money were freely poured on them. It is said that there were 196,000 Jangamas living on his bounty. Basava was so generous to them that there was hardly anything that he denied to them. It is said that on one occasion when a Jangama coveted the valuable cloth that Basava's wife wore, he began to strip his wife with the object of giving her cloth to the Jangama, but her dress miraculously multiplied and it was possible to satisfy the Jangama without depriving Basava's wife of her cloth (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 11). On another occasion it so happened that when Basava was engaged in linga-worship some Jangama came to his mansion and being refused admittance inside by the door-keepers departed elsewhere. Soon it was found that Basava had suddenly died and hundreds of devotees flocked round his body. But knowing that he was a *Jangama-prāṇin* or one whose life was the Jangama, some of them inquired if any Jangama had arrived there and been sent away. Then the door-keepers told him about the Jangama who had just left and the devotees at once ran in search of him, found him and brought him to where Basava's body lay. Immediately Basava revived (*Ibid.*, chapter 36).

His Co-Workers.

Like all great men Basava gathered around him several able and enthusiastic persons who helped him in his mission. They were men of different castes and professions and of different temperaments. But there was one

thing common to them all. They were all Vīraśaivas filled with zeal in spreading the faith and are said to have worked miracles like Basava. Among them were Maḍivāḷa Māchayya, the washerman, who would carry every day to the tank the foul linen of the Vīraśaiva associates of Basava and wash them clean. No *Bhavi* (non-Vīraśaiva) was permitted to cross him on the way. Once a passer-by who was going to the bazaar suddenly came across him and at once Māchayya pierced him through. This news reached the ears of the king who angrily sent some soldiers with elephants to take him prisoner. But the brave washerman seized both elephants and men and threw them aloft. Basava then induced the king to make peace with him and Māchayya thereupon restored the dead to life (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 21). He also often discoursed on the stories of the Southern Śaiva saints and the duties of the Vīraśaivas. There was also Ēkāntada Rāmayya, a Vīraśaiva Brahman who is said to have defeated in argument the Jainas at Kalyāṇa and when they asked for a supernatural sign, cut off his own head in their presence and recovered it at the end of seven days. The Jainas acknowledged themselves beaten and were converted into Vīraśaivas or Lingāyats and their *bastis* became Śiva temples (Basavapurāna, chapter 52). This Ēkāntada Rāmayya is referred to in an inscription at Āblūr as having worsted the Jainas etc, and Dr. Fleet regards him as the founder of the Vīraśaiva religion but there is nothing in the inscription to support such a statement (Ep. Ind., Vol. v, p. 243). There were also round Basava the weaver Dāsimayya, the dancer *(Kalakēta)* Bommayya, the violinist Bommayya, Bibbi Bāchayya and Śivanāgamayya and a host of others all of whom are said to have worked miracles and gained converts to their faith. Many of these names are also referred to with praise in Mallikārjuna-paṇḍita's Telugu work *Śivatatvasāramu* referred to before.

Siddharama, Allama Prabhu and Chennabasava.

A more detailed notice is necessary, however, as regards the three famous colleagues of Basava who along with him may be regarded as the pillars of the reformed religion. These were Chennabasava, his nephew, Allama Prabhu, a wandering ascetic and Siddharāma, the chief of Sonnalige. There are separate purāṇas among the Vīraśaivas describing the life and achievements of the above. Chennabasava was the son of Basava's sister Nāgalāmbe. She was a virgin but by the miraculous power of the *prasāda* of the saint Kakkayya which she ate she became pregnant. The news spread like wild fire throughout Kalyāṇa and the king himself went to the mansion of Basava to ascertain the truth. Nāgalāmbe then appeared before the king and courtiers and tore open her womb with her nails and lo! the child inside which looked like Śiva was seen by all and a mysterious voice was heard to say "This is the incarnation of the *Chitkalā* (intellectual power) of Śiva and no ordinary

human fœtus". Bijjala was astounded at this and honoured Basava greatly. In due course the child was born and named Chennabasava or the beautiful Basava (Chennabasavapurāna, Book 1, chapter 4). The Jaina version calls Basava's sister Sumitra and gives a more human account of his birth (Bijjaḷarāja-charita, chapter 8). Chennabasava was remarkable for his intelligence, sagacity, and thorough mastery of the Vīraśaiva rites and doctrines and is regarded as even superior to Basava. He was the right-hand man of his uncle and was also much respected by the Jangamas and even by the king. Allamaprabhu was the son of royal parents, Nirahankāra and Sujñāni at Balligāmve (Belgāme in Shikarpur taluk, Mysore State). At an early age he left his home and wandered about in the land like Rēvanārādhya teaching wisdom to such as desired it. At Banavase the princess Māyā, who was no other than a partial incarnation of the goddess Pārvati, fell in love with him and tried to conquer him by her superior charms. But Prabhudēva who was unaffected by Cupid's arrows made fun of her and leaving her love-stricken and mad left the place. He next wandered to Sonnalapura (near modern Sholapur, Bombay Presidency) where Siddharāma, son of Muddagauḍa was ruling as the chief (the gauḍa of the Nāḍu). Now Siddharāma was regarded as a Siddha, one possessed of miraculous powers and was born with an eye on the forehead resembling Śiva. He had constructed several public works, tanks, canals, etc., and had a large number of followers who implicitly obeyed him as their guru and ruler. While his men were engaged in working at a tank, Prabhu suddenly appeared before them and calling their master as the chief of *vaḍḍas* (earth-workers) spoke contemptuously of him. This news reached Siddharāma who at once repaired to the spot and tried to kill the blasphemous intruder with the fire of his third eye. But Prabhu remained unhurt and Siddharāma now understood the greatness of the stranger and prostrated before him. Prabhu took him to Basava at Kalyāṇa where they were both received with great respect by Chennabasava but Siddharāma could not be permitted to enter Basava's mansion as he had not undergone *dīkshā* in the Vīraśaiva fashion and did not wear a linga on his body. Chennabasava next related to him the stories of Śaiva saints and giving him dīkshā explained to him the mysteries of Vīraśaivism. Siddharāma remained for a time at Kalyāna and then left for Sonnalige. Prabhudēva occasionally paid visits to Basava and delighted the hearts of Vīraśaiva devotees. According to Chennabasavapurāṇa, all the above four are incarnations of Śiva, Prabhudēva representing the *vairāgya* (renunciation) aspect, Basava the *bhakti* (devotion) aspect, Chennabasava the *sujñāna* (knowledge) aspect and Siddharāma is regarded as the *Paḍibimba* (reflection) of Śiva (Chennabasavapurāṇa, Book 1, chapter 3). The other associates of Basava like the violinist Bommayya are said to be

incarnations of Śivagaṇas or hosts of Śiva. Basava's greatness lay in true devotion to such teachers and the wealth and political influence which he brought to their aid and the skilful use he made of them in his propagandistic work.

Basava's Difficulties with the King.

But Basava's path was not strewn with roses and he had to contend with many difficulties. The non-observance of caste, doing away with the Brahmanical rites and ceremonies, disregard of uncleanliness observed during child-birth, death and monthly sickness of women and the contempt with which he and his followers treated the *bhavis* or non-Vīraśaivas made them objects of dislike and hatred both to the Brahmans and the Jainas who repeatedly complained to the king Bijjaḷa (who was a Jaina) against their misdemeanours and called upon him as a true Kshatriya ruler to defend the caste principles. Bijjaḷa therefore had to repeatedly remonstrate with Basava about the misconduct of his followers and even punish them when there was a flagrant breach of old customs. But Basava defended them and the solidarity in his community and the supernatural powers attributed to its members made them all the more feared and hated by other sects. Thus we find that some people (called Kabbilars) once complained to the king that though they had the hereditary right to a share in the food offered to the god in all Śiva temples Basava and his congregation never gave them a morsel of food while they enjoyed grand public dinners. The king sent for Basava and the latter explained that his people only ate what was offered to *ishṭalinga* worn by them and that no remnant of the food so offered could be given to a non-Vīraśaiva. The Kabbilars however were still loud in their complaints. Basava then caused a large quantity of poisons to be mixed and served to his congregation after offering it first to his *ishṭalinga* and they ate heartily and were unhurt. The Kabbilars however were afraid and never again urged their claim (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 58). Once it so happened that Kannada Bommayya, a Śivabhakta and a burglar cut a hole in the wall of the royal treasure-house and entering inside carried off several bags of money. But when the king examined the treasure, he found that everything had been miraculously restored (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 31).

More often, however, the king made fun of Basava's supernatural powers and put them to test. Once he caused some of his mistresses to be dressed like Jangamas wearing rudrāksha rosaries, matted hair, etc., and taking Basava before them told him: "Here are some of your priests." "Yes" said Basava. At once the king explained the trick he had played upon him. Basava answered that he never uttered a lie and the king discovered to his dismay that his mistresses had become real Jangama priests. He next begged Basava to

restore them to their former condition which was instantly effected (Prabhudēvacharite, chapter VII). Similarly when the king once showed a figure stuffed in straw and dressed like a Lingāyat and told Basava that there was one of his followers, Basava said it was true and gave life to the figure by his miraculous power (*Ibid.*, chapter VII). A tale-bearer once reported to the king that Basava while standing before the throne, never performed obeisance to him but really folded his hands paying obeisance to a ring in his own finger. The king naturally grew indignant at this and sent for Basava and asked him to explain his conduct. Basava requested the king to get down from the throne, removed the ring in his finger and folded his hands before the throne. At once the throne suddenly caught fire and was burnt down. Bijjaḷa then understood the real reason of Basava's conduct and Basava restored the throne to its former condition (*Ibid.*, chapter VII).

Basava's Death.

But in spite of the hundred and eight miracles (or *pavāḍas*) said to have been worked by Basava and his political sagacity the relations between him and the king began to grow more and more strained as time went on. According to the Jaina account Basava filled all the highest offices with his followers, squandered the public treasure among his devotees, and devised ways to get more and more converts to his faith. The king was roused to action by repeated complaints from his old and faithful ministers and was going to punish Basava severely but the latter, leaving the capital, collected an army to oppose the king. Bijjaḷa pursued him, destroyed his army and took him prisoner but later forgave him and even restored him to his favour as he was his brother-in-law (Bijjaḷarājacharitre, chapter 3). The birth of a child to Bijjaḷa by his wife Padmāvati soon after increased the influence of Basava still more. He was now uncle to the heir to the throne who was named Aḷiya Bijjala or Immadi Bijjala. Basava now formed a plot to murder the king and become the ruler in the name of his son and managed to get two followers of his employed as king's torch bearers and instigated them to murder the king. But Bijjaḷa found out the trick, and put the torch-bearers to a cruel death (*Ibid.*, chapters 5 & 6). Some time after this one Madhuvarasaiya, a Brahman at Kalyāṇa who was said to have been miraculously cured of the sores in his body by washing them with water brought from a pool adjacent to the house of a cobbler named Araḷayya or Haḷḷayya, gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the said cobbler. This was a horrible sin in the eyes of the king and the caste Hindus. The king at once summoned them to his presence and asked them if the report was true. They confessed that it was true and also stated that Basava had made them Lingāyats and had asked them to murder the king. The king ordered them to be tied to a plough and dragged by bullocks in

public streets till they died (*Ibid.*, chapter 7). In the same way the king is said to have punished with death the followers of Basava, Maḍivāla Māchayya for his disobedience to royal commands (*Ibid.*, chapter 8), Chikkaiya for his adultery and Guṇḍabrahmas for robbery and murder (*Ibid.*, chapter 10). These acts infuriated Basava against the king and he made one more attempt to murder him and was successful this time. Bijjaḷa had left Kalyāna on an expedition to Kolhapur to punish the chief Sūryadaṇḍēśa for refusal to pay him the customary tribute and encamped on the bank of the Bhīmarathi river. The rebellious chief was soon made to submit. At this time a follower of Basava appeared before the king in the guise of a Jaina priest and presented a beautiful-looking poisoned fruit to him. The king received the fruit with reverence and smelt it. At once he felt burning pain all over the body and died shortly after. But his attendants seized the pretended Jaina priest and tortured him. He confessed that he had been instigated by Basava to kill the king by the poisoned fruit. Bijjaḷa's son Aliya Bijjala or Immadi Bijjala now became king. He at once ordered his minister Subuddhi to seize Basava. But Basava who learnt of this fled westwards and reached Vṛishabhapura or Ulivi on the west coast (in N. Kanara District) but the minister soon overtook him and massacred his followers. Finding that no quarter would be given to him Basava fell into a well and died. When this news reached Kalyāṇa his wife Nīlāmbike swallowed poison and put an end to her life. All the treasure in his house was presented to the new king by Chennabasava who remained faithful to the king and was treated with distinction (*Ibid.*, chapter 12).

The above account of Bijjaḷa's murder and Basava's death coming as it does from a later and hostile source cannot be taken to represent a faithful version of the affair. Basava is portrayed in black colours and is represented as ever intent on murdering the king. It is however impossible to believe that Basava who was beholden to the king for his position and who was permitted to exercise great authority by him would have been always plotting for his death. A very strong provocation only could make him think it necessary to punish his benefactor. According to Basavapurāṇa the horrible execution of Araḷayya and Madhuvarasaiya in spite of Basava's advice to the contrary and for no criminal act of theirs caused a strong feeling of revulsion to spring in the hearts of Vīraśaivas towards king Bijjaḷa. Basava thought it time to leave Kalyāṇa and calling his followers to accompany him went to Kūḍaḷisangama at the junction of the Krishṇā and Malaprabhā rivers and was absorbed in the linga at the Sangamēśvara temple at that place. Before leaving the capital, however, he had solemnly ordered two faithful followers of his to inflict death on the king who had unjustly murdered the Vīraśaiva

devotees. They accordingly went in the guise of torch-bearers to the king and killed him at night (Basavapurāṇa, chapter 61). Chennabasavapurāṇa gives further details and a slightly different version. According to this work Basava was not responsible for the king's death. Hearing of the death of Allama Prabhudēva Basava thought it time for him also to depart from this world and repairing to Kūḍali-sangama was absorbed in the lingaṃ. Chennabasava was now installed in his office. Next occurred the execution of Araḷayya and Madhuvarasaiya and the murder of the king by the Vīraśaiva fanatics Jagadēva and Bommaṇṇa in the guise of torch-bearers with the permission of Chennabasava. During the same night Chennabasava departed with his followers for Uḷuve. But the royal army pursued them after the death of Bijjaḷa and overtook them at Taḍegōḍu and a battle was fought at Kātaravalli in which the royal army was killed and Aḷiya Bijjala (son of Bijjala) taken prisoner. But at the intercession of Nāgalāmbe, Chennabasava liberated him, and sent him back with a warning not to persecute the Jangamas and even restored to life the dead soldiers. He next reached Uḷuve where he ordered a large swing to be set up in which he and all his followers were swung one after another, and departed for Śiva's region Kailāsa (Chennabasavapurāṇa, Book V, chapter 9).

Basava's Date.

As Basava's death synchronised with that of king Bijjala whose reign is fixed by inscriptions to have lasted from 1156 to 1168 A.D. we have to infer that Basava died in 1168 A.D. According to Chennabasavapurāna, however, his death is said to have taken place in Śaka year 707 Raktākshi (*Ibid.*, chapter 9) and the Jaina account gives the year of the death of Bijjala as Prabhava, 4255th year after the commencement of the Kali Age, which corresponds to 1154 A.D.

Basava's Teachings : the Tenets of Virasaiva Religion.

Basava was more a social than a religious reformer. In fact, when we consider the times in which he lived when Brahmanism was in full ascendancy and the principle of perfect religious and even social equality among his followers of all castes and professions which he enunciated and carried out in practice in spite of opposition we cannot but be filled with wonder and admiration for his genius and courage. Kabir, Nanak and Ram Mohan Roy of later times were also great reformers but they never touched the masses to the same extent and depended for their inspiration upon foreign religious and social systems. But Basava stuck to the old religion with its Vedas, Purāṇas, and Āgamas and yet fought for equality.

The followers of Basava are known as Vīraśaivas or Śivabhaktas or Lingāyats and their religion called Lingāyata-mata or Vīraśaivism. The

word Vīraśaiva means extreme Śaiva but several ingenious derivations of the name are also found. Thus a writer says: *vi* means knowledge which teaches the oneness of soul with god; those Śaivas who delight (*ramante*) in that knowledge are called Vīraśaivas (Nīlakaṇtha's Kriyāsāra I, 2).* Its philosophy and theology closely resemble those of the Śaiva Siddhānta or southern Śaivism. The term Visishtādvaita (qualified monism) is used by some (like the author of Kriyāsāra) to designate Vīraśaiva religious system; others (like Śrīpati Paṇḍita, author of Śrīkarabhāshya) call it Dvaitādvaita (Dualism and Monism), and the terms Viśuddhavaidikādvaita (pure non-dualism based on the Vedas) and Śivādvaita (non-dualism in Śiva), are also found used by some writers (as in the inscriptions of Keladi chiefs) to denote the system.

Like other Hindu religious systems Vīraśaivism claims to be based on the Vedas, Smṛitis, Purānas, and Āgamas. But that portion of the Vedas which deals with the Karma Kāṇḍa or the rites and sacrifices to be performed by the twice-born caste is looked down upon by the Vīraśaivas as being incapable of leading to salvation, and as such unfit to be followed by the true seekers after Mōksha. In this respect most Vīraśaiva writers differ from orthodox Brahmin propounders of religion like Śankarāchārya, Rāmānujāchārya, and Madhvāchārya who have incorporated the Vedic ceremonies and sacrifices and caste principles into their systems. However, Vīraśaiva writers treat the Vedas with the highest respect and frequently quote from the Purushasūkta and Śatarudrīya Hymns, the Śvētāśvatara, Atharvaśiras and Kâlâgnirudra Upanishads. The Śaiva Āgamas like Suprabhēda and Kārana are quoted from much more frequently. In fact the Vīraśaivas say that the Vedas are the out-breathings of Śiva and the Āgamas the words spoken with his mouth and there is no discord between them (Kriyāsāra, Introduction 30-31). Allusions to Śiva Purāṇas and the lives of sixty-three Tamil saints (or Purātaṇas as they are called) as well as to those of several Śaiva saints of the Karnātaka land are also quite common in their writings. But neither the Dēvāram hymns of the Tamil saints nor the *vachanas* (prose writings) of Basava and Chennabasava are found referred to by most writers of this sect. According to the Vīraśaivas the One, the Highest, Paraśiva or Parabrahma is without shape or (material) attributes. He is the Supreme Light (*Paramjyōti*), Supreme Bliss (*Parasukha*), Supreme Ruler (*Paramēśa*), Ever-existing (*nitya*), and is quite distinct from the Jīva or soul. The contrast between the soul and God is thus stated by one writer of this sect: the soul

---

विशब्देनोच्यते विद्या शिवजीवैक्य बोधिनी ।
तस्या रमते ये शैवा वीरशैवाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

contains *mala* (dirt), God is pure; the soul is associated with bad *Karma*, God is free from Karma; soul is *paśu*, God is *paśupati* or lord of paśu; soul is connected with the world and is subject to births, God is distinct from the world and is not subject to births; soul is ever changing, subject to grief and possessed of imperfect knowledge, God is constant, eternally happy and omniscient; soul is to get *mukti* (or liberation) in future, God is always *mukta* or free and the two are quite distinct from each other (Basavapurāna, 51-27, 28). In popular language the soul and God are spoken of as the *anga* (body) and *linga* respectively and their relation explained as that subsisting between wife and husband. The souls are said to exist in God before creation like grain in a measure. (Śrīkarabhāshya, published at Secunderabad, p. 19.)

The creation of the universe with its tatvas (elements) and beings is explained by the Vīraśaivas in similar terms as is to be found in the Saiva-siddhānta. From the one without the second, the Supreme Light, the Brahma (or Paraśiva) was born the Śūnyalinga without attributes. From the Śūnyalinga issued the Ādimūrthi; from him came Paraśakti (supreme energy); from that issued Nāda and Bindu; from them the Sādas; from them Ichchhā and Śiva; from them Īsvara; from him Kriyā and Rudra; from them Vishnu and Lakshmī; from them Brahma and Vāṇi; from them all the beings in the universe were born (Śivatatvaratnākara, I, 4, 10-15). The supreme Śiva (Paraśiva) willed to create the universe; his will became the *Chichchhakti* (intellectual energy); from their union was born the Mahālinga and from that issued Paraśakti; from them came Sadāśiva and Ādiśakti; from them were born Īśvara and Ichchhāśakti (energy of desire); from them came Mahéśvara and Jñānaśakti (energy of knowledge); they created from their union the whole universe. Brahma, the creator, Vishṇu, the protector and Rudra, the destroyer are born from Mahēśvara. Of these Rudra is an image of Mahēśvara himself and is entrusted with the supremacy over the universe having authority over Brahma and Vishṇu (Chennabasavapurāṇa, Book II, chapters 1 and 2). It is Rudra that assumed the twenty-five *līlāmūrti* forms (forms assumed out of sport or free will) such as Sōmadhāri (bearer of the moon), Tripurāri (enemy of the Tripura demons), Vishāpaharaṇa (protector from poison), Haridhvamsi (killer of the Lion form of Vishṇu), etc., for the happiness of the world.

The soul does not perceive its true nature on account of the three *malas* (dirt) that cling to it: Āṇava-mala (dirt born with the soul) Māyā-mala (dirt due to Māyā or illusion), Kārmika-mala (dirt due to Karma or acts done by the soul) (Chennabasavapurāṇa, Book V, 6-6). In Basava's own words, "Māyā gave birth to me becoming a mother. She became a child to infatuate me. She became a wife to attract me; she is troubling me in all

possible ways. To get over this Māyā is not in my power. You only know it, O God Kūḍala-sangamadēva" (Basava's vachanas, published in the Kannaḍa Journal, Jayakarṇataka at Dharwar, Vol. I, page 319). The soul thus identified himself with the world around him and is subject to births. He can only get over this infatuation by the help of Guru (teacher) and the favour of God. He must therefore first undergo dīkshā or initiation from a true guru. There are three kinds of dīkshā, *Vēdā-dīkshā* in which the guru puts his hand on the head of the disciple and influences his mind (*bhāvalinga*), *Mantra-dīkshā* in which the guru teaches the supreme mantra (Om Namaśśivāya) in the ear of the disciple and thus acts on his inner soul (*prānalinga*), and *Kriyā-dīkshā* in which the guru ties the linga to the physical body of the disciple. This *linga* (consisting of a piece of pot-stone) should be always worn over the body and is known as *ishtalinga*. By the above three kinds of dīkshā one becomes a Vīraśaiva. A Vīraśaiva (male or female) should never lose his or her *ishṭalinga*.* He should purify his body daily by bath, put on streaks of vibhūti or ashes, and wear a necklace of Rudrāksha beads. He must meditate on the sacred Panchīkshari-mantra (Namaśśivāya) into the meaning and significance of which he has been initiated by his guru. He must next worship his *ishtalinga* by bathing, waving of lights, offering of food etc., and holding it in his left hand gaze over it, meditate on the Śiva in it and enjoy communion with it. This is called *lingāngasāmarasya* (union between *linga* or God and *anga* or soul). Without this deep communion linga worship is incomplete. In Basava's words "What is the use of worshipping Linga till you are able to feel one with it in communion and bliss ? Until after worshipping Kūḍala Sangamadēva you are lost in him like a tributary in a larger river" (*Ibid.*, p. 326). The happiness arising from such a union is thus described. "In the joy of mixing with the linga I could not see the ten directions, earth or sky. Like a hail-stone falling into the sea, I lost consciousness of being separate from God and was merely uttering the name of Śiva" (*Ibid.*). The Vīraśaiva idea of *mukti* is the final union of the soul with God and absorption into Him. But though in *mukti* the soul loses consciousness of its separate entity and partakes of the nature of Śiva still its individuality is not believed to be lost. In this lies the difference between Śankara's Advaita and Vīraśaivism. The Vīraśaiva is also enjoined to meditate on the oneness with God as found in the Upanishad formulas

* The wearing of a linga constantly suspended over the body is peculiar to Vīraśaivas No other Śaiva sect seems to have adopted it It seems to have been introduced by the Ārādhya Saints just previous to Basava and was popularized by him. Several authorities from the Vēdas, Āgamas and Purānas are recited by the Vīraśaiva writers in favour of the custom (See Śrīkara bhāshya, p. 5).

Sōham Brahma (I am the Brahma or God), *Tat tvam asi* (Thou art that) but oneness with God is understood to be the capacity to become united with God and partake of His nature.

The Vīraśaiva is free from the sacraments and the karmas of the Brahman. Vīraśaiva writers accept the caste system and, the Karma-kāṇḍa or the portion of the Vedas relating to the proper performance of Karmas but they explain them as applying only to the non-Vīraśaivas. The Śivayōgi or Vīraśaiva is said to be superior to men of all the four castes born from the four faces of Brahma since he is (spiritually) born from the faces of Śiva himself through initiation. His religion is believed to be superior to other Śaiva faiths in that the acts enjoined to be performed in it are few but their fruit is great while in other Śaiva faiths there is more action with less fruit (Anādivīraśaivasārasangraha by Siddhavīra, Sholapur, page 46). But though simple in its system of ritual the Vīraśaiva religion is extremely difficult to practise since it requires unswerving attachment and obedience to its principles. The Vīraśaiva must give up all pride of birth, or of family or of wealth, must not worship any other god, (except Śiva in the form of ishtalinga) nor associate with bhavis (those who are not Vīraśaivas) even if they be his relatives. He must treat his guru with the greatest reverence, drink the water with which he washes his feet. The Vīraśaiva is asked to perform what is called *ashtāvaranapūjā*, worship of the following eight factors : (1) Guru, (2) Linga, (3) Jangama (or priest), (4) Vibhūti (sacred ashes), (5) Rudrāksha (beads), (6) Pādōdaka (drinking the water in which the feet of the Guru and Jangama or the linga are bathed), (7) Prasāda (presentation of food to the Guru, Jangama or linga and eating sacramentally what is left), (8) Panchākshara (the formula Namaśśivāya). The Vīraśaivas also talk of Shatsthaḷas, six holy things (1) *aikyasthaḷa*, feeling of oneness with God and separateness from the world, (2) *śaranasthaḷa*, surrendering oneself to God, (3) *prānalingisthaḷa*, freedom from delusion and meditating on the true nature of God, (4) *prasādisthaḷa*, offering all one's acts and the bodily joys to God, (5) *mahēśasthaḷa*, worshipping the linga, (6) *bhaktasthaḷa* showing devotion to God (Chennabasavapurāṇa, book V, chapter 8, verses 30-33).

The Vīraśaivas are at present divided into four classes :—(1) Jangamas or priests. (2) Śīlavantas or Sādhus, the pious. These mostly live by agriculture. (3) Baṇajigas or merchants. (4) Panchamaśālis or professional people. The Jangamas are held in great reverence. They alone act as *gurus*, give *dīkshā* to boys or girls and decide religious disputes. The householders among them do not intermarry with other classes but dine in the houses of the Sādhus whenever invited and officiate at all ceremonies. There are also Jangamas that lead a celibate life and are heads of maṭhas or

of importance to *Yōga* or meditation accompanied with breathing exercises. Their works are full of references to this subject and a certain amount of mysticism is common to them. The Vīraśaiva upheaval being a popular movement it is only natural that its teachers mostly spoke and wrote for the masses in their own dialect though the learned wrote in Sanskrit also. Hence a number of works have been written by members of this sect in the Kannaḍa language. They are sometimes in *vachana* (or prose) form and contain the teachings of their saints expressed in a terse and pithy language. But most of their works are, however, in poetry either in the *shaṭpadi* or *sāṅgatya* metre. Among them may be mentioned the Purāṇas previously named, Prabhulingalīle, Rēvana-sāngatya, etc. These works treat of Vīraśaiva philosophy and religious practices, purāṇic stories, lives of saints and *kālajñāna* (or fore-telling). Among the books dealing with the last subject may be mentioned Basavaṇṇanavara Kālajñāna and Chennabasavaṇṇanavara Kālajñāna. An idea common to all such works is the belief in the birth in the near future of a just and pious king called Vīravasantarāya corresponding to the Kalki incarnation of Vishṇu.

NALODAYA AND ITS AUTHOR.

By A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., *Trivandrum*.

Duplication of names has always been a fruitful source of confusion in the domain of literature and this perplexing similarity in the names of some authors and their works has led to several misleading identifications, resulting in the wrong attribution of some works and verses to authors who had nothing at all to do with them, except possessing the fortune or otherwise of having borne names similar to those of the real authors of those works, whoever they were. Tradition which has successfully done duty for and has been the only available history in India, has also sometimes played with these literary 'kings and pawns', and has added its own appreciable quota to the prevailing confusion by replacing its victims in promiscuous groupings on the chequered chess-board of the history of letters. There have been duplicates and triplicates even, in several instances, of Kāḷidāsas, Umbēkas, Śaṅkaras, Rājaśēkharas, Kulaśēkharas, Auvais and Kapilars; and a large mass of literature has been allowed to accumulate round the names of these literary celebrities as a result either of the adulation of a well-meaning but uncritical posterity or of the subterfuge of anonymous authors and literary forgers. It has been the work of modern research, therefore, to assort and classify this heterogeneous mass and furnish their proper labels to the incorrectly docketed works.

One such instance of contested authorship is the *yamakakāvya* of four short chapters called the *Nalōdaya*, which narrates the story of Naḷa's marriage with Bhaimī, his misfortunes and final emancipation from the machinations of Kali. This literary curio "is confessedly a difficult work, as much so at least as Persius is in Latin or Pindar in Greek. In the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata*, the *Raghuvaṁsa*, the *Kumārasambhava*, the *Māgha*, the *Naishadha*, the *Kirātārjunīya*, and the *Bhaṭṭi*, the entire circle of Sanskrit epic poetry, and by no means a small one, there cannot be found four consecutive books of equal difficulty with these four of the *Naḷōdaya*."* The style employed in this *kāvya* is of the most artificial kind, each verse containing a repetition of the same syllables in a portion of each of its four quarters but conveying different meanings; so that this alliterative work, although it has necessarily lost somewhat in beauty of ideas owing to its self-imposed literary shackles, has had its value considerably

* Introduction to the *Naḷōdaya*, by W. Yates, page 11.

enhanced by the ingenuity displayed 'in the manipulation of the varied and artificial metres and the elaborate tricks of style'. That its author must have been a trained hand at this kind of verbal gymnastics is evidenced by the fact that this work stands almost unique in the whole range of Sanskrit literature; for none of the other great pioneer poets of Sanskrit has, or could have, composed a whole book in this difficult style, although each of them has enjoyed himself by way of variety in occasional indulgence in alliterative verse. This *kāvya* was for a long time considered to be the composition of that prince of Indian poets Kāḷidāsa, on whose capacious shoulders this queer work appears to have been thrust in the same way as several other anonymous but humorous little verses connected with many a spicy anecdote. The *Catalogus Catalogorum* has also tabulated many copies of manuscript which attribute the Naḷōdaya to him. But Kāḷidāsa himself, great as his cantering powers were on the flowery meadows of poesy, would have shied at trudging this furrowed path of alliteration, and, attempting, may indeed have wearied before he could reach the journey's end; and the evident incompatibility of such an artificial work as the *Naḷōdaya* emanating from the same pen, or rather stylus, as wrote the *Raghuvaṁsa* and the *Śākuntala* was sought to be explained by the invention of a story that Kāḷidāsa was spurred on to the production of this work as an effective silencer to his traducers, who had accused him of alliterative incapacity. The very necessity for such a staff to keep this theory going proves indirectly the unreliability of the orthodox pandits' belief in Kāḷidāsa's authorship and considerations of style, diction and other literary tests from the poet's other works unanimously militate against such an attribution. There were therefore other scholars who were of opinion that, if a poet called Kaḷidāsa had to be the author of the *Naḷōdaya*, for which however there was no necessity, then he must have been only a later namesake of, but quite different from, the famous poet of Ujjain; * and the verse † of Rājaśēkhara (10th century A.D.) who was himself cognizant of the existence of at least three Kāḷidāsas before his time, lent its support to this conclusion. Professor Peterson, however, came across a manuscript of the *Naḷōdaya* in 1884, whose commentary by Rāmarshi (A.D. 1608) attributed the authorship to a certain Ravidēva; ‡ and literary opinion at once veered round to

* Mr. K. P. Trivedi, at page 147 of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1916.

† एकोपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केनाचित्।
श्रृंगारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासत्रयी किमु ॥—Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī*.

‡ 'इति वृद्धव्यासात्मजमिश्ररामर्षिदाधीच्यविरचितायां रविदेवविरचितमहाकाव्यनलोदयटीकायां यमकबोधिन्यां नलराज्यप्राप्तिर्नाम चतुर्थ आश्वास:'—(page 337 of the *J. B. A. S.*—Extra number 1887).

that discovery and this *kāvya* has since then been considered to have been the work of a Ravidēva, about whom no other biographical particulars were available.

I had occasion to peruse the *Yudhisṭhiravijaya** in connection with an enquiry into the age of the Kērala king Kulaśēkhara, who has been mentioned in its introductory portion, which runs thus:—

अस्ति स गजराजगर्ता राजवरो येन गतशुगजरा जगती ।
भीषणमधिकं कवयः स्तुवति जन्य यदीयमाधिकङ्कवयः ॥ ४ ॥
तरवो भूरिच्छायाः समानफलदायिनो च भूरिच्छायाः ।
सविनयशोभा जनता यद्राज्ये यस्य भुवि यशोभाजनता ॥ ५ ॥
तस्य च वसुधामवतः काले कुलशेखरस्य वसुधामवतः ।

This alliterative *kāvya* is known to be the work of a poet called Vāsudēva as the following verses show:—

वेदानामध्यायी भारतगुरुरभवदाद्यनामध्यायी ॥ ६ ॥
यं प्राप रमा चार्य देवी च गिरां पुराणपरमाचार्यम् ।
यमशुभसन्तोदान्तं परमेश्वरमुपदिशन्ति सन्तो दान्तम् ॥ ७ ॥
ज्ञानसमग्रामेय निवसन्तं विप्रसत्तमग्रामे यम् ।
तिलकृ भूमावाहुर्यस्यार्थिषु दत्तभूमिभूमा वाहुः ॥ ८ ॥
समजनि कश्चित्तस्य प्रवणश्शिष्योऽनुवर्त्तकश्चित्तस्य ।
काव्यानामालोके पटुमनसो वासुदेवनामा लोके ॥ ९ ॥
कीर्तिमदभ्रां तेन स्मरता भारतसुधामदभ्रांतेन ।
जगदपहासाय मिता पार्थकथा कल्मषापहा सा यमिता ॥ १० ॥

This necessitated a cursory examination of another *kāvya* called the *Tripuradahana*, which has been attributed in Malabar literary tradition to the same poet, and a copy of whose manuscript was fortunately available in His Highness the Maharaja's Palace Library at Trivandrum. This work disclosed that it was composed in the reign of a king named Rāma:—

अस्ति स कविलोकनतः क्षितिभृदारिर्यस्य सैनिकाविलोकनतः ।
बहुविपदि क्षुद्रवति क्ष्माभृति कुर्वन् पदानि दिक्षु द्रवति ॥ ६ ॥
साधूनां पाता यः स्थिरव्रतो यश्च पापिना पाताय ।
यस्मादुर्व्यापारं प्रीति यस्यामल विदुर्व्यापारम् ॥ ७ ॥
स्वपदपयोजनतेयं सदैव संपादकं श्रियो जनतेयम् ।
भूतिधरं व्यालपति स्फुरत्करं राजशेखर व्यालपति ॥ ८ ॥
रामसमत्वादेव स्रष्टा रामाख्यमकृत मत्वा देवः ।
य स च रक्षोऽपायं चक्रेऽस्य च कर्म जनितरक्षोपायम् ॥ ९ ॥

* This book printed in the Bombay *Kāvyamālā* Series wrongly locates both poet and patron in Kashmir.

by a poet called Ravibhū (son of Ravi)—

निजयातन्वा नेत्रप्रमोदनं प्राणिना वितन्वानेऽत्र ।
मतिबलमासाद्य मितं पुरदहनं रविभुवा समासाद्यामितम् ॥ १० ॥

whom its Kēraḷīya commentator (about 1300 A.D.) had identified with Vāsudēva, who must evidently be the same as the author of the other *kāvya*—

त्रिपुरदहनसञ्ज्ञं काव्यमेतद्विधातु
कविरथ रविसूनुर्वासुदेवाभिधानः ।
निरुपमचरितेन स्वच्छमीशानसञ्ज्ञ
नतजनहितदं तं स्तौति विघ्नातिभीतः ॥

Even without this tip the identity of the two authors could be guessed at from the close similarity of the alliterative style employed in both the *kāvyas* noted above. The *Travancore State Manual* * also states that Vāsudēva, a poet of the ninth century A.D., was the author of the two *kāvyas* called the *Yudhisthiravijaya* and the *Tripuradahana*. †

This again led up to the following hypothesis that the *Naḷōdaya*, a *kāvya* of disputed authorship composed in the same *yamaka* styles but exhibiting a maturer development, may have also been an achievement of the same Vāsudēva because none other than an author who had had previous training experience in this species of composition could have successfully launched out on such an attempt. This view luckily received confirmation from an appropriately alliterative verse with which an old commentator on the *Naḷōdaya* called Vishnu has given the finishing touch to his gloss, wherein he has stated that the *kāvya* was the work of a Ravitanubhū (son of Ravi). Another copy of the same commentary adds a further important colophonian detail that Vāsudēva was the author of the work.

इति नलोदये वासुदेवकृते चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।
रवितनुभूयमितायाः कृतेर्गतिरशब्दचित्रभूयमितायाः ।
जनहामाय मितायाः धियश्च विवृता मयाधुना यमितायाः ॥

The introductory verses in this work also mention a king named Rāma who must have been the same as the patron panegyrised in the *Tripuradahana*:

अस्ति स राजा नीते रामाख्यो यो गतिः परा जानीते ।
यस्य रराजानीते रत्नानि जनः कुले धराजानीते ॥ ५ ॥
यः मेनानावारिप्रकरनदीः शरमयं धुनानावारि ।
अतरन्नानावारि व्यसनैर्यत्भुवि वनञ्च नानावारि ॥ ६ ॥
अपि यो दायादाय क्षयप्रदोऽहसि सतां यदायादायः ।
करमादायादाय श्रियोऽब्धिराधिराजमसिगदायादायः ॥ ७ ॥

* *Travancore State Manual*, Vol III, p 427.
† Dr. Aufrecht also attributes the *Tripuradahana* to Ravisūnu and Vāsudēva, p 237

अविदूराजादित्या कृतालपभेदैव भूः सराजादित्या ।
यन सराजादित्या लिदिवात् सयुक्तशत्रुराजादित्या ॥ ८ ॥
खलसेनानावेद्यः स्वाहोब्धौ भुवि च नानावेद्यः ।
स्निग्धजनानावेद्य प्रयतेऽस्य सुकाव्यरचनानावेऽद्य ॥ ९ ॥

Thereafter the story-proper begins in this as in the other two works of Vāsudēva with the word '*atha*' evidently to mark off the main theme from the preface, as correctly explained (अथशब्दः प्रमेयारम्भार्थः ।) by Nīlakaṇtha in the eleventh verse of the *Tripuradahana*.

With the interpretations given by Prajñākaramiśra in his commentary called the *Subōdhinī* for the following lines, *viz.*, अस्ति सराजानीते रामाख्यः (*v.* 5) and येन सराजादित्या (*v.* 8) which are perhaps the result of the wrong attribution of the *kāvya's* authorship to Kāḷidāsa and which read respectively:

स रामाख्यो राजास्तीत्यन्वयः । रामोऽभिरामः सुन्दर इति यावत् आख्या नाम यस्य सः ॥

(which recognizes 'Rāma' only in the sense of '*beautiful*' as applied as a personal epithet of king Naḷa)

and राजसु क्षत्रियेषु आदित्याः राजादित्याः तेन सह वर्तमाना सा तथा स क्षत्रियश्रेष्ठेत्यर्थः । अथवा राजादित्य-नाम नलभ्राता तेन सह वर्तमाना । यद्वा राज्ञांमध्ये आदित्यो राजादित्यस्तेन युक्तेत्यर्थः ॥

(where the word 'Rājāditya' has been explained as 'a sun among kings' or as the name of a brother of king Nala), the more appropriate explanations furnished by the Kēraḷīya commentator Vishṇu may be compared, *viz.*,

अस्तीति । विरचित काव्यस्थापनार्थन्तदानीन्तन नृपस्तुतिः क्रियते । स राजा रामाख्यः अस्ति ।
तत्कालापेक्षया वर्त्तमानव्यवहारः अथवा कालसामान्यवृत्तिरप्ययमेपोऽस्ति शब्दः ।

and स राजादित्या राजादित्येन सह वर्तमाना राजादित्य इत्यमुष्यैवाभिषेकप्रयुक्तं नाम ।

(which state that a king named Rāma was reigning at the time of composition of the *kāvya* and that Rājāditya was the name given him at his coronation-ceremony).

It will thus be seen that there is greater justification in assigning the authorship of the *Naḷōdaya* to the Kēraḷa poet Vāsudēva, son of Ravi, than to a nondescript Ravidēva of whom nothing beyond his name has been known. A plausible explanation as to how the work came to be connected with the name of a Ravidēva will be to consider that it must have arisen from the carelessness of a scribe who may have wrongly transcribed a Ravisūnu into a Ravidēva or who may have dropped the middle two syllables in the patronymic designation of Ravi-*Vāsu*dēva, dovetailing the extremes together into a Ravidēva. Two of the Palace Library manuscripts give this incorrect colophon also. It is noteworthy that the British Museum contains a manuscript of the *Naḷōdaya* in the Malayalam characters, which fact may be taken to mark, indirectly at least, the country of its birth.

The approximate age in which this author Vāsudēva flourished may now be examined, so far as the available data help us towards its determination. As pointed out already, king Kulaśēkhara and king Rāma were contemporaneous with the composition of the *Yudhisṭhiravijaya* and of both the *Tripuradahana* and the *Naḷōdaya* together respectively, wherein they are specifically mentioned as reigning kings and have been given a panegyrical tribute of reverence by the poet.

The *Mukundamālā*, a poem of forty verses in its southern recension and thirty-four only in its northern, is a devotional piece composed by a Kēraḷa king called Kulaśekhara, who has been universally identified with Kulaśēkhara-Ālvār, one of the twelve saints of the South Indian Vaishṇava hagiology. According to orthodox tradition, this Saint is believed to have been born in Kali years 28 Parābhava,* but epigraphical research has set aside this impossible date and has fixed the beginning of the ninth century A.D. † as the probable period when he could reasonably have flourished. The last verse of the poem referred to above reads as follows in the text printed by the Bombay *Kāvyamālā* Series:—

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतधरौ कविलोकगीतौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मपरिवारशिवावभूताम् ।
तेनांबुजाक्षचरणाम्बुजषट्पदेन
राज्ञा कृता स्तुतिरियं कुलशेखरेण ॥

---

* वर्षे पराभवे मासे कुम्भे वै शुक्लपक्षके । श्रीमत्पुनर्वसूतारे दशम्यां गुरुवासरे ।
कौस्तुभांशेन संजज्ञे महात्मा कुलशेखर ।—*Prapannāmritam*

† Scholars are divided in their opinion in regard to the date of Kulaśēkhara-Āḷvār, but the beginning of the ninth century A D. seems to be the nearest approximation to probability The *Kēraḷōlpatti* which dates Kulaśēkhara in the first half of the fourth century A D. mentions also that he brought Bhattāchārya (Kumārila) and Prabhākara (Guru) to teach the sciences to the ignorant brahmans of Kēraḷa. Following the lead of tradition which states that Bhatta and his disciple Prabhākara flourished as contemporaries of the great Śankara, we arrive at the same period for the Vaishnava saint also. Dr. A B Keith, however, considers that Prabhākara preceded Kumārila and lived between 600-650 A.D (the *Karma-Mīmāmsā*, p. 9) From the following references kindly furnished by Pandit V Srinivasa Sastri, Smritiviśārada, from the *Sarvamatasaṅgraha* (No LXII of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series). *viz*,

अर्थापत्त्या सह प्रत्यक्षादिचतुष्टयप्रामाण्यवादिनः प्रभाकरस्य, अभावेन सह प्रत्यक्षादिपञ्चकप्रामाण्यवादिनो भट्टकुमारस्य च जैमिनीभाष्यव्याख्यातृत्वे तुल्येऽपि —p 31 and गुरोरपि गुरोः प्रभाकरस्य—p. 35,

it is seen that both Kumārila-Bhatta and Prabhākara wrote separate commentaries with certain divergent views on the same Bhāshya of Śabarasvāmin and were also contemporaries. The fact that Prabhākara while criticising an opinion of Kumārila uses a different set of words need not necessarily postulate the existence of an older author whom Kumārila had followed (p 10 of the *Karma-Mīmāmsā*), but it is quite possible that as a contemporary, Prabhākara opposed his *guru's* interpretations of some passages from their common source-book, the *Śābara-bhāshya*, and that the tradition connecting them may be founded on fact.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, M.A., has adopted a different alternative for the second line of this verse, namely, मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपद्मशरावभूताम्। * and has interpreted it to mean that the Kērala king had two friends named *Dvijanmavara* (best among Brahmans) and *Padmaśara* (one whose arrow was the lotus, a name of the Indian god of Love, Kāma); but in another Kēralīya manuscript, Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., of Trivandrum, has discovered the following reading, which may be relied upon as better than the other two :—

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतिधरौ रविलोकवीरौ

मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपारशवावभूताम् । †

According to this verse and from its Kēralīya commentary as noted by him, it is learnt that a Nambudiri brahman called Ravi and a *pāraśava* ‡ (a śudra of the *vāriyar* caste) named or having the title of Lōkavīra were the king's friends, whose names the royal author thought it gracious to immortalize in his verse. *Bṛihatstotra* gives the variant *pārśvachara*, a follower.

Vāsudēva, the poet, who mentions a certain king Kulaśēkhara as his patron in the prefatory portion of his *Yudhisthiravijaya*, calls himself a *Ravidhū* in his *Tripuradahana* and Nīlakaṇtha, its commentator, has, as already stated, no hesitation in identifying him with Vāsudēva, son of Ravi. Similarly, Vishnu, the commentator of the *Nalōdaya*, attributes the authorship of that *kāvya* to a *Ravitanubhū*, who is further equated with Vāsudēva in another manuscript of the same commentary. Thus it follows that king Kulaśekhara, the author of the *Mukundamālā*, in whose reign the aged father Ravi lived, was also the king who continued on the throne in the time of the brahman's son-poet Vāsudēva § and was extolled by the latter in his *Yudhisthiravijaya*. This identification therefore enables us to locate poet Vāsudēva in the first half of the ninth century A.D.

A short paragraph may, with advantage, be appended to this paper on a few biographical particulars relating to the poet, about whom the following traditional story is current in these parts. Vasudēva, called Paṭtattu Vāsudēva-Bhaṭṭātiri of Perumaṇam in the Cochin State, was a brahman by birth and

---

* *Early History of Vaishnāvism* in South India, p 35.

† The *Bhāshāpōshiṇi* (a Malayalam Journal) for 1917 See also *Bṛihatstotra muktāhāra* II, 123.

‡ The *pāraśava* is an ordinary product of Kērala eugenics, he is defined as .

य ब्राह्मणस्तु शूद्रायां कामादुत्पादयेत्सुतम् ।

स पारयन्नेव शवस्तस्मात्पारशवः स्मृतः ॥—*Manusmriti*, IX, 178

§ It is noteworthy that the Malayalam chronicle, the *Kēralōlpatti* (*c* seventeenth century A.D) also states that Mahābhārata Bhattātiri and Vāsudēva-Bhaṭṭātiri were the contemporaries of Kulaśēkhara-Perumāḷ, whose *svargārōhaṇam* it however dates in A D. 333.

he entered life in the service of a brahman-expounder of the Vēdas. He was of such a stupid disposition that his schoolmates used to taunt and tease him for his block-headedness. One stormy night, the ill-used youth took shelter in the temple at Tiruviḷakkāvu; and it is stated that the god taking pity on his deplorable condition gave him a bunch of plantains to eat and that thenceforth 'the butt of the school' bloomed into a poet of a high order of merit, with a special predilection for alliteration. From the *Yudhisthira-vijaya* we learn that 'there lived in the time of king Kulaśēkhara a learned preceptor called Bhārata-guru * (who may have also had another name Pāramēśvara ?) who was a *purānaparamāchārya* or a professional expounder of the *Mahābhārata* and other stories, who was well versed in the Vēdas, who bestowed largesses and gifts of land to the needy and who hailed from a brahman settlement whose modern location is, however, indeterminate. To such an instructor with this string of attributes, Vāsudēva * apprenticed himself as a willing *śishya* and with his mind fully steeped in the epic lore of the *Bhārata*, he composed in the *yamaka* style the 'story of Pārtha' or the '*Yudhisthiravijaya*'. The poet's diffidence as to what sort of reception his alliterative *kāvya* will be accorded in the literary circles, as expressed in the word 'जगदपहासाय', and the greater details he furnishes in regard to his *guru* are perhaps suggestive of the fact that this work may have been his first attempt in the line. *Tripuradahana* may have followed some years after, while the *Naḷōdaya* though shorter consisting, as it does, of only two hundred and odd verses, is otherwise a more difficult undertaking with its complicated scheme of quadruple rhyming in each verse, and may have been, in all probability, the final achievement of this alliterative author. The sequence based on the above-mentioned slender grounds is not however conclusive. Two more works, the *Bhramaradūta* and the *Vāsudēvavijaya*† are mentioned on page 567 of Dr. Aufrecht's *Catalogue* as the composition of a Kērala-Vāsudēva; and of these the latter which is an incomplete grammatical work illustrating the *sūtras* of Pāṇini on the model of the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* and which may have been a possible achievement of this Vāsudēva of *yamaka* fame, has been continued by Nārāyana in his *Dhātu-kāvya*. †

One other point that requires consideration is whether the two kings, Kulaśēkhara and Rāma, praised in the three *yamaka-kāvyas*, noted above, are two separate personages or one and the same individual; but unfortunately the prefatory verses in all these three works do not furnish us

---

* It is noteworthy that the Malayalam chronicle, the *Kēraḷōlpatti* (*c.* seventeenth century A.D.) also states that Mahābhārata-Bhattātiri and Vāsudēva-Bhaṭṭātiri were the contemporaries of Kulaśēkhara-Perumāl, whose *svargārōhaṇam* it however dates in the 4th century.

† Printed in Part X of the Bombay *Kāvyamālā* Series.

with any definite clues except the usual descriptive catalogue of virtues and attributes which an oriental poet naturally adds to the credit of his sovereign, and which, in the present instances, had to be cramped in so as to suit the exigencies of rhyme.

> "Kulaśēkhara was terrific in his battles and his kingdom peopled by his law-abiding subjects smiled in plenty and prosperity. Rāma was as equally valiant on the battlefield as in the arena of letters and as steady (*sthiravrata*) * in punishing the wicked as ready in succouring the righteous. He resembled god Śiva (Rājaśēkhara) in two attributes and was also considered as an incarnation of Rāma himself, both because he bore that very name and imitated that divine hero in providing '*rakshōpāyam*' to his subjects (danger to the rākshasas: means of protection). His forests with elephantine stalls were rendered gay."

In a learned paper† Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar has made the suggestion that Kulaśēkhara may have been a regal title of the Kēraḷa king who was named Rāma at his birth. This naming may have been quite possible, because of his having been, according to tradition, the offspring of religious vows and born in the same asterism Punarvasu as the Rāmāyaṇa's hero. If however this Rāma was a different king, we may have to make him Kulaśēkhara's successor; and in that case also, it is perfectly natural that he was named Rāma by his saintly predecessor, the great Rāmabhakta, about whom the story is related with much embellishment of detail in the *Guruparamparas* that when the particular episode of the Rāmāyana regarding Sita's abduction by Rāvaṇa was being narrated, this pious sovereign got into such a sudden mood of frenzy as to rush into the sea with intent to invade Ceylon and punish the wicked island-king, and that Rāma and Sīta appeared in bodily form before the devotee to assure him of their own personal welfare.

From epigraphical sources, we know of a Kēraḷa king Rājaśēkhara ‡ whose copper-plate record is attributable to the early part of the ninth century on palæographical considerations and whose traditional contemporaneity with the famous Advaitin Śaṅkara (*c.* ninth century A.D.) also favours this assignment. The next Chēra king that we know of is Sthāṇu

* The *Tripuradahana* uses the word '*Sthiravrata*' as descriptive of king Rāma, but it cannot be asserted whether there is any implied reference to Dridhavrata (he of unswerving determination) of the Vaishnava narratives, who was the son of Kulaśēkhara-Alvār and who was named as such after his own grandfather. In regard to the word '*Rājaśēkhara*' again, the same doubt arises as to whether it is only a royal title or another personal name of the same king Rāma.

† The Malayalam *Bhāshāpōshini* for 1917.

‡ *Trav. Archl Series*, Vol II, pp. 8-14.

Ravi of the Kottayam Christian plates,* who was a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Āditya I (about 880-907 A.D.) and who can therefore be considered to have reigned approximately in the last quarter of the ninth century A.D. Between these two landmarks then, *i.e.*, in the second and a part of the third quarter of the ninth century, has to be located a Kulaśēkhara *alias* Rāma if both the names refer to one and the same sovereign, or if different, a Kulaśēkhara followed by a Rāma. In the Kottayam plates themselves, a certain royal personage called Rāma-Tiruvaḍi figures in a subordinate capacity coupled with his senior Ayyanadigal-Tiruvaḍi; but there are, at present, no means of connecting the former with the Rāma of the two *kāvyas*. Again a stone record† discovered at Quilon which is dated in Kollam 278 (= A. D. 1102) introduces a king or two kings of the Chēra dynasty in the expression—'[*Irāmar*]-*Tiruvaḍi kōyiladhikārigaḷāyina Kulaśēkhara-chakravartigal*'; and as both the names Rāma and Kulaśēkhara occur in the same epigraph, the temptation offers itself to equate them respectively with the Rāma and Kulaśēkhara of the *kāvyas*. But this identification will yield the result that Kulaśēkhara, the author of the *Mukundamālā*, lived in the beginning of the twelfth century—a conclusion that goes against the grain of accepted tradition which uniformly attributes the poem to the Vaishṇava saint Kulaśēkhara-Ālvār, who cannot, under any circumstances, be brought down to so late a period as the beginning of the twelfth century A D.

So far as the available data go, it may be presumed therefore that poet Vāsudēva and king Kulaśēkhara flourished together in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. and that the former was the author of the three *yamaka-kāvyas*, the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*, the *Tripuradahana* and the *Naḷōdaya* —a triple achievement which, despite the artificial nature and limitations of the style selected for its exposition, serves however as an example to show the variety of forms into which the plastic Sanskrit language could be shaped by a master-hand, and may therefore be considered as an asset about which any literature can reasonably be proud.

* *Trav Archl. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 60-85.

† *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol V, p 44.

VENKATAPATIRAYA I AND THE PORTUGUESE.

BY REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.,

Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

WHEN previously writing on *The Jesuit Influence in the Court of Vijayanagar*, [1] I published a letter of King Venkata I addressed to Philip III of Spain and Portugal In the meantime I have fortunately discovered in the Government Archives at Pangim (*Archivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo*) a copy of Philip III's letter to which King Venkata's was the answer. It is noteworthy that the Spanish King speaks only of the Jesuits at Venkata's court, for the letter of the Hindu King has two parts apparently corresponding to those of Philip's letter; *viz*, his protection of the missionaries, and the defensive alliance against the Mahomedans of the Deccan. After inspection of this copy I am inclined to think that the second chapter referred only to business proposed to Venkata by the Viceroy of Goa. In fact this is tacitly stated in the Spanish King's letter, according to which, he ordered his Viceroy to do everything which would please the Vijayanagar Sovereign.

The translation of this letter runs as follows: [2]

" Copy of the letter that goes by this mail to the King of Bisnaga.

" Very Noble King of Bisnaga.

" I, Dom Phelippe, etc. I make you aware that I have come to know the good hospitality you have given the Religious of the Society who dwell in that your Kingdom, and the favour and assistance you have bestowed on them, as to things concerning Christianity, for which I deemed that it was my duty to thank you—as I do by this letter of mine—and to inform you of the good will with which I shall be pleased, for the sake of all this, to oblige you in all your things.

" And thus, I command my Viceroy to carry it out in whatsoever way you may want from him. And I expect from your nobility that you will keep up this your excellent dealing with the aforesaid Religious, so that I may ever feel more and more indebted to you, the Very Noble King of Bisnaga.

" May Our Lord enlighten you with the light of His grace, and with the same keep you under His protection.

" Written in Madrid, January 27th, 1607.'

The intercourse between Venkata and the Portuguese is often recorded in the letters of the Jesuit Fathers living at his court, the originals of which are kept in the Archives of the Society of Jesus in Europe: but I have lately had the opportunity of examining photographs of their correspondence while searching for materials for the history of the Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagar, which I intend

1. *Cf.* The Q. J of the Myth. Soc, Vol XIV, pp 130-140

2. I shall only publish here the English translation of this and other documents, since their originals will shortly be published in a work I am preparing at present This Portuguese letter comes from the Volume '*Monçoes do Reino, No. 6 (1a pte.) ano de 1600 te 1603, fol. 124*'.

publishing in the near future. In the proposed work I shall publish all these documents in their original language together with translations, but I feel sure that Indian scholars in general, and especially those who are interested in the history of that great Southern Empire, will be glad to read at once some extracts from those letters concerning the aforesaid relations.

The oldest document I know of on the subject is a Latin letter of Fr. N. Pimenta, Visitor of the Jesuit Missions in India, dated Goa, December 21st, 1602. It refers to an Embassy sent by Venkata to the Viceroy of Goa, Ayres de Saldanha, in the year 1601, and is to the following effect:

"The Viceroy had written to him (the King) and, while announcing by this letter his landing in India, thanked him for the benevolence with which he treats the members of our Society. Hence the King was moved to send an Embassy, consisting of two principal Nobles, to the Viceroy, and ordered two of our Fathers, *viz.*, Simon de Sā and Melchior Coutinho [3] to join them, and the other two to remain with him in the Church at Chandegri. [4] I should be able to write a long account of the whole history of this legation, as well as of the endless urging of the Prince, whose country they had to go through, in order that one of the Fathers would stay with him on returning"

The Prince, Fr. Pimenta speaks of in this letter, is the Viceroy Tirumala, of Seringapatam. Fr. Coutinho himself in a letter dated Vellore, October 11th, 1608, recalls the kindness on this occasion of the last unfortunate Viceroy of Seringapatam, as follows:

"Trimalarayu, the Prince, is continuously writing *olas* to us from Cirangapatão, where he resides, calling us [to his court] and showing by writing the same friendship shown personally to us while we were going to Goa accompanying the Ambassadors of this King."

This is no doubt the same Prince as referred to in one of the letters published in my last article; I was then under the impression that he was the Chikka Rāya, *commonly held to be his son, but who in reality was not so*, according to Barradas, but I have since changed my mind after having seen several other letters and documents from our Archives. Fr. Pimenta again, in the above letter, mentions him as the Crown Prince and even copies one of his *olas*. It will perhaps be of interest to quote this passage as well:

"Trimaragius—says he—the eldest son of the King's brother, [5] heir of this kingdom, urges us again and again inviting us to his court, Your Reverence

---

3. In my last paper mention was made of Fr. M. Coutinho He was then the Superior of the residence at Chandragiri Fr S. de Saa had first of all visited the court of Venkaṭa in 1597, accompanied by Fr. Francis Riccio, but at this time he was at St Thome. We find him in Chandragiri in 1604.

4 These were Fr Francis Riccio and the English Lay Brother Alexander Frey, a famous painter These names are to be seen in the old catalogues of the Jesuit Missionaries of the Province of Malabar.

5 King Venkaṭa's brother, Rāma, had two sons, Tirumala, Viceroy of Seringapatam, and Ṛanga, the future successor of Venkaṭa and father of Rāma, '*one of several brothers*'.

knows that after the demise of this Prince's father, the kingdom was given, by the unanimous vote of all the classes, to the brother of the deceased, that is the one who is ruling at present, rejecting the rights of the deceased's children, who on account of their age, were not able to rule over a kingdom And although the King loves more the youngest brother, who is being brought up in his very palace, nevertheless people say the eldest one will be the king, because he is liked by more and stronger chieftains This man is living in his city Cirangapatano that is only forty or fifty leagues from our Mangalore. He sent us a letter, I am going to copy here:

'Trimanus, Mahanda Lispara, Ramarragius Trimarragius, Lord great Prince, sends this letter to the Fathers. I shall rejoice very much when I shall hear that you are coming to this town of mine, I shall give you then a good piece of land in this city to build a house and church, moreover five hundred golden pagodes yearly. Besides, I shall receive you with great honour and generosity So I swear by Lord Zanganatam [6] and by the feet of my father Rāmaraja. You will learn the rest from my Ambassador; come at once and do not make me wait.' "

The information given by Fr. Pimenta in this extract is of more than passing interest: we learn from it that the Viceroy Tirumala was still very young at the time of the accession of Venkata I (1585-86), hence he was not so old when he retired to Tulcand in 1610, as many authors state [7], leaving the place to the rising chief of Mysore, Rāja Woḍeyar, because even if he were fifteen years old in 1585, and he was probably still younger, he could not have been more than forty in 1610. Moreover, we know after the study of this passage, that the King was fonder of the younger brother, Ranga, whom he was educating at his palace; this was precisely the one appointed his successor at his death bed. as Barradas informs us, preferring him even to the boy *commonly held to be his son*. But, on the other hand, the elder brother Tirumala was a greater favourite with his feudatory chiefs, so much so that there was still hope of his being the heir-apparent. Cannot this explain the strange conduct of Venkata on the occasion of the seizing of Seringapatam by Rāja Woḍeyar? Both subjects and especially the feudatory chiefs were more inclined to favour Tirumala, but Venkata had decided to adopt Ranga his younger nephew, for this is shown by the fact that he had Ranga educated under his supervision in the palace. It was then necessary to disgrace Tirumala before his subjects, hence the King orders him secretly to retire from Seringapatam, while he willingly sees Rāja Woḍeyar take possession of that city [8]. Thus it was proved that the unfortunate Viceroy was not able to defend the territory of his Viceroyalty. How would he be able to defend that of the whole Empire seated on the *jewelled throne*? According to this theory, not indeed unfounded, the origin of the independence of Mysore was due to the preference of Venkata for his second nephew, and this circumstance was also responsible for the great

6. I suppose the *Z* must be *R* thus read Ranganatam.

7. *Cf.* Rice, Mysore A Gazetteer compiled for Government, Vol. I, p. 364 (Westminster MDCCCXCVII) P. Krishna Row, A Brief History of Mysore, p 10 (Bangalore, 1868)

8. Accordingly Venkaṭa presented Rāja Woḍeyar with some villages. *Cf. Epigr. Carn.*, Vol. III, Ṣeringapatam Taluk, n. 157, Tirumakūḍlu Narasīpūr Taluk, n. 116.

civil war recorded by Barradas and by the Telugu poem *Rāmarājīyamu*. Nepotism has always proved fatal to nations as well as to societies.

But let us go back now to Venkata's Embassy to the Portuguese Viceroy referred to in the letter of Fr. Pimenta In another letter written the following year, 1603, this Embassy is mentioned again, and we know from it that it was followed by another Embassy of the Viceroy to King Venkata. It runs as follows :

"Among the practical results of this Mission [Chandragiri], not the smallest one was to cause so powerful a king to renew the friendship his forefathers had made with the Portuguese ; it was almost forgotten at the time , for this purpose he sent the Viceroy his Ambassadors along with our Fathers, as it was related last year, I suppose. The Ambassadors after having left Goa, full of gifts and honours from the Viceroy, went by land to Chandegri, where in the presence of the King and of the Nobles of his court they extolled all our things and the honours and favours they had received from the Viceroy and our Fathers in Goa, which was highly esteemed by the King , and he showed himself hereafter more inclined to our things To answer this Embassy, the Viceroy sent him another · the Ambassador was received by the King with great reverence and ostentation, because on his arrival at Chandegri one of the chiefs of the Royal Council accompanied by elephants, camels, horses, kettle-drummers and other signs of joy and merriment went out to fetch them and lodged them in the best palaces and houses of that city. The King was at that time in Tripeti [Tirupati], two leagues from Chandegri , the city of Tripeti is very great and beautiful, and because of a temple much venerated, and dedicated to their Pirmal [Perumal] is for this heathenism like another Rome. . . . Lots of people of the whole of the East, with gifts and offerings come here to pay a visit to this temple. The King determined to receive our Ambassador in this city, for which he sent his intimate favourite with great show and reverence to bring him there · the King was outside a very great court, not dressed in rich clothes, because it is not customary, but covered with precious stones, armlets, and strings of pearls from his feet to the crown of his head ; he wore among others two jewels of great beauty, one was an emerald surrounded by big pearls and brilliant diamonds, and the other a ruby of high price and extraordinary greatness , the Ambassador knelt down, but the King ordered him to get up and sit down. He received joyfully the letter and the gift of the Viceroy, and spoke of the friendship and intercourse with the Portuguese he wished to have, and other things concerning the welfare of the State. Afterwards he sent back the Ambassador full of honours and presents, and since then he showed himself more affectionate to the Fathers."

Nevertheless this friendship did not last very long. Fr. M. Roiz, Rector of the College of St. Thome, on November 1st, 1606, wrote to Fr. J. Alvares, at Rome, the following letter :

"When I reached this country, on September 3rd, 1606, I found the Portuguese quarrelling and fighting among themselves, as they were doing two or three years ago ; a few months back the same Portuguese of this town fought also against

the Hindus that live outside our city. The reason was because they murdered a Portuguese gentleman married here, on hearing this the Portuguese became very angry, went out and took by storm and plundered the Hindu town that was near; they went besides to a fortress of the Hindu King, who is the King of Bisnaga, which stands next to our city, and set it on fire, the King who resides eighteen or twenty leagues far from here became very furious even with our Fathers." [9]

Another letter of Fr. M. Coutinho to the Most Rev. Fr C. Aquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus, dated St. Thome, November 4th of the same year, gives some more information After relating the sack of the Hindu town and fortress, it continues.

"The aforesaid town [of the Hindus] or its governor sent at once their *olas* or letters to the King, but they related the events falsely, and the Queen, who has paramount power all over the country at present, excited the King against the Portuguese on account of this business, so much so that after the aforesaid letters were read in the presence of the whole court, the Sovereign refused to hear the apology of Fr. Rector, and became so furious that being himself as meek as a lamb he appeared on that occasion like a lion and said several times that he would destroy even the foundations of our city, to do which he appointed some captains declaring that he did not want friendship with the Portuguese any more, and that he would call the Dutch, and so on His courtiers said [afterwards] that they had never seen him so much excited as on this occasion, he accordingly did not want to receive us nor to read our letters, nor those of the city, nor hear anything in favour of the Portuguese, although he has decided for our own sake not to send the army against this city, pourparlers are already taking place in order to make peace."

It was really made soon afterwards, as other letters show, then the letter of Philip III, published in the beginning of this paper, came, followed by Venkata's answer, and the friendship was renewed even stronger than before, because, for the sake of the Portuguese, he ordered the Nāyak of Gingi to expel the Dutch from the fort they were starting at Tevanapatnam. But suddenly another storm burst out.

One Antonio Viles Decima, whom I have hitherto been unable to identify, sent to the Spanish King a series of accusations against the Jesuits at Chandragiri [10]; presumably, on account of these accusations being partly believed by the Monarch, or because of the lack of everything in Chandragiri and Vellore, since Venkata had long withheld the yearly revenues he had promised in the beginning, the Provincial of Malabar, their Superior recalled them sending some to St. Thome, others to Cochin and other places. We are made aware of this piece of news by a

---

9. Fr. Roiz speaks of a Hindu town *that was near* and of a fortress of the Hindu King, *which stands next to our city* From the Portuguese original it is quite clear that the fortress was nearer and the Hindu town was a little further on It seems probable that the *fortress* was the old city of Mylapore, was the *Hindu town*, the native city of Madras, called some years later by Englishmen *Black Town*? In the Bēvinahaḷḷi Grant of Sadāsiva-Rāya (1542-68) we find both places mentioned as Mailāpura and Mādarasa *Cf. Epigr Ind*, Vol. XIV, p. 216.

10 I shall publish this document in my work.

letter of the Viceroy of Goa, Dom Jeronimo d' Azevedo, dated 1613, to his own King a copy of which I have unearthed from the Archives at Pangim. Here it is: [11]

"Answer of the letter which deals with the Fathers of the Society that reside in the Kingdom of Bisnaga.

"These Religious who were in Bisnaga and resided at Chandegri, where the King resides, too, as soon as their Superiors knew what Your Majesty wrote about them, they called them back to their Province, it was a great loss to Your Majesty's service, and on account of that the Dutch have already a fort in Paleacate [Pulicat], and war was waged with Meliapor by order of this King, which was very pernicious for that city, and many other bad consequences of their departure may be daily seen. Therefore I think that they must reside at Chandegri near the King, and besides in Paleacate, too, after taking that fort from the Dutch."

In another letter of the King to his Viceroy, dated Lisbone, March 7th, 1613, I found in the same Archives, the following interesting details are given: [12]

"To Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo, Viceroy of India, friend: I, the King, am sending you many greetings By letters of the Viceroy Ruiz L^co d'Etaura and of the Bishop of Meliapor, I was informed of the tight siege suffered by the city from the army of the King of Bisnaga, and that it became necessary to fortify it, not only because its possession is of great importance for the navigation and commerce throughout those seas, but especially because it keeps the remains of the Apostle St. Thomas, and on account of that I have decided to fortify the aforesaid city. . I am very much indebted to the Bishop for his action during the siege...And since I have also been told of the good conduct of the Nāyak of Tanjaor in my service during the aforesaid siege, I am sending by this mail a letter thanking him, entrusting you with the charge of forwarding it to him.".

In the Viceroy's answer, as it is found roughly written in the margin of the King's letter, we read the following words:

"The letter of Your Majesty to the Nāyak of Tanjaor is being sent to the Bishop [of Mylapore] who will hand it over to him."

From other contemporary documents it is evident that the resistance of Mylapore against Venkata's army was principally due to the above mentioned Bishop, so much so, that he himself wrote at about this time to the King demanding some sort of reward, as we know from another letter of the King to the Viceroy, dated Lisbone, February 20th, 1614: [13]

"The Bishop of Meliapor—the writer states—wrote to me representing his action in my royal service during the blockade of that city and its fortification"

These extracts outline the history of the relations of the great Āravīḍu Emperor with the old allies of the Vijayanagar Empire. I hope they will be read with interest by the admirers of that wonderful Hindu Empire, pending publication of my work on its Fourth Dynasty.

---

11. *Monçoes do Reino, N. 12. Ano de 1614*, fol. 26.
12. *Ibid*, fols. 143-44.
13. *Ibid*, fol 143

RURAL HABITATION IN SOUTH INDIA.

BY C. HAYAVADANA RAO, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

IN this paper, *Dekhan* means the tableland between the Eastern and Western Ghats, including Mysore State and the districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur. By *Coromandel Coast* is meant generally the eastern coast of Madras Presidency from Point Calimere to the mouth of the Krishna river, or a little further up.

Rural habitation in Southern India depends on certain important primary conditions. Among these are :—(1) Race, (2) Physical environment, and (3) Occupation. Among causes which have led to agglomerations may be mentioned (*a*) wars, (*b*) foundation of *agraharas* by pious kings, ministers and generals, (*c*) establishment of Brahmanical temples.

The subject is a large one. What is attempted here is only an indication of its general outlines.

During the days prior to the Muhammadan conquest, the village in South India was inhabited solely by Hindus Even now Muhammadans are more urban than rural in their residence. Soldiers once, they dislike the hard manual labour which agricultural operations involve. They have, however, taken kindly to petty trades and artizan work, to which they add shop-keeping on the minor scale Except in rare cases, Muhammadans are not found in any large numbers in South Indian villages. Where they are found, they are found to live a little away from the houses of Hindus

The village, then, was and is of the Hindus generally The plan on which a village is laid out differs from place to place, it depends on the nature of the ground occupied by it, the character of the population occupying it, and on the facilities for water and other conveniences it possesses. In Southern India, generally, wherever the density of population is great and the Brahmin element preponderates, river-side villages are common. Water is a great necessity in tropical regions and to a Brahmin in particular water is a *sine qua non* for his ablutions. He lives and has his being in water. Where there are no rivers, the village is close to a tank (reservoir of water) or wells dug for supplying water. In the village, people of the same caste usually live together, the habitations of the lower castes being a little away from the caste blocks If there are Brahmins in the village they live in a row or rows by themselves. The houses of the middle and poorer classes are usually mud-built and thatched. A characteristic feature of the exterior of a Muhammadan house is a scattered daub of chunam over its outer walls, in streaks and dots all over.

Usually some definite plan is followed in the lay-out Not infrequently a village seems to possess tortuous lanes, but on examination it would be found, that the plan adopted had followed the natural drainage of the locality, full

built entirely in the Hindu period of history—this has been ascertained to be a regular feature in the town-planning of ancient days.

As regards houses, the materials are nearly always obtained locally, the environment being fully laid under contribution. The thatch of millet, ragi, etc., is obtained locally. The red earth required for floors and walls, is similarly locally obtained. The sea-coast villages—on the Coromandel Coast—use palmyra leaves for the roof and the palmyra posts—cut out specially for the purpose—help as scantlings. The wood required in other localities is entirely local. The ordinary woods used are the *nīm* (margosa), the *ippa* or the *iluppe* (or bassia), jack and the mango, for both scantlings and planks. The principle is that certain kinds of wood are *taboo* and should not be used, if deaths, sickness, etc , are to be avoided.

Certain rules are commonly observed in the building of houses These may be briefly mentioned. Saline soils, low marshy tracts, soils betraying cracks, old burning or burial grounds or cattle pounds, land close to tanks or lakes and ground which is comparatively small when measured east and west are usually avoided. To ensure proper sunlight, it is held necessary that the general elevation of the site chosen should gently rise from the east and north towards the west and south. Houses may, however, be at varying angles according to their size, but care should be taken in allotting the right place for every thing. According to one plan the rubbish may be thrown on the southern side , the straw for cattle may be stored on the south-west; the cattle may be housed in the west; the grain granary in the north-west, and the milch-cows on the north. If the house is built on the southern side, its entrance should be from the north, if on the western side, from the east This is obviously to admit free air and light into the house. However situated, it is deemed desirable that the central hall should face the east The main entrance should be on a higher level than the interior apartments. A sloping towards the east is always commended. A house once built cannot be extended to the south. This is a cardinal belief. Houses should have *pials* (earthen benches) and the doors should open inside and be bolted from the left to right The *pials* should be usually covered to afford shelter to strangers. There should be niches at the outside of a house, one on either side, for placing lighted lamps in the evening. The windows, doors, and the inner courtyard should be so placed as to admit the free passage of light and air. The general idea underlying the construction of a house is that it is fashioned after the body of a human being, lying on the site with his head on the north-east and his feet on the south-west, reclining on his left arm and facing the east.

The principles of house construction are part of the traditional beliefs governing house erection in every part of South India and are followed in the building of houses by all castes and creeds. The artizan knows them to a fault and will not allow any deviation from them.

Houses should not face a lane or street, a well or tank, if the inmates are to prosper. They should be entered after due ceremonies and feeding of Brahmins, the workmen and the poor. In the Dekhan in front of houses as we enter, is a

modest square erection in which the *tulasi* (Ossimum Sanctum) is planted and worshipped daily.

The deviations, if any, in the general plan, are usually made to suit the weather conditions of the area and in particular to ward off the effects of rain.

A poor raiyat's house in many places is a long narrow room, half of which is appropriated to the cattle at night *. It is usually thatched with grass, palmyra leaves or other similar material.

Temporary hovels are erected by migratory tribes like Waddars, etc. These are made of what material may be available on the spot, split bamboo mats playing a large part, where available.

The hut of the poorest classes, such as the Pariahs or Holeyas, and Madigas, is often called by a name *gūdu* which means "nest" This describes its essential character, *i e.*, a single room with a narrow entrance admitting of little light and air.

Agriculturists usually build new huts as required, when the members in the family marry and get their wives to live with them. Usually brothers and other close relations live next to each other and they appropriate more space as required.

A few aberrant departures may be quoted. On the Nilgiri Hills, the Badagas build their houses (thatched or brick-built) in a single straight row on a high

* The connection between malaria, men and cattle thus penned has been often referred to by medical men. I may refer this to a recent authority on the subject

Lieutenant-Colonel A. B. Fry, I M.S , in the course of an article in the January issue of the INDIAN MEDICAL GAZETTE states that the editorial note in the September number on the role played by cattle in the prevention of Malaria refers to a subject which is of the greatest importance in India, where cattle are commonly housed in close association with human dwellings

The parasite infection rate in Bengal, which I estimated by the dissection of many hundred anophelines to be about 0 2 per cent was extraordinarily low, and I formed a theory then that the vast majority of anophelines never fed on human beings at all

In my second report I wrote that "The daytime resting place of anophelines in Bengal is cowshed and the low mosquito infection rate which we found in Bengal may be explained by the fact that most of the mosquitoes which were dissected by us were not caught in sleeping rooms, where it was always very difficult to find specimens Cowhouses are packed with animals at night, and the number of anophelines found in them increases in direct proportion to warmth and darkness. The sleeping-apartments of houses in Bengal are generally very clean and well kept. Though the cowhouses in the same compound may swarm with anophelines, it is exceptional to find a single specimen in a cook-house or sleeping apartment. As the cattle are penned in these houses at sunset, it is natural to suppose that the majority of anophelines have no desire to go abroad but feed chiefly on the cattle It is only those wishing to lay eggs that need go outside, and it is probably these insects and those newly hatched that feed on human beings" .. . .

....

Major Christophers has kindly sent me a paper read by Dr Schuffner at the recent Batavia Congress Schuffner states that he has found that certain species of anopheles actually prefer to feed on bullocks rather than on man and suggests as a prophylactic measure the regular placing of animals between dwelling houses Many of the villages in the endemic areas of Bengal are built on high ground surrounded by swamps. If the cowsheds were arranged in a ring on the outskirts of the village with dwelling houses in the centre instead of indiscriminately as is usual, I am sure that the dwelling houses and their inhabitants would be even more free from infestation by mosquitoes than they are at present

eminence and call it their *Kēri* (or street) The house is a neat structure with a small hall, having close to the wall an elevated bench-like construction to sit or sleep on. Into this hall opens, in one part, the kitchen. There are no windows, light being let in only from the main door, which usually faces the east. If the door is shut, the house is snug, which is what is required on the cold Nilgiris. No water is available on the eminence on which the *Kēri* is built. It has to be fetched by the women-folk from the valley far below. The houses of the Todas similarly are on hill tops. Each house is of a conical shape, with thatched roof Egress and ingress into it is by a small door through which one should creep.

In the Agency tracts of Ganjam, Godavari and Vizagapatam, the villages are away from the roads If a road is taken near a village, the village is deserted and a new one founded in the interior The people are averse to having any visits from the Government servants, who usually frequent the road. The houses themselves are small one-roomed structures of wattled-bamboo and are just sufficient for single families.

In the Malnād (hilly) parts of Mysore, houses are built of mud with wooden posts at the corners, and in the walls at intervals of six or eight feet, which support the roof, sun-dried or burnt bricks of a large square shape being used by some in recent years. The roof projects so as to form a verandah of two and half feet on the outside, and protects the walls from the rain, tiled or thatched as the case may be, and remarkably wide and low. The floor is raised three feet above the level of the ground, and the walls are about six feet high from the floor. Larger houses have one or more courtyards, open in the centre with corridors all round, small dormitories and closets without windows open into these verandahs. A building like this is proof against rain, which is pretty heavy in the Malnād parts and is open to light and air inside it during the summer.

The above short description will show that the general principles on which rural habitations are based are well-understood throughout South India. That the normal house is built on a well understood plan and that the aberrations are deviations from the normal seems uncontestable. The interior economy of each house is different in the case of each caste, to which its occupant may belong. Granaries, cowsheds, etc., play a large part in a cultivator's household. In a shepherd's other considerations prevail, far different are the needs of a Brahmin, with his need for sitting space, reading accommodation, and room for worshipping his household deities, etc. To this extent the difference in detail is dictated as much by the needs of the different avocations followed by their owners as by their ethnic character.

This brings us to a class of dwellings in villages formed entirely for Brahmins by kings, generals, ministers and other pious founders in olden days. These foundations are known as *Agrahāras*. They are primarily intended for Brahmins. They are laid out on definite lines and houses are built in them for Brahmins be longing to the four Vedic schools, who come to occupy them. In other parts of a foundation of this nature, are laid out in parallel rows, houses for the agriculturists dependent on the Brahmins and others who usually belong to a well-equipped

village. There are, of course, a temple, a tank, etc , for each village thus founded Each house has the usual interior accommodation requisite for a Brahmin family and a good backyard, with a mango and tamarind trees and space enough for a kitchen garden Numerous grants of villages thus equipped—or on similar lines—are referred to in countless inscriptions found throughout the length and breadth of South India. The ethnic demarcation of villages of this kind is most marked and is its main characteristic But it must be added that foundations of this kind, though frequent in ancient and even in mediæval times in South India, are now practically out of date. Promiscuous house building is more and more the rule though to a smaller extent in the rural areas. The establishment of a temple in a place meant, similarly, a new village designed on ethnical lines Brahmins live round the temple, the village being in the centre of a square, the four roads being used for taking round the processional car The other classes and castes are located according to the occupations they follow, in regular streets, in different parts of the village. This plan has earned much modern admiration. Foundations of this kind, if we are to believe the old poets and inscriptions, were frequent in ancient days. Some of the larger cities of South India which have existed from pre-British days were founded on this plan.

A study of place names shows that physical environment has played a great part in the foundation of villages. Thus the endings *Kattē*, *Samudra*, *Sāgara*, *Belgola* in Kanarese districts show that the villages are close to large sheets of water. *Bande*, *Kallu*, *Betta* and *Kōnda* show that they are close to a rock, hill or other eminence. *Mahal* indicates that they are close to the palace of a chieftain or important person. *Kōte* or *Gōdi* to a fort. Proximity to big trees, forests (say bamboo or other), flowering plants of a striking kind, etc , have also not infrequently given their names to villages.

Frequent wars in South India led to agglomerations in rural areas. Villages founded as the result of war or other similar sudden disturbance (for example, famine) generally end in *Valasa* or *Valse* and *Guli* The houses usually belong to a single caste or a few different castes which with later accretions make up the population. Settlements of this kind are as common on the Coromandel Coast as in the Dekhan proper.

Villages thus owe their origins to natural causes and are connected closely with their environment, both as to names and as to their structure. Villages are not far away from water, building materials and minor or major forests. Houses are built on known principles and admit, in the majority of cases, both light and air The poorer classes live in small houses of a simple make-up. The internal arrangement of houses was, in olden days, largely based on the idea of occupation, each caste following a particular craft being located in one street or parallel streets. Similarly the internal economy of the house was dictated by the occupation followed by the occupier, which in the main depended on his caste or calling. The weavers' streets are usually broad ; the car street in a Brahmin settlement is also broad , and the tortuous lanes in other areas are usually due to the peculiarities of

the ground. Wars, the foundation of Brahman settlements by kings and others and the establishment of temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu in the Brahmanic revival which followed in the wake of the absorption of Buddhism by the revived Brahmanism in the eighth century A.D., led to agglomerations in various parts of South India which still exist, some of them being the larger and better known cities of South India from times anterior to the appearance of the European nations in the land.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. L. RICE—*Mysore Gazetteer.*
2. W. FRANCIS—*Vizagapatam District Gazetteer*, *Bellary District Gazetteer and Nilgiris District Gazetteer.*
3. STOKES, M.C.S —*Report on Nagar Division of Mysore.*
4. W. BREEKS—*Primitive Tribes of the Nilgiris.*
5. C. P. VENKATRAMA IYER—*Town-planning in the Dekhan.*
6. *Bangalore Mythic Society's Journal.*

NOTES.

Derivation of the name "Bangalore".

IN connection with my article on the above subject, the following foot-note in the "Journal" for April 1924, was added by the Editor on page 240.—"Mr. C. H. Rao apparently overlooks the fact that a Begur inscription of the 9th century A.D refers to the existence of Bangalore.—*Ed*" May I say that I have not overlooked it? I know this inscription and have even quoted it in my original paper on "Place-Names of Mysore" published in the *Journal* ten years ago! Again, from the article itself, it will be seen that this inscription was not only borne in mind by me but also an attempt was made to show that the name "Bangalore" was named after some "Venkata", of whose identity or age we know nothing at present and that whoever founded it, he found the name already in existence, and in keeping with the name, founded the temple of Venkataramana in the Fort.

The name—the original name—in my view, is a corrupted form of the word "Venkata+ur" Why it was so called, there is at present no evidence to adduce. This applies to the name, even to times before the Begur inscription (tenth century A D., not ninth century, an obvious slip). Kempe Gowda found the name already there and transferred it to the new town he built. In other words, the name is older than Kempe Gowda, and also older than the temple which came into existence later. Perhaps, also, it is *much older* than the Begur inscription itself. Kempe Gowda transferred it to his own city, because he found it convenient to do so. His appropriation of the old name may be due to his desire to commemorate and perpetuate it by linking it with the new city he founded. That the name of the city is not after the temple is as clear as noon-day sun, for it is obviously much older, it is possible, in view of what I have said, that the temple itself derived its name from the city, which Kempe Gowda transferred from the old city to the new.

It seems necessary to add that the temple of Venkataramana in the Fort was *not* built by Kempe Gowda but by Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar An inscription dated Saka 1627 (=1705 A D.) at Kottanūr (see Rice's *Ep. Car.*, *Bangalore, No. 118*) distinctly states that the temple had been "newly built' by the "father" (Appāji) of Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar. This Kantirava was surnamed Mūkarasu and ruled from 1704-1713. He succeeded Chikka Deva. This Kottanūr inscription records a grant by Kantirava of the village of Kottanūr, in Gottegere, "belonging to the Fort of Bangalore", with its hamlets, with all relative rights of ownership and enjoyment, for maintaining the daily offerings and illuminations of the God Venkatēsvara, "newly consecrated in the Bangalore Fort by our father", to use the words of the inscription. Bangalore passed into the hands of the

Mysore Kings in 1687, during the time of Chikka Deva, having been practically purchased by him from the Moghul General Khāsim Khān. Apparently the temple was built between 1687 and 1704, the year of Chikka Deva's death. As Kantirava in his Kottanūr inscription, which is dated in 1705 A.D., states that the temple had been "recently" built by his father, it may be inferred, that it had only been built towards the close of Chikka Deva's reign The story of the temple having been built by Kempe Gowda seems thus baseless. Accordingly, the statement in Mr Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, page 21, which ascribes the building of this temple to Kempe Gowda from the revenue derived by him from the 12 *hoblis* granted by Achyutarāya, the Vijayanagar sovereign, requires correction This, however, does not affect the derivation suggested by me, for the derivation affects the name "Bangalore" as it was at the time of and long anterior to this and the Bēgur inscription. Prāktana Vimarsa Vichakshana Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar informs me that he remembers inscriptions in which "Vēngalanātha" and "Tiruvēngalanātha" occur as the name of the deity in the temple and that there is no doubt that "Vēngala" and "Vēngalanātha" are correct terms when used in connection with a temple dedicated to God Venkaṭa or Venkataramana I must thank him for this information.

C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

The Sky-Lark.

Is it the same as *Chātaka* ?

IN the January (1924) number of the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., tries to suggest that the Indian name for the sky-lark is *Chātaka*. To my mind, the learned writer does not seem to be correct. No proof or authority for identifying the sky-lark with the *Chātaka* is forthcoming. He speaks of two species of the sky-lark described by Rāi Bāhādur R. B Sānyāl and by Mr. Eugene W. Oates, and incidentally states that the Hindi and Bengali names of the bird are *Bharata* and *Bharata Pakshi*. (I may note that *Bharadvāja*, which is the Sanskrit name for the sky-lark, is obviously turned to *Bharata*.) Mr. Mitra then observes :

"Curiously enough, both Rāi Bāhādur Rām Brāhma Sānyāl and Mr. Eugene W Oates have not mentioned the Bengali synonym *Chātaka* of both the aforementioned species of sky-larks "

I should say there is nothing curious in this omission on the part of the two experts. The reason is obvious, *viz.*, *Chātaka* and the sky-lark are distinct birds. Amarakośa gives *Bharadvāja* (which is indisputably the word for the sky-lark), and *Chātaka* as names of distinct kinds of birds. It is difficult to find out what makes Mr. Mitra say that *Chātaka* is a Bengali synonym of *Bharata* (or *Bharadvāja*). An abridged edition of Dr. Carey's Bengali Dictionary tells us that *Chātaka* is the

name of a bird, probably a swallow, but generally supposed to be the *cuculus melanoleucus*. It does not give sky-lark as the meaning of *Chātaka*. Starting on the assumption that the *Chātaka* is the same as the skylark, Mr. Mitra goes on relating certain well-known myths about this rain-drinking bird, and wishes us to believe that the myths pertain to the sky-lark!

A reference to the Encyclopædia Britannica will show that the sky-lark is a bird whose ways and habits do not tally with the ways and habits attributed to the *Chātaka*.

N. B. DIVATIA.

REVIEWS.

The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture.

BY Dr. G. SLATER, M A , D.Sc.,

Late Professor of Indian Economics in the University of Madras.

Published by Ernest Benn, Ltd., 9, Bouverie Street, London E. C. 4.
Price 10*s*. 6*d*.

DOCTOR GILBERT SLATER is so well-known in Southern India that any book from him ought to be welcome to our readers It speaks highly of his versatility that almost the first book he should publish after his return home should be closely connected with the subject of South Indian ethnology. But it is to be feared that the conclusions he states are rather of the ill-founded type, some at least of them going against the results of well-known recent investigators in India. The date of Dravidian Immigration "800, or 900 or even 1000 B.C." or even a period ' long before" these dates seems too late for the obvious reason that in the Vedas we already find mention of non-Aryan tribes of whom some at least, even according to Dr Slater, must have been Dravidians. Dr. Slater himself seems to accept this view (see page 117 of his book). The chapter on Aryans is a conglomerate of ideas, facts, and fancies that does not yield any definite result. The third chapter is devoted to the antiquity of Dravidian civilization, in which the deduction is drawn that the latter "resembled" Egypt and Mesopotamia in its religious ideas and that "the first linking up of India with Egypt was accomplished when the Egyptians navigated the Red Sea and reached the Land of Punt '. Indian magic, in Dr. Slater's opinion, "must be regarded as a Dravidian rather than an Aryan contribution to Indian culture". The economic basis of Dravidian culture is, according to him, rice culture. He thinks that the Dravidians did not cultivate rice "in the district which they inhabited before entering India" and that if they had done so they would have settled down in that spot. Migration is due to many causes, and there are instances even in South India of castes and tribes once rice-cultivating, who have now given up rice-cultivating. For example, the Badagas of the Nilgiris do not cultivate rice now on the Hills, but it is an undoubted fact that they *did* cultivate it in their original homes. A study of tattoo marks revealed this fact and tradition still current among them fully confirms the statement. Dr. Slater's view that a rice-growing community do not or would not emigrate is not borne out either by experience or by historical tradition. Even in modern times rice-growing agriculturists have travelled away from their original lands and set up as such or not as the occasion demanded it. Dr. Slater agrees with Perry in thinking that

cereal-growing "was imported into India from Egypt although the grain cultivated was native". There is not even the shadow of any evidence, through language or otherwise, for all this." Cultural" contact theory cannot be abused indefinitely for purposes of proving fanciful views. "Rice" is derived from "Arisi" and, as Caldwell long ago pointed out, is a Tamil name which has travelled into Europe through Greek 'Oryza,' Latin 'Oriza', French '*Ris*'. Rice culture has made the Dravidian, in Dr. Slater's view, an obedient man. Caste, according to him, is both political and social in origin, and caste is of " Dravidian rather than of Aryan origin" (Pp. 51-53). As it is Dravidian in origin, it can be best studied in South India. The result of his study of it is that "its origin lies partly in occupational, and partly in racial differences". We would advise Dr. Slater to read Sir Herbert Risley's "People of India" for a scientific treatment of the problem of the origins of caste His attempt at a solution of this problem in the chapter, headed " Some Features of Dravidian Culture", is not only misleading but entirely unscientific. The following sentences are from this chapter:—"The distinguishing mark of the Brahman is the sacred cotton cord worn by him inside all other clothing. This appears to be a very clear indication that the Brahman ascendancy has one of its roots in the descent of Brahmans from foreigners, who earned the gratitude and homage of the population of India by teaching them to spin and weave." And this art of weaving was, it is suggested, brought to India from " across the sea from Egypt". The last chapter in the book deals with "The Dravidian Problem To-day". The question is stated thus: " What special part has that corner of India in which Dravidian speech persists to play in the future history of India and of the world?" Dr Slater, who thinks of Dravidian India in terms of Egypt and Babylon, finds it in closest touch with the twentieth century. The chapter is a pen-picture of Madrasis, intellectual and other, in anything modern—from the League of Nations to the Aluminium Workers' Union. This is due to British influence. English is largely the language of South India. This is "amazing". Unification of languages is necessary, ergo a common script is needed. Dr. Slater gives an account of his attempt in the Madras Legislative Council for the adoption of a common script and how it was lost "by a large majority", through "sentimental conservatism". But he agrees ultimately that South Indians "are wise in their generation in desiring that their children should learn English early and master it thoroughly". Then comes the arguable question of "Parliamentary institutions" and "Bureaucratic government with foreigners holding the most important posts". Then the Prince of Wales' visit, the Reform of the Constitution, the Malabar Rebellion, the Khilafat and Non-Co-operation Movements and finally the arrival of the representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation and the initiation of the Crusade against hook-worm. Then follows the observation that the great majority of the Dravidians are ' sick men suffering from diseases till recently little understood, but, when understood, preventable". When he has shaken off his anæmia and thrown off "his mental handicap of a too one-sided method of thinking," the factors which made India a land of high

civilization while Europe was in the stage of barbarism will no doubt again produce their appropriate results. But it is gratifying to learn at the end of it all — "Ultimately it may be found that the West has as much to learn from India as to teach But in whichever way the flow of intellectual commerce is moving the English-speaking Dravidians will supply many of the most active intermediaries." Thus is the "Dravidian Problem To-day" answered by Dr. Slater, a book aiming singularly high and creating expectations even higher, but terribly disappointing both in the treatment of the subject, and the summing up of conclusions, such as they are, arrived at by the author.

Intangible and elusive in argument, loose in treatment, appalling in the ignoring of first-hand authorities on the subject, it is wholly to be deplored that Dr. Slater should have thought of a publication of this kind, so entirely alien to his proper domain. C. H R.

Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for 1923.

THE year under review marks an interesting departure in two things. From September 1922, the Department was placed under the administrative control of the Mysore University and its office shifted to Mysore. Secondly, there was a change in the personnel. Dr. Shamasastri became Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore in succession to Praktana Vimarsa Vichakshana Rao Bahadur R. Narasimha Char. It was no easy task to succeed the Rao Bahadur The report before us, however, shows how worthily he has fulfilled the onerous responsibilities of the office.

Owing to pressure of work, extensive tours were not possible Nevertheless the Belur and the Halebid temples and bastis were re-visited and improvements for their preservation suggested by the Doctor. In this connection it is very gratifying to observe that, as a result of a detailed inspection of these places conducted by a Special Committee, certain important repairs to these shrines are about to be taken in hand. Now that the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, though rather late in the day, is about to become law of the land, we may express a hope that a systematic and careful control will be exercised so as to prevent further damage to ancient monuments in the State

Of the numerous monuments, manuscripts and inscriptions, etc., discovered during the year, a Viragal at Gaddemane in the Shimoga district relating to the seventh century A.D. recording the death of a commander in fighting with numbers led by Mahendra opposing Siladitya's claim to sovereignty over Shimoga may be mentioned.

Dr. Shamasastri has endeavoured to put together, in the report, all the traditional, astronomical and synchronistic evidences bearing on the controversial question of the chronology of the Brihadbanas, the Kadambas and the Gangas, and suggests what he says is a satisfactory solution regarding the date of the

early Guptas, understood to be the contemporaries of the Kadambas (pp. 9-30) To criticise Dr. Fleet's Gupta chronology, the Director presses into his service the traditional data (1) Alberuni's statement that Valabhi era dates from the extermination of the Guptas and Valabhi (Valabhi's being destroyed in A D. 319); (2) the Chinese statement that the Yui-chi during the period betw n A D. 220 280 put their kings to death and established military chiefs, (3) Hiuen Tsiang's statement in respect of the Kingdom of Valabhi that "the present king is of the race of Kshatriyas (Tsati-li), he is the son-in-law of Siladitya (Chilo-O-tie-to), king of Kanyakubja (Kie-jo-kid-che), his name is Dhruvabhata (Tou-lou-po-poto)"; (4) the Jaina tradition relating to the subjugation of Murunda by Samudragupta, as mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta On this last, the Doctor says, 'the glorious period of Murundas begins from about 18 A.D. and lasts for about 250 years, overlapping that of the Guptas during its close. The Jaina account relating to chronology is untrustworthy' After considering in detail Dr. Fleet and Mr. Pathak's comments on the 'Harivamsa passage' and their different conclusions therefrom, he proceeds to synchronistic evidence from inscriptions and concludes (see Summary on p. 30) that Gupta Valabhi era was started from A.D. 319-320, that the initial date of the Gupta era is fixed to lie in A.D. 200-201, that the date of Siladitya was A.D. 647, that Samudragupta's rule was about A D 282. As he says, "this scheme throws a flood of light on what has hitherto been regarded a dark period between A.D. 200-300 in the History of India." This is, however, a question which deserves further consideration and, in the light of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's recent lecture in the Mythic Society, we have to suspend judgment.

Belavadi temple was inspected and completely explored. Belavadi is a village about eight miles from Halebid. The Trikutachala temple is a fine Hoysala specimen and perhaps the biggest of the kind in size. The illustrations in the report taken from this temple are all excellent.

We must also thank Dr. Shamasastri for the important departure made in the report in giving an account of the archæological and epigraphical work of the Department. All the records collected during the year are arranged by districts with serial numbers, chronological and epigraphical notes, with the transliteration of the inscription in Roman characters, are given, the subject-matter of the inscription and the chronology of the personages and events mentioned in it are also given. These are bound to be very helpful to the students of ancient history; all the facts connected with a find are put together and the reader has not got to search all through the report for the same.

The new items of discovery, so far not noticed in this review, are the exact date of the erection of the statue of Gomata in Sravana Belagola, A.D 1028, and the date of birth, accession, and death of Kalki A.D. 402, 432 and 472.

The report maintains a very high level of excellence like its predecessors, and the Department has to be congratulated on the amount of useful work done during the year.

S.

* A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary.

BY A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D., HON. LL.D.

THIS volume, which the following is a review, is a corrected reprint of a former edition of the book by the same author, who is well-known and who certainly does not stand in need of any introduction to Sanskritists.

In undertaking this short review I crave the indulgence of the readers of this Journal and of the author for any shortcomings either in thought or language. My claims for this critical function stand on very slender foundations. Nothing but the fact of my having sat at the feet of the Goddess of Sanskrit learning during the leisure hours of my professional work emboldens me to take it up. But, on the other hand, the great learning and the high repute and esteem in which the author is held, have a depressing effect on me. But a few remarks, offered by way of suggestions, could never be out of place and unwelcome; and I am sure the author will take them in the best spirit.

In the course of my cursory references, here and there, I notice that small words either do not find a place or their interpretations do not appear to be quite satisfactory. In certain places the interpretation is not supported by any references. Words having either different or derivative meanings have been omitted, perhaps by oversight or as unnecessary or as exceeding the limits of a handy volume. The insertion of such words would have been more useful to the student. It is clear from these observations that the size of the work was uppermost in the mind of the author. Suggestions regarding words and their special uses in special works referred to by the author in his preface, will be given later on in the critical review, which will follow in a subsequent issue.

The time and labour bestowed on the preparation of such a valuable work can never be adequately estimated, much less appreciated. Years of patient toil and elaborate references must have preceded the production of such a compendious work. The price of the book is somewhat prohibitive and makes it inaccessible to many. It is hoped that the author will soon find it feasible to publish a cheaper reprint so as to bring it within easy reach of the Indian student.

The present work is stated to have derived its material mainly from the shorter St. Petersburgh Dictionary. Since I have not this valuable work before me, I am not in a position to say how far the present work justifies its maternity; but I am sure the original excellence will not only have been maintained, but carried forward with redoubled vigour. The Indian public can never be too grateful to the foreign savants of Sanskrit learning as day by day our store of knowledge is not only enriched but ransacked from all points of view. It is no wonder that several words and their compounds are omitted as the standpoint of view of different authors is different. What is found in one dictionary may not be found in the other as they will not only differ according to their size, but with the ideals

* Published by the Oxford University Press. Price *Sh.* 30.

pursued by their respective authors. The choice of words and passages will also vary with the ideals of the authors. A comparative view of different dictionaries would be quite inappropriate We, Indians, think that the home of Sanskrit learning is India and therefore modern Indian interpretation of Sanskrit passages and quotations generally follows the ancient surrounding tradition. But sometimes, such interpretations, I do admit, are biassed The author has thought fit, I believe, with a view to encourage and induce the habit of industry and research, to omit the quotations to support his meaning, though giving references Hence I am led to doubt, from a cursory perusal of the book, whether the author would have stuck to the same views and meanings of words and passages and followed the present plan of his work, had he lived amidst Indian surroundings.

The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired. It is published by the Oxford University Press

M. B. V.

The History of His Holiness Sri Sacchidananda Sivabhinava NRISIMHABHARATI SWAMI, Jagadguru of Sri Sringeri.

BY VEDAMURTI BRAHMASRI SADACHARA PRAVARTHANA PRAVINA N. SRIKANTA SASTRI, *Agent of the Sringeri Mutt.*

(The Bangalore Press. Price Rs. 3-0-0.)

IN memory of the foundation ceremony relating to the installation of His Holiness' *murthi* by His Holiness Sri Jagadguru Chandrasekharabharati Swamigalavaru at Mysore, on the occasion of His Holiness' sixty-seventh birthday, this book has been published by the agent of the Mutt, Mr. Srikanta Sastri. The latter had very close association with and had intimate knowledge of the work of the late Holiness. This work could not have been entrusted to better hands. The life work of the Swami has been given in a connected, narrative form and will form most interesting reading. To the disciples of the Mutt in particular, the absorbing nature of the details described in the book can never be surpassed.

Kunigal Ramasastri belonged to a most distinguished line of Sanskrit scholars and Vidwans in Mysore and his son, the subject of the book, was born in 1857 and called Sivaswami In 1859, he lost his father and at the age of 5, his mother also. His predecessor on the *pitha* of Sringeri, H. H. Sri Nrisimhabharati Swami (1817 to 1879) had made an extensive tour, for a period extending, off and on, over forty years and secured grants and recognition from the Peshwas of Poona, the Maharajas Scindia, Holkar, Gaikwar, the Maharajas of Mysore and Travancore, Princes, Rajas, Jodidars, etc., in Mysore, Hyderabad and elsewhere. In 1868 when the Swami was at Bangalore, Commissioner Bowring visited him at 1 A.M. of a particular day and saw him performing *Japa*. With such an illustrious and austere example before him, the new Swami of the *Jagadguru pitha* had no easy

task. The book before us gives a detailed and accurate account of his life, his travels, etc., which we do not propose to dwell on here. It used to be said that His Holiness was not much in favour of the written word and desired that his disciples should learn things for themselves by personal effort and from the lips of the wise. Agreeably to this injunction, we close this review with the hope that those who are anxious to know the life and times of H. H. Sri Nrisimhabharati Swami will read the book for themselves. The get-up is splendid and we congratulate the Bangalore Press on the excellence of the blocks and printing.

S.

The Djawa, Vol. IV, No. 1.

THE first article gives a very interesting insight into Javanese music writing. The second article is a description of the more popular forms of music or rather sounds produced by words, and some peculiar instruments. The third article introduces us to some *Muhammadan writers* regarded by some as not quite orthodox and their influence on Javanese mysticism. The fourth article explains some popular beliefs about remedies for several common ailments. The fifth article is on the legend of *Kin Tambochan* in Malay literature and the last one is a very interesting, and for its short space, instructive article on Javanese architecture, its origin and further development.

F. S.

Le Monde Oriental, Uppsala, Vol. XIV, Fasc 1—2, and 3.

THE work is devoted mostly to the derivation of words—principally Arabic. Though not of general interest to the members of the Mythic Society, it contains some information which it may be useful to know On p. 107 begins an article in Swedish, entirely, on *bad language*, curses and expletives in Arabic! On p. 114 the author concludes with a hope that he may find out the swearwords and general terms of abuse in the Turkish and other Oriental languages, needless to add, this could not be done unless the author went and lived amongst the people. What is written in German in the book is also mostly on words.

Z. S.

List of Subscriptions and Donations received during the quarter ending 30th June 1924.

Names.	Volume.	Amount. Rs.	A.	P.
Messrs.				
T. Singaravelu, Bangalore	XIV	5	0	0
K. B. Madhava, Bangalore	,,	5	0	0
D. Venkatramiah, Bangalore	XIII	5	0	0
P. K. Ramaswami Iyengar, Coimbatore ..	XIV	3	0	0
T. S. Ramanathan, Sattur	,,	3	0	0
R. Ranga Rao, Bangalore	,,	5	0	0
Bishop of Mangalore	XIV & part payment of XV	5	0	0
N. Venkatesa Iyengar, Bangalore ..	XIV	5	0	0
B. Subrahmanya Iya, Mysore	,,	3	0	0
M. G. Rama Rao, Bangalore	,,	5	0	0
Rao Bahadur P. R. Vengu Iyer, Bangalore ..	,,	5	0	0
M. V. Lakshmana Iyer, Kuttalam ..	,,	3	0	0
A. Mervyn Smith, Bangalore ..	,,	5	0	0
Private Secretary to Her Highness the Junior Ranee of Travancore ..	,,	5	0	0
Secretary, Public Library, Bangalore ..	XIII & XIV	10	0	0
R. Alwar Iyengar, Bhawani	XIV	3	4	0
T. Abdul Khader, Mysore	,,	3	4	0
Batni Bheema Rao, Channapatna ..	,,	3	4	0
P. Bhadriah, Anantapur	,,	3	4	0
H. J. Bhabha, Bombay	,,	3	4	0
K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, Madras ..	,,	3	4	0
H. M. A. Cooke, Oorgaum	,,	3	4	0
S. Dharma Rao, Bowringpet	,,	3	4	0
Dr. J. J. Fitz Maurice, K. G. F. ..	,,	3	4	0
V. B. Alur, Dharwar	,,	3	4	0
W. A. F. Bracken, Coorg	,,	3	4	0
S. A. Balakrishna Iyer, Mayavaram ..	,,	3	4	0
Bheema Rao Belladone, Bellary ..	,,	3	4	0
Rev. R. C. Bensen, Cocanada	,,	3	4	0
C. R. T. Congreeve, Valaparai	,,	3	4	0
Rev. Father E. Fernandez, Bombay ..	,,	3	4	0
J. W. Fairweather, K. G. F.	,,	3	4	0
Rev. D. Giovanni, Mangalore	,,	3	4	0
Dr. K. Gundopanth, Mysore	,,	3	4	0

Names.		Volume.	Amount.		
Messrs.			RS.	A.	P.
C. Gopalacharya, Poonamalee..	..	XIV	3	4	0
R. V. Krishnan, Madras ..	..	,,	3	4	0
C. Krishna Rao, Tumkur ..	..	,,	3	4	0
Rev. Father I. J. McCormick, Bellary	..	,,	3	4	0
Rev. A. R. Slater, Hassan ..	..	XII, XIII & XIV	9	4	0
L. S. V. Rama Iyer, Channapatna	..	XIV	3	4	0
P. Sundaram Pillay, Salem ..	..	,,	3	4	0
M. Haritheertham, Pudukottai ..	..	,,	3	4	0
Rao Saheb V. T. Krishnamachari, Ramnad	..	,,	3	4	0
P. S. Govinda Rao, Mysore ..	..	,,	3	4	0
G. Sridharamurthy, Tumkur ..	..	,,	3	4	0
S. Seetharamiah, Shimoga ..	..	,,	3	4	0
M. Venkatakrishniah, Mysore ..	..	,,	3	4	0
Rev. C. Auzuech, Vayathri ..	..	,,	3	4	0
L. K. Ananta Krishna Iyer ..	..	,,	3	4	0
Lt.-Col. Crawford, Saklespur ..	..	,,	3	4	0
C. W. E. Cotton, Trivandrum ..	..	,,	3	4	0
R. H. Hitchcock ..	..	,,	3	4	0
P. R. Krishnaswami ..	..	,,	3	4	0
A. V. Krishnamurthy ..	..	,,	3	4	0
Kolandai Velu ..	..	,,	3	4	0
S. Krishnamurthy ..	..	,,	3	4	0
K. Krishnamurthy Rao ..	..	,,	3	4	0
B. Krishna Iyengar ..	..	,,	3	4	0
S. Abdul Khaleck ..	..	,,	3	4	0
L. A. Krishna Iyer ..	..	,,	3	4	0
Charles Lister ..	..	,,	3	4	0
C. Nilakantaiya ..	..	,,	3	4	0
P. R. Narayana Iyer ..	..	,,	3	4	0
J. S. Nicolls ..	..	,,	3	4	0
R. Puttaraj Urs ..	..	,,	3	4	0
B. Ramaswamaiya, Hassan ..	..	,,	3	4	0
S. P. Rajagopalachari ..	..	,,	3	4	0
Douglas M. Reid ..	..	,,	3	4	0
Hon'ble Mr. M. V. Ramesam ..	..	,,	3	4	0
A. Rangaswami Sarasvathi ..	..	,,	3	4	0
M. Rangaswami Iyengar ..	..	,,	3	4	0
Y. K. Ramachandra Rao ..	..	,,	3	4	0
B. Sundara Bhashyam ..	..	,,	3	4	0
K. S. Seetharaman ..	..	,,	3	4	0
S. Sreenivasa Iyengar ..	..	XIII & XIV	6	4	0

Names.	Volume.	Amount. RS. A. P.
Messrs.		
C. Subba Rao ..	Balance of Vol. XIII & in full for XIV	4 4 0
P. F. Bowring, Bangalore	XIV	5 0 0
H. Allardice	,,	3 4 0
Bhagavadatta	,,	3 4 0
F. Foulkes	,,	3 4 0
S. Hiriyanniah	,,	3 4 0
B. V. Kamesvara Iyer	,,	3 4 0
C. Lake	,,	3 4 0
R. A. Narasimha Iyengar	,,	3 4 0
N. S. Narasimha Iyengar	,,	3 4 0
S. Paramesvara Iyer	,,	3 4 0
Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar ..	,,	3 4 0
M. Raja Rao	,,	3 4 0
B. Ramaswamaiya, Sringeri	,,	3 4 0
J E Saklatwalla	,,	3 4 0
C. R. Subrahmanyachari	,,	3 4 0
S. Venkatesiah, Hassan	,,	3 4 0
C. Rama Rao, Bangalore	,,	5 0 0
J. Fernandez, Calcutta	,,	3 4 0
Dr. Gouranganath Banerji	,,	3 4 0
Rao Bahadur M. Gopalaswami Mudaliar ..	,,	3 4 0
C. J. Hall	,,	3 4 0
T. K. Krishna Menon	,,	3 4 0
N. Lakshmanan	,,	3 4 0
F. Aylmer Martin	,,	3 4 0
Hiralal T. Panpi	,,	3 4 0
C. Ranganatha Rao Saheb	XIII & XIV	8 4 0
C. Ransford	XIV	3 4 0
V. K. Rajagopalathamban	,,	3 4 0
Dewan Bahadur T. Raghavaiya ..	,,	3 4 0
K. S. Ramaswami Sastri	,,	3 4 0
K. S. Sreenivasa Pillay	,,	3 4 0
S. Sarvothama Rao	,,	3 4 0
R. Subbarayadu	,,	3 4 0
K. G. Sesha Iyer	,,	3 4 0
Sir P. S. Sivasami Iyer	,,	3 4 0
A. Suryanarayana Rao	,,	3 4 0
K. Tatachar	,,	3 4 0
M. Venkatanaranappa	,,	3 4 0
O. Visvanatha Rao	,,	3 4 0

Names.	Volume.	Amount.		
Messrs.		RS.	A.	P.
K. D. Venkate Urs	XIV	3	4	0
Librarian, Adyar Library	,,	3	4	0
O. C. Ganguly	,,	3	4	0
C. L. Jaina	,,	3	4	0
Dr. M. Krishnamacharya	,,	3	4	0
R. V. Krishnaswami Iyer	,,	3	4	0
Rao Saheb H. Krishna Sastri	,,	3	4	0
H L. Pinches	,,	3	4	0
Rt. Rev F. Perier	,,	3	4	0
Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis	,,	3	4	0
S. K. Rajagopala Iyer	,,	3	4	0
Rao Bahadur M. Raghunatha Rao	,,	3	4	0
J. A. Richardson	,,	3	4	0
Sindige Siddappa	,,	3	4	0
V. Subrahmanya Iyer	,,	3	4	0
S. Seetharamiah (Amildar)	,,	3	4	0
T. Sreenivasachar	,,	3	4	0
P. M Sundararaja Iyer	,,	3	4	0
R. Subba Rao	,,	3	4	0
R. Vaidyanathan	,,	3	4	0
V. Venkatachala Iyer	,,	3	4	0
Honorary Secretary, K. G. F. Club	,,	3	4	0
Honorary Secretary, Literary Union, Kolar	,,	3	4	0
C. V. Narasaiya	XV	3	0	0
J. S. Aseervatham Pillay	XIV	3	4	0
Rev. A. J. D'Souza	,,	3	4	0
B. Gururaja Rao	,,	3	4	0
Dr. R. K. Mukerji	,,	3	4	0
M. Zahiruddin Mecci	,,	3	4	0
Narendranath Law	,,	3	4	0
J. C. Rollo	XIII & XIV	6	4	0
Dewan Bahadur C Srikanteswara Iyer	XIV	3	4	0
Sherkhan Jammaud, Nawab of Honnali	,,	3	4	0
V. H Vader	,,	3	4	0
V. N. Ramanatha Rao	,,	3	4	0
V. K. Ramuni Menon	,,	3	4	0
Rev. I. Wright	,,	3	4	0
Principal, A.E.L.M. College, Guntur	,,	3	4	0
H. Waddington	,,	3	4	0
Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow	,,	3	4	0
G. T. Hall, Bangalore	,,	5	0	0

Names.	Volume.	Amount.		
Messrs.		RS.	A.	P.
Progressive Union, Nellore	XIV	3	4	0
Babu Haridas Mitra	,,	3	4	0
Honorary Secretary, Barton Library, Bhavnagar	,,	3	4	0
Superintendent of Archæology, Gwalior ..	,,	3	4	0
Superintendent of Archæology, Patna ..	,,	3	4	0
Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot ..	,,	3	4	0
Secretary, Public Library, Mysore ..	,,	3	0	0
R. S. Vaidyanatha Iyer	,,	3	0	0
Professor P. Pissurlencar	,,	3	4	0
W. H. Murphy, Bangalore	,,	5	0	0
Dr. M. Sreenivasa Rao, Bangalore ..	,,	5	0	0
A. Hayes, Bangalore	,,	5	0	0
M. Sundara Rao	,,	3	8	0
Rai Yatindranath Chowdhuri, Taki ..	,,	3	8	0
B. A. Saletore	XV	3	0	0
Dr. Mariano Saldanha	XIV	3	4	0
Secretary, Literary Society, Salem ..	XV	3	0	0
S. Narasimha Rao	XIV	3	4	0

Books presented or purchased during the quarter ending 30th . 1924.

Presented by—

Calcutta University—

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XI.

Government of India, Departments of Education and Public Health—

Catalogue of the Indian Office Library, Vol. II, Pt. IV, Bengali Books Supplement (1906—1920)

Superintendent, Government Printing, Madras—

Ananda Ranga Pillay's Diary, 1736—1761 (Vol. IX).

Director of Archæology, Mysore—

Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for the year 1923.

Oxford University Press, Bombay—

A Practical Samskrit Dictionary by A. A. Macdonell.

Guzarat Purra Tatwa Mandir, Ahmedabad—

Abhidhanappradipika by Muni Jina Vijaya.

The Shama'a Publishing House—

"Pundalik" by Harindranath Chattopadhyaya.

Rajasabhabhushana Rev. Father A. M. Tabard—

Romance and Legend of Chivalry by H. R. Hope Moncrieff.
Classic Myth and Legend by H. R. Hope Moncrieff.
Celtic Myth and Legend by Charles Squire.
Egyptian Myth and Legend by Donald A. Mackenzie.
Myths of Babylonia and Assyria by Donald A. Mackenzie.
Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe by Donald A. Mackenzie.
Teutonic Myth and Legend by Donald A. Mackenzie.
Indian Myth and Legend by Donald A. Mackenzie.
Le Bouddhisme dans I' Inde by Henri Bailleau.

Rev. Father A. Lobo—

Qanoon-E-Islam or the Customs of the Mussalmans of India by Jaffur Sherif.

Rev. Father H. Heras (Author)—

A Catholic Chapel in the Court of Akbar.
The Siege and Conquest of Asirgarh by the Emperor Akbar.

The Rev. Canon Sell, D.D.—

Politique Musulmane by A. Le Chatelier.
Archives Marocaines, Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2.
Revue de l'histoire des Religions, Vol. 43, Nos. 1, 3.
Fas, Son Université et l'enseignement superieur musulman, by G. Delphin.
Un grand Maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin by M. Stanislas Guyard
La Condition de la Femme dans la tradition et l'évolution de l'Islamisme by Mansour Fahmy.
Mémoire sur les Emirs Al-Oměra

Brahmasri Sadachara Pravarthana Pravina N. Srikanta Sastri—

" Life of H. H. Sri Sacchidananda Sivabhinava Nrisimhabharati Swami, Jagadguru of Sringeri " by himself.

By Purchase—

Sivatattwa Ratnakara, Part II, Kallolas 4 and 5.

EXCHANGES.

I. The Editors of :—

1. " HINDUSTAN REVIEW," *Bankipore.*
2. " INDIAN ANTIQUARY,"
   British India Press, Mazagaon, Bombay.
3. "CEYLON ANTIQUARY," *The " Times of Ceylon", Colombo.*
4. " MODERN REVIEW, " *Calcutta.*
5. " THE HINDU MESSAGE, " *Srirangam.*
6. " WEDNESDAY REVIEW, " *Teppakulam, Trichinopoly.*
7. " THE SOUTH INDIAN RESEARCH, "
   Vepery, Madras.
8. " THE EASTERN BUDDHIST ", *The Library, Sinshu Otani University, Kyoto.*
9. " THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE," *Madras.*
10. " THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW," *Mount Road, Madras.*
11. " THE VEDIC MAGAZINE," *Lahore.*
12. " ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT," *Halle, Germany.*
13. " THE SANSKRIT BHARATHI," *Burdwan, Bengal.*
14. " THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY," *New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. A.*
15. " THE KALPAKA," *Tinnevelly.*
16. " EVERYMAN'S REVIEW," *Madras.*
17. " MAN," *The Royal Anthropological Institute, London.*
18. " DJAWA," *Kanarillaan, 13, te Weltevreden, Java.*
19. " MAN IN INDIA," *Ranchi B.N.Ry. (India)*
20. " THE KARNATAKA GRANTHAMALA," *Mysore.*
21. " THE MYSORE CHRONICLE," *Tumkur.*
22. " THE JAIN GAZETTE ", *Parish Venkatachala Iyer Street, George Town, Madras.*
23. " THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER," *Bombay.*
24. " PRABUDDHA BHARATA, ADWAITA ASRAMA,"
   Mayavati P.O., Almora Dist.
25. " THE SHAMA'A" *Aghore Mandir, San Thome, Madras.*
26. " VISHVA-BHARATHI ", *10, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*
27. " NAVASHAKTI ", *Dharwar.*
28. " THE SHRINE OF WISDOM ", *The Hermetic Truth Society, Lincoln House, Acacia Road, Acton, London* (21-3)

Publications from :—

II. THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, *Poona.*
III. THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY, *Simla.*
IV. THE GENERAL SECRETARY, BIHAR & ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, *Patna.*
V. Do. "THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY", *Bombay Branch, Bombay.*
VI. Do. ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, *1, Park Street, Calcutta.*
VII. Do. THE INDO-FRENCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Pondicherry.*
VIII. Do. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*
IX. THE REGISTRAR, *Chief Secretariat, Fort St. George, Madras.*
X. THE REGISTRAR, MYSORE UNIVERSITY, *Mysore.*
XI. THE REGISTRAR, MADRAS UNIVERSITY, *Madras.*
XII. THE SECRETARY OF—
 (*a*) THE CONNEMARA PUBLIC LIBRARY, *Madras.*
 (*b*) THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, *Hyderabad* (*Deccan*).
 (*c*) THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, *74, Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.*
 (*d*) THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, *Poona.*
 (*e*) LE BIBLIOTHECAIRE, SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE, *1, Rue de Seine, Paris.*
 (*f*) THE PUNJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Lahore.*
 (*g*) THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, *Washington, D. C.* (*U.S.A.*)
 (*h*) THE BANGIYA SAHITYA PARISHAD, *243/1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
 (*i*) THE PURRA TATTWA MANDIR, *Ahmedabad.*
 (*j*) THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY, *Town Hall, Fort, Bombay.*
 (*k*) THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, *172, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.*
 (*l*) ASSOCIATION FRANCAISE DES AMIS DE L'ORIENT, *Musée Guimet, Place d'iena, Paris* (*XVI*).
XIII. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF—
 (*a*) ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, *Southern Circle, Madras.*
 (*b*) RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, *Kashmir State, Srinagar.*
 (*c*) ARCHÆOLOGY, *Trivandrum, Travancore.*
XIV. THE CURATOR, *Oriental Library, Mysore.*
XV. ASSISTANT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SUPERINTENDENT FOR EPIGRAPHY, *Madras.*

The Mythic Society having been registered as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Rule 105 of the Rules of that Society governing the privileges of members of Associate Societies is published for information :—

"Rule 105. Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of Branch and Associate Societies are entitled, while on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland, to the use of the Library as non-resident members, and to attend the Meetings of the Society other than special General Meetings; and in the case of any member of any Society aforesaid applying for election as a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, nomination as laid down in Rule 4 shall not be necessary.'

BANGALORE,
22—3—1924.

S. Srikantaiya,
General Secretary and Treasurer,
Mythic Society.